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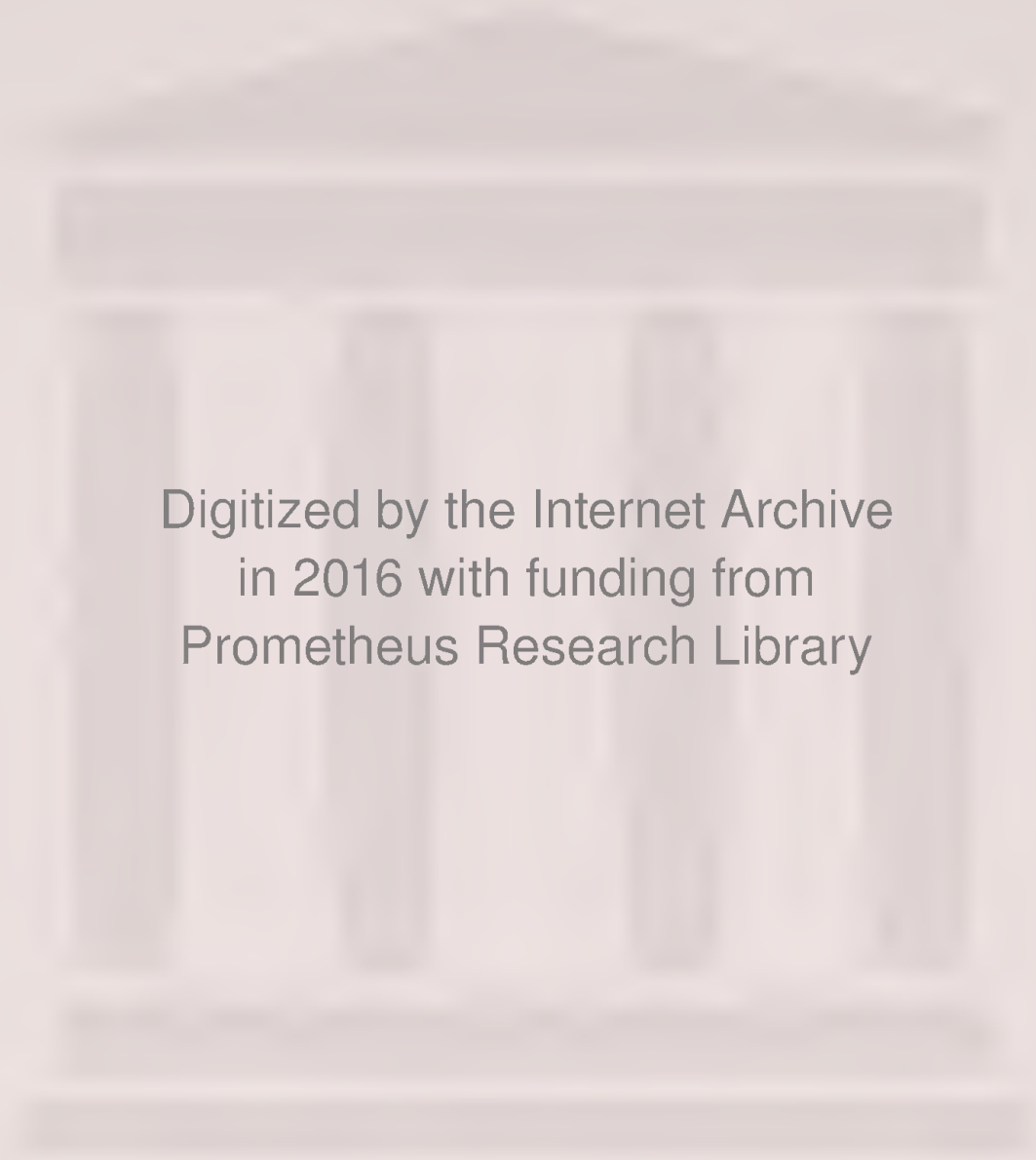

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 163

24 June 1977

Gamma

Bloody 1973 coup in Chile brought imperialists' "democracy" to Santiago stadium where thousands of workers were tortured and killed.

Der Spiegel

Jimmy Carter

Imperialists Howl Over "Human Rights"

The Main Enemy Is at Home

Jimmy Carter, the commander-in-chief of the world's leading counterrevolutionary power, has embarked on a grotesque con game to pass off American imperialism as the liberator of the world from totalitarianism. Castro praises Carter, the fake-lefts try to pressure him, but the duty of the Marxists is to tell the truth to the working class. And the truth is that despite all the "human rights" hypocrisy, *the main enemy is at home*. Karl Liebknecht said so in World War I, the Trotskyists in the imperialist countries said it again in World War II. But revolutionaries in the United States of America have a special duty to tell this fundamental truth, for "their" bourgeoisie is the central imperialist power, which in one way or another oppresses all the peoples of the world.

Two years ago last month, the U.S. ambassador in Saigon folded up the embassy's American flag, picked up his attaché case and boarded a waiting helicopter to take him to a warship off the Vietnamese coast. The macabre scenes of the chaotic evacuation which followed—generals and landlords, drug pushers and secret police torturers desperately scrambling to get on the last flight out; planes running over refugees on takeoff; Marine sharpshooters poised to keep out any of the small-fry criminals of the Thieu puppet regime—projected an image throughout the world of the strongest imperialist power in history thrown into disarray.

U.S. imperialism has not yet recovered from the drawn-out defeat it suffered in Indochina, and on its heels came the Watergate affair which deeply shook the trust of the American population in its government. In addition, there was the steady erosion of the United States' previously unchallenged economic predominance among the Western imperialists, culminating in the August 1971 devaluation of the dollar. Taken together, these events sent the credibility of U.S. pretensions to hegemony over the "free world" to an all-time low. The bubble of the "American Century" had burst barely 30 years after it was proclaimed.

But while weakened, U.S. imperialism is still top dog among the Western powers, and its rulers are impatient to assert their "rightful place" at the head of the capitalist world order. Having made do for two years with a bumbling non-entity as president—and with a cynical Metternichian secretary of state representing unbroken continuity with the disastrous Nixon reign—the American bourgeoisie was more than willing to bring in an "outsider" who had all the right connections, yet promised to give America a new sense of purpose. Managing to get himself elected on the basis of almost no program and vague appeals to "trust me," Jimmy Carter has set out to bring off a similar shell game on a global scale, under the guise of a crusade for "human rights" and a "moral" foreign policy. Significantly, it's working.

The post-Vietnam domestic reaction to foreign adventures played an important role in blocking plans by the Ford

continued on page 3

Ronald A. Haeberle

AP

Appeal to "democratic" U.S. against apartheid South Africa? Which is the greater mass murderer? Left, My Lai massacre. Right, Soweto, June 1976.

Letters

On WSL's Labour Party Loyalism

26 May 1977
London, England

Comrades:

The article in *WV* 157 [13 May 1977] on the recently concluded municipal elections in London requires one additional note on the craven Labour-loyalism of the Workers Socialist League (WSL). These workerist-centrists took a position well to the right of the Pabloite International Marxist Group (IMG) in the elections—calling for votes to Labour and chastising the IMG for daring to stand candidates against Labour at all. In fact, as was noted in the article, the IMG's explicitly reformist campaign was in no sense aimed at breaking workers from their allegiance to Labour—it was only intended to serve as a rallying point for Left Labourites, and as such it deserved no support from revolutionists.

Having recently capped two and a half years of wage freezes and social service cuts (the "Social Contract") by forming a coalition with the bourgeois Liberal Party (thus giving up any claim to represent the independent class interests of workers) the present Labour government has certainly disillusioned its mass base. That is why the recent local elections show a 15-20 percent swing to the Tories: Labour's working-class supporters are abstaining, while more middle-class voters are opting for Thatcher. This is, in fact, an *optimal* time to run a revolutionary socialist opposition to the Lib-Lab coalition.

In a polemic aimed at the IMG the WSL explained its attitude toward Labour in this period as follows:

> "...we therefore disagree with the standing of alternative candidates to Labour *at this stage* of the fight within the workers' movement.
>
> "We call on our readers and supporters to vote Labour in these elections, and to take up the fight within their union branches and Labour Parties for a breaking of the coalition with the Liberals, for the expulsion of the crypto-Tory right wing, and for a programme of alternative policies in opposition to those of the Callaghan-Steel government."
>
> *Socialist Press*, 30 March 1977

At this point it should be clear that the "left" MPs [Members of Parliament] of the Tribune group, who have consistently supported the Callaghan leadership on every important question (including the Social Contract and the coalition with the Liberals), have no intention of either breaking with their esteemed colleagues in Labour's right wing or of opposing the policies of the leadership.

The WSL's call on the thoroughly compromised "lefts" to wage a fight within the Labour Party is an attempt to provide a left cover for its own policy of continuing support to Labour. In its article commenting on Labour's poor showing in the local elections the WSL casts itself in the role of the left advisor to the Labour traitors and warns that "... unless the Labour Party's political course is changed, there will be no more than a handful of Labour MP's to pick up the pieces after the next General Election" (*Socialist Press*, May 11, 1977). Needless to say any "alternative policy" or "change of course" put forward by the "lefts" would only be designed to *contain* leftward motion and class-struggle militancy among Labour's rank and file.

In arguing that it would be wrong for revolutionaries to counterpose themselves to Labour "at this stage" (i.e., while the Labour Party is in open coalition with a capitalist party!), the WSL places itself in the camp of those ostensibly Trotskyist groupings in Britain (i.e., the Militant group, the Chartists, Blick-Jenkins, etc.) who make loyalty to the Labour Party their first principle in politics. The difference between the WSL and these other tendencies on the question of the Labour Party is not so much one of formal programme as of arena: the WSL's Labour-loyalism is essentially the "political" expression of its economist capitulation to the present level of consciousness of militant trade unionists, whereas groups such as the Militant exist only as currents within the Labour Party.

Fraternally,
Tom Riley

Protectionism and Inter-Imperialist Rivalry

26 May 1977

To the Editorial Board:

I found the article "Protectionist Drive Threatens Trade War" (*WV* No. 158, 20 May) to be a fine and timely presentation of the Marxist internationalist opposition to imperialist protectionism. However, two passages in the article may lend themselves to an economic rationalist interpretation that could distort the intent and political thrust of the article.

The first passage treats divisions in the U.S. bourgeoisie with regard to protectionism:

> "Protectionism has produced a certain division between industrial vested interests, supported by the unions, and the more responsible representatives of American imperialism."

I find "responsible" a rather unfortunate description for the representatives of American imperialism. This is particularly the case here, given that the "responsible representatives" referred to are "Nixon/Ford/Kissinger and Carter/Vance/Brzezinski."

The susceptibility of U.S. politicians to protectionist pressures is conditioned by the relative strength or weakness of U.S. imperialism, not by "responsibility" to some abstract imperialist rationalism. The "executive committee" of capital attempts to have a broader viewpoint than any particular sector of capital. Nonetheless, even the broader interests of capital may demand protectionist measures, as Nixon's "New Economic Policy" demonstrated. Especially the devaluation of the dollar had as one of its major motivations economic protectionism for the entire U.S. economy.

Further, the same paragraph in which this passage occurs states that maintaining the "U.S.-led alliance against the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state" restrains the U.S. from all-out trade war. While a restraint today, this alliance does not suppress the relentless drive of inter-imperialist conflict—as World War II demonstrated. The revisionist theory that inter-imperialist rivalries can be definitively suppressed was held by Kautsky in his notion of "super-imperialism," and later implied by the early Pabloite conception of a global division between "two camps."

Equally important in maintaining both a U.S.-dominated alliance and restraining inter-imperialist economic conflict is that, while the U.S. may no longer be (especially after Nixon's NEP) the hegemonic imperialist power economically, it still certainly is militarily. Even here, the other imperialist powers are jockeying to erode U.S. military hegemony; however, it has hardly suffered its August 15 [the Nixon devaluation] in this field.

The other passage which seems to me open to misinterpretation involves the economic relationship between advanced and backward countries:

> "Under a rational international division of labor, advanced countries would import much of their clothing and other textile products from backward countries."

The problem here is that a "rational division of labor" is equated with the present division of the world into backward countries, which serve as a reserve of cheap labor, and the industrially advanced countries. The article states: "Textiles and apparel are relatively labor-intensive industries using simple technologies." But textiles and apparel do not have to remain labor-intensive industries. As pointed out in a recent article in the business section of the *New York Times*, in West Europe and England especially, where labor costs are relatively high, textiles and apparel are being rapidly automated. The technology exists to turn textiles and apparel into capital-intensive industries; they remain labor-intensive only insofar as there exist neo-colonial countries economically subjugated by imperialism, which engenders a reserve of cheap labor. From the standpoint of socialism, this is neither "rational" nor desirable.

The only rational international division of labor, as is pointed out elsewhere in the article, especially in the epoch of capitalist decay, is global economic integration and planning based on world socialism. Of course, under world socialism there would still be an international division of labor based on the location of natural resources. But we reject as "rational" the division of labor based on the unequal distribution of technology, itself a product of colonial and imperialist subjugation. Truly "responsible" and "rational" economic planning based on world socialism will seek to overcome the technical underdevelopment of the backward countries and unchain the colonial masses from the slavery of labor-intensive industry.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

WV replies: Comrade Samuels' first point—that the phrase about "the responsible representatives of American imperialism" opposing increased protectionism could suggest the existence or possibility of a trans-national imperialist policy—is well-taken. All U.S. bourgeois politicians are fundamentally committed to maintaining the profitability of American industry. They cannot subordinate this nationally centered interest to some conception of the best policy for world capitalism in the abstract. The economic rivalries between the U.S., West Europe and Japan must eventually erode and split up the American-led military alliance against the Soviet Union.

Ford Facts

UAW pushes American protectionism.

Concerning the second point—on the international division of labor—the economic goal of socialism is, of course, the elimination of the division between advanced and backward countries. Technologies, cultural levels and consumption standards will be everywhere comparable. Global socialist economic planning will involve the massive transfer of advanced technology to backward countries. Comrade Samuels is also correct to point out that economic relations between advanced and backward workers states will not replicate colonial trade patterns.

However, the inherited division of labor will not disappear overnight. Whether industry is "labor-intensive" or "capital-intensive"—i.e., the level of what Marx called the technical organic composition of capital, or the ratio of the means of production to the living labor needed to set it in motion—is governed by technological and not simply by economic factors, such as wage levels. In all countries, industries like basic steel and petrochemicals have more capital equipment per worker than industries like apparel and machine tools. Backward workers states, which are initially poor in capital equipment relative to labor, will therefore be limited in establishing capital-intensive industries.

Finally, while the international division of labor in the transitional epoch will still be influenced by the uneven spread of technology and capital equipment inherited from capitalism, and by differing wage levels, this obviously does not mean that rational international planning is impossible until the advent of world socialism. At the initiation of proletarian rule on a global scale, it may well be rational for a certain period for Singapore to concentrate heavily on textiles and assembly of electronic equipment and for the U.S. to produce computers... and wheat.

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Main Enemy...

(continued from page 1)

administration to massively supply the South African-led offensive against the Russian/Cuban-backed MPLA in Angola. When Congress, mindful of intense popular opposition to another Vietnam, heavily defeated the administration bill in December 1975, Ford bitterly charged that this "abdication of responsibility" meant that the USSR could "operate with impunity," signifying the "gravest consequences" for U.S. interests. Kissinger gloomily repeated these warnings for months while shuttling from one crisis to another, but he could not stir up support for his cynical brand of anti-Soviet *Realpolitik*.

This was not accidental. The sapping of the strength and ability to act of the American war machine was not just a question of lost military and economic power, or limited to instances of opposition from Congress and the voters. For the first time since the United States became an imperial power, the fake innocence masking U.S. foreign policy aims was ripped off. Beneath it was revealed endless lying, spying, criminality and corruption at the highest levels of government and business.

Woodrow Wilson, after several years of spectacular war profiteering supplying both sides of the European conflict, at least pledged to "make the world safe for democracy" when he sent American soldiers to fight in World War I. Franklin Roosevelt had promised an international "New Deal" and to "quarantine the aggressor" in the imperialist war against the Axis. Kennedy felt obliged to come up with the "Alliance for Progress" to justify the invasion and blockade/embargo of Castro's Cuba.

But it was impossible to drum up enthusiasm for Thieu's venal generals, especially when the "American Way of Life" was visibly deteriorating from year to year and the NLF/DRV were pummeling Saigon troops on the battlefield. How could the American populace believe "their boys" were fighting for freedom when on their television sets they saw the My Lai massacre, B-52's napalming villages and rice paddies, the National Guard shooting down student war protesters at home? With LBJ deceiving Congress to get his Tonkin Gulf war powers resolution and Nixon lying through his teeth for more than a year to cover up Watergate, who knows what they were really doing in Washington.

Along comes Carter, the "outsider." While using the normal Democratic Party machine to bring out the vote, he appealed to a wider audience by capitalizing on the pervasive distrust of the government. Having been deliberately vague on foreign policy (as on all other major issues) during the campaign, in mid-May he went to Notre Dame university to spell out some of his new "principles." Foremost among them was laying to rest the ghost of Vietnam:

> "The Vietnamese war produced a profound moral crisis, sapping worldwide faith in our policy. The economic strains of the 1970's have weakened public confidence in the capacity of industrial democracy to provide sustained well-being for its citizens, a crisis of confidence made even more grave by the covert pessimism of some of our leaders."
>
> —*New York Times*, 23 May

Carter's answer is the by-now familiar litany of "America's commitment to human rights as a fundamental tenet of our foreign policy," from the Soviet Union to South Africa. Dazzled by the shift from the openly reactionary rhetoric of the Nixon/Ford administration, the reformist left has been sucked into the wake of Carter's fundamentally anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. In general, they seek to force the new administration to "live up to its words." Even Fidel Castro, whose Stalinist regime is a natural target for Carter's hypocritical moralizing, sought to entice the number one imperialist into lifting trade and diplomatic embargoes by calling him "an idealistic man."

But what is this state led by "moral" and "idealistic" men? It is the bastion of world reaction, the operational base for counterrevolutionary terrorists of six continents. This is the ruling class which fire-bombed Dresden, Hamburg and Tokyo (apologizing afterwards that they had no idea there would be fire storms). These are the mass murderers who dropped nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (to try them out, of course, and to "prevent further bloodshed"). They are the "innocents" who slaughtered two to three million people in Vietnam, and now renege on a promised several billion dollars in reconstruction aid agreed to at the Paris "peace" talks—because North Vietnam supposedly violated the treaty.

We repeat the warning we have sounded since the beginning of Carter's "human rights" ploy: behind the liberal rhetoric stands the threat of imperialist war, principally directed against the Soviet Union. We are no friends of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which murdered thousands of Left Oppositionists, including Trotsky himself, and suppressed soviet democracy for all dissidents, socialist or otherwise. But in the face of this imperialist propaganda blitz aimed at undermining the Soviet degenerated workers state, we insist that the incomparably greater danger is the restoration of capitalism through bloody counterrevolution.

The Soviet Dissidents

It should be recognized that Carter's heavy exploitation of the Soviet dissidents issue reflects a recent focus of attention for the imperialist bourgeoisies. The Trotskyists, of course, have always fought for the Bolshevik program of soviet democracy in the USSR and the other deformed workers states. But when it was communist oppositionists who were being sentenced to death in Stalin's monstrous frame-up trials during the late 1930's, civil libertarians like the ACLU's Roger Baldwin and petty-bourgeois "socialists" like the Webbs parroted the bureaucracy's slanders.

The imperialists have been consistent, however, in their fundamental goal of restoring capitalism to the USSR, and now East Europe as well. The bourgeoisie's interest was caught, for a time, by the Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas, who proclaimed that a "new class" had come to power in the Soviet bloc. But Djilas was a social-democratic breed of oppositionist, and moreover not inclined to becoming an active counterrevolutionist. What is distinctive about the more recent Russian dissidents, and what has caught Carter's eye, is their willingness to openly ally with the imperialists against the USSR. This is what has suddenly awakened the bourgeoisie's "concern" for "human rights" in the USSR.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has played an important role in this evolution. Initially appearing as a politically undefined dissident, his published writings became increasingly anti-communist (identifying Stalin's Gulag with the repression of White officers and plotters under Lenin) and reactionary to the point of apologizing for the tsar. Upon being exiled to the West, Solzhenitsyn unleashed a barrage of anti-Soviet diatribes which rivaled the "Black Hundreds" in their Russian nationalist reaction.

His "Letter to the Soviet Leaders," for instance, was described by Western Kremlinologists as "the most anti-Communist public statement made by a Russian since the Bolshevik Revolution." It attacked urban society (houses should not exceed "two stories, the perfect height for a human dwelling"), the social emancipation of women (they should be freed from "the crowbar and the shovel" so they could return to the family) and Marxism, described as a "dark, un-Russian whirlwind that descended on us from the West." He goes further, openly revealing himself as a virulent anti-democrat as well. Denouncing "rampant democracy" which made the United States "ungovernable," he railed at American courts for "acquit-[ting] undoubted enemies of their country simply to play along with the passions of the masses."

While his tsarist authoritarianism was mildly bothersome to liberals, hard-line cold warriors soon realized what an anti-Soviet bonanza had fallen into their laps and began touring Solzhenitsyn through the United States and Europe. To the American AFL-CIO he fulminated against détente, but not just the Brezhnevite version. He also denounced the West for "capitulation" at Yalta and even for the Allies' wartime alliance with the USSR. Sounding like General Curtis LeMay threatening to bomb North Vietnam "back to the Stone Age," he slammed the "flabbiness" of the Paris truce. In an interview over BBC television he spoke of the Helsinki accords as a new Munich: "What does the spirit of Helsinki and the spirit of détente mean for us within the Soviet Union? The strengthening of totalitarianism."

The imperialist media have been quite careful to focus their support for "Soviet dissidents" on overtly pro-imperialist elements, such as Sakharov, who has long advocated technological and economic boycott of the USSR by the West. One of Carter's first acts in office was to send a well-publicized "private" letter to this "freedom fighter." Treating the eminent physicist almost as an honorary U.S. citizen, a blustering State Department note warned against the consequences of "any attempt by the Soviet authorities to intimidate Mr. Sakharov...."

The imperialist media had been markedly less enthusiastic about other dissidents whose political views were unclear (such as the Ukrainian Vladimir Bukovsky) or avowedly Marxist (Leonid Plyushch). But Bukovsky's behavior after being released from a Soviet mental hospital and exiled—in a prisoner exchange involving the freeing of Chilean Communist Party leader Luis Corvalán by the Pinochet dictatorship—has been characteristic of the current batch of dissidents who have run screaming out of the USSR straight into the waiting arms of the imperialists. Bukovsky received a cordial White House reception with Carter and vice president Mondale, and in testimony before a Senate committee called on the U.S. to exert "firm, relentless and constant" pressure through economic blackmail (trade restrictions, such as the Jackson amendment).

For Soviet Democracy—Defend the Conquests of October!

The Soviet dissidents issue has been toned down somewhat in the Western press recently after dominating the front pages for the first two months of the Carter administration. However, it is the key point of contention at the Belgrade conference to monitor progress on the Helsinki accords, and it is certain that the Carter administration will continue to harp on the issue. This is because the "human rights" crusade is fundamentally an anti-Soviet ploy, a means of applying pressure against the U.S.' chief adversary on the world scene.

The only "democracy" the imperialists are interested in for the USSR is the freedom for capitalist exploitation—and therefore oppression of the working class.

As revolutionary Trotskyists, the Spartacist tendency has from its inception consistently fought for proletarian democracy in the bureaucratically deformed workers states. We have opposed the suppression of Solzhenitsyn's writings in the USSR as well as the expulsion, Siberian exile or jailing of other critics of the Stalinist regime, including many who are petty-bourgeois liberals and even open reactionaries. However, we do *not* defend those who engage in activities which militarily threaten the fundamental achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Four years ago, at the time of the secret political trial of Soviet dissidents Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin, we wrote:

> "*We resolutely condemn the new witchhunt in Moscow precisely in order to defend the conquests of the October Revolution.* It is necessary to draw a class line between revolutionary opposition to Stalinism and the bourgeois anti-communism of such "friends of the workers" as the *New York Times*. As Leninists we sharply oppose the peaceful coexistence fantasies of the Sakharovs and the mystical Russian nationalism of the Solzhenitsyns.... We must distinguish between liberal reformist currents which, like Dubček in Cze-

continued on page 8

AP

Der Spiegel

Left, Sakharov with letter from Carter. Right, vice president Mondale with Bukovsky at the White House in early March.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

Lifestylers Attack Trotskyism at RFU Conference

LOS ANGELES, June 13 – The "Stonewall '77 Conference" – called by the Red Flag Union (RFU, formerly Lavender and Red Union) around the question, "What is the importance of gay liberation in the revolutionary struggle?" – became an event of far broader political scope. The meeting was kicked off by the reading of a statement by the RFU's Majority Tendency announcing its intention to pursue fusion discussions with the Spartacist League (SL).

The conference took place in the wake of the recent defeat of an anti-discrimination ordinance in Dade County, Florida – an attack on homosexuals' democratic rights which will be a real shot in the arm for Bible-thumping ultra-rightist bigot Anita Bryant's nationwide reactionary crusade. The conference drew about 85 people, including representatives of the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), New American Movement (NAM), Socialist Union (SU) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP). These fake-socialists turned out in force as spoilers, hoping to impede the RFU majority's deepening convergence with the SL.

Despite substantial political differences among the diverse opportunist formations, they readily coagulated as an anti-Spartacist rotten bloc and applauded each other's speakers with gusto. This centrist/reformist hodge-podge substituted for substantive political intervention the disgusting slander that the SL is "anti-gay" in theory and organizational practice. These jackals were also bidding for the allegiance of any among the RFU ranks who prove unable to complete the leap from the "gay left" to Trotskyism.

For the RFU, which *WV* recently characterized as being at a crossroads (see "Red Flag Union at the Moment of Decision," *WV* No. 160, 3 June 1977), the conference represented a further break from New Left "lifestyle radicalism" in the direction of Bolshevism, as its members were forced to confront central political questions outside of a study-circle context. Although the RFU several months ago solidarized with the Trotskyist analysis of the class nature of the USSR, it had continued to feel pulled between the politics of the SL and those of the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the "United Secretariat" (USec), supported in the U.S. by the Marxist Education Collective (MEC), the Seattle-based FSP and the SU of Milt Zaslow.

The RFU's attraction toward the centrist IMT reflected a lingering impulse toward a variant of New Left polyvanguardism, which dissolves the need for a proletarian vanguard party into "autonomous" struggles of different strata of the oppressed, each stratum organized around a parochial program. At present, following the SL's exposure of the MEC's opportunist impressionism at a recent MEC-sponsored RFU forum in New York, it would appear that the state-capitalist RSL has replaced the Pabloist IMT as the likely resting place of those who resist the RFU's evolution toward authentic Trotskyism.

Internal Polarization

The RFU's leftward political motion began more than two years ago, when the Lavender and Red Union emerged out of the New Left/Maoist milieu as a "gay liberation/communist" organization. Recoiling from Stalinist bigotry against homosexuals, the RFU developed toward Trotskyism through its study of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution, and later of the class nature of the deformed workers states as well as of the Bolshevik position on the need for a party of professional revolutionaries. Inevitably, the process of political struggle and clarification was accompanied by internal differentiation and recently by a sharp organizational polarization into the Majority Tendency and the small Revolutionary Faction, which is orbiting around the centrist RSL. At the democratically conducted conference, both factions, as well as the other participants, had full opportunity to present their positions.

The two questions which dominated the conference were the vanguard party and the Russian question. The minority faction charged the RFU leadership with "hustling the gay question off the agenda at breakneck speed to oil the wheels of the SL-fusion steamroller." Though it claims to agree with the RFU's established position that the question of gay oppression is not primary in outlining a revolutionary perspective, the minority claimed the refusal to center the conference – the major RFU public political event thus far – on the gay question showed the RFU was abandoning concern for the rights of homosexuals.

WV Photo

Red Flag Union conference in Los Angeles in early June.

SL spokesman Martha Phillips refuted the scurrilous charge that the SL is "anti-gay":

> "Yes, the SL says quite clearly that the question of discrimination against homosexuals, the question of 'gay liberation,' is not a strategic question. It is a secondary question. In terms of the great forces, the great programmatic issues that it is going to take in terms of using the transitional program to mobilize the masses of workers in the crucible of struggle to bring down capitalism.... But when we say this, this does not mean that we are saying that oppression is trivial. Oppression is deforming ... It is precisely in order to build a party that can wipe out that kind of oppression that we in the SL are sitting in this room today, because we genuinely want to become the tribune of the people that rallies all sectors of the oppressed to the banner of communism."

Anti-Spartacist Bloc

The opportunist organizations at the conference were dismayed to discover that the RFU, which they had come prepared to tail, was far to the left of them. Consequently, instead of simply proclaiming their solidarity with oppressed homosexuals and expounding reformist/utopian "solutions," they were forced to discuss Leninism.

Wayne Heber of the SWP initially appeared to be under the impression he was attending a meeting of one of the SWP's minimum-program front groups. He reacted with baffled incredulity to the political debate and could only repeat numbly that it was important that everyone turn out for an upcoming "gay rights" demonstration. Professing ignorance of his own party's history, he was unable to defend its documented past policy (rejected when homosexual radicalism became popular, but never publicly acknowledged nor repudiated) of excluding homosexuals from SWP membership.

The SWP's ardent support of fascists' "democratic rights" and its supplications to the bourgeois state to send in federal troops to "defend" oppressed racial minorities have, in fact, helped to politically disarm the working people in the face of the current right-wing offensive against democratic rights, of which the stepped-up anti-homosexual campaign is only a part.

The FSP, a "socialist/feminist" sect in Seattle, tried to claim the SL would oppress homosexual members. This nonsense is of a piece with the FSP's espousal of "socialist feminism," which "elevates the woman question to equal and interlocking status with the class question" and consequently views Leninist insistence on the primacy of the class line as a capitulation to social backwardness and male chauvinism. The FSP's politics – centering on the New Left line that the most oppressed are of necessity the most revolutionary – are compatible with those of the IMT/USec, and the FSP is currently discussing with other local groupings which identify with this impressionist-centrist current.

But the FSP tried to scare RFUers with the spectre of the SL's allegedly oppressive guideline that public avowal of personal homosexuality by communist militants would in most circumstances be detrimental to their political work. The FSP's hypocrisy in portraying the SL as apologists for anti-homosexual prejudice is belied by its own flag-waving for Chinese and Cuban Stalinism, whose "program" for homosexuals is prison.

But the FSP is not incorrect in seizing on what it called the SL "closet rule" as a potential stumbling block for former "gay liberation" activists. The RFU has grasped the fact that capitalist oppression of homosexuals does not make homosexuality a political act. Lifestylism is precisely the attempt to generate a program out of private sexuality. To integrate themselves into the work of the SL, the RFU comrades – like all disciplined Bolsheviks – would have to subordinate aspects of their public conduct to the organization's objective needs.

The struggle for the democratic rights of homosexuals has always been part of the SL program. We oppose all forms of discrimination and victimization; we oppose all state interference into consensual sexual conduct and all criminalization of "deviance." We are unshakably determined to protect our members' right to conduct their private sexual lives as they see fit. But in public, all our members must seek to be known by their politics, not by their "life-style." Members of a tiny communist nucleus confronted by the power of the bourgeois state must seek to avoid facilitating their own isolation and possible repression by unnecessarily affronting bourgeois social norms in non-political or secondary matters.

The SL concretized its counterposition to petty-bourgeois "life-style radicalism" in discussing a proposal currently before the California state legislature which would require teachers to take an oath that they are not homosexuals in order to qualify for teaching positions. The SL opposes this despicable measure and would fight the victimization of teachers who refuse to submit to this violation of their privacy, or who publicly avow homosexuality.

Communists are, of course, opposed to the bourgeois morality which labels homosexuality a sin or sickness. But the oppression of homosexuals is not merely, or even primarily, the result of narrowmindedness. Homosexuals are repressed by capitalist law and the widespread bigotry on this issue is fundamentally conditioned by the institution of the family. The program of the lifestyle radicals, who advocate "coming out" as a political principle, will not eradicate these class-rooted institutions and can be positively foolhardy in a repressive climate. For a communist who is a homosexual, his fundamental aim must be to fight effectively for the Marxist program. This means taking precautions to protect against victimization and also making personal adjustments to remove secondary obstacles which could stand in the way of comprehension of the program. We do not favor self-isolation or self-exclusion from the workers movement. As one SL supporter explained:

> "We tell the truth to the masses of workers in this country and to the masses of oppressed. We don't say 'Come out'... In a country where they can't even pass the ERA, we don't advise people to just come out into the streets.... There are no personal solutions under capitalism. That's the key thing."

At an SL-sponsored workshop on "Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions," supporters of the SL outlined a strategy for political struggle within the unions to

replace the present reactionary bureaucracy with a revolutionary leadership. A guest speaker from the longshore industry (ILWU) discussed the importance of a caucus based on a full class-struggle program, pointing to the active role that organized ILWU oppositionists have played in initiating labor boycotts of military goods bound for Chile and South Africa and in supporting an ILWU strike against a government raid on undocumented workers. A veteran militant in the telephone company (CWA) counterposed the fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to the divisive union-busting government-backed "affirmative action" plans. The RFU majority, which had not previously taken a position on this question, met afterward and solidarized with this stance, which is also supported by the SL.

During a panel discussion, Chris Hudson, a leading spokesman for the Shachtmanite RSL, also accused the RFU majority of "capitulating" on "gay liberation. Later there ensued a hilarious exposure of the RSL's capitulation to whatever milieu it happens to be in. Although only two weeks before at the New York MEC-sponsored forum, Hudson had asserted that homosexuals are not a strategic social force for class struggle, at this conference he asserted that they are. When confronted by an RFUer who had been present at the New York meeting, Hudson denied making the former statement, whereupon the RFUer played a tape of the meeting! Trapped, Hudson said he would refuse to recognize the distinction between a strategic and a non-strategic sector.

Forward to the Leninist Party!

At an RFU forum held Sunday evening after the conference had formally concluded, two members of the RFU majority presented the RFU majority position on the class nature of the degenerated and deformed workers states. The RFU's embracing of the unique analysis of the Spartacist League had been a watershed of its evolution toward authentic Trotskyism.

After noting the origins of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, isolated in a backward and impoverished country following the defeat of the revolutionary upsurge in Europe, the speaker emphasized that the Russian question is important not only historically, but is central to the development of revolutionary strategy today:

> "It is certainly true that the methodological approach of the checklist, or basing one's views simply on empirical evidence, can be very faulty; but nevertheless, if you want to tell if someone is alive or dead, you check their pulse. You check their heartbeat. You see if they are breathing. Not just some, but most of the vital signs of capitalism do not remain in the degenerated and deformed workers states."

The RFU minority now espouses the RSL line that the USSR and all other Stalinist regimes are state-capitalist. This position, which denies the proletariat's stake in defending these states against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution, is at bottom a capitulation to anti-communism.

The RFU minority echoes the RSL that the SL is "Pabloist" for defending these states, and "throws out the role of the proletariat" by recognizing that states such as China, Cuba, Vietnam, the East European countries—which did not come into existence through proletarian revolutions—nonetheless rest on proletarian property forms. It is the deepening of commitment of the overwhelming majority of the RFU to the prospect of fusion with the SL which impelled this group to launch an opposition in the name of "anti-Pabloism." No such "anti-Pabloist" scruples obtained when the RFU majority was less certain of its pro-SL course and was also considering investigating fusion with the IMT/USec—though the latter is the contemporary organizational embodiment of the Pablo current and is defined politically by unashamed tailending of "Third World" Stalinism. The RSL and IMT/USec represent revision of Marxism which at their origins are formally diametrically counterposed to each other, the former abandoning defense of the deformed workers states while the latter drop the call for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies.

The political process evidenced at the conference demonstrated a further consolidation of the RFU majority in its motion toward the program of authentic Trotskyism. An SL spokesman had pointed out that the RFU, despite its impressive political motion, entered the conference still viewing political questions "through the prism of gay liberation." The political struggles between reformism/centrism and Bolshevism assisted the wrenching process of breaking from New Left-derived radicalism to the communist movement. In the words of one RFU leader:

> "If we fuse with the SL, we will not enter as gay liberationists.... I am a communist who happens to be a homosexual. I have one and only one political identity as a fighter for the proletarian revolution. If this fusion is carried out, it will bring the most advanced detachments of the gay liberation movement under the leadership of the nucleus of the party. It will serve as a concrete example of the way that communists enter into movements, seeking to win their most advanced layers to the program of revolutionary Trotsyism."

As the representatives of the fake-left groups fled from the conference hall following the last session on Saturday night, the comrades of the SL and RFU majority broke into the singing of the "Internationale."■

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Cop Agent Exposed in Australia

—Reprinted from AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST SUPPLEMENT, 15 June 1977

These people are ASIO agents: Janet Langridge, Mark Tiernan

Janet Langridge, 21, is a first-year student at Sydney University. Janet Langridge had been, until Friday, 10 June, a member of the campus Spartacist Club and a candidate member of the Spartacist League (SL) for a little over two months. That night Langridge voluntarily confessed to having been a paid agent of ASIO [Australian Security Intelligence Organization] for almost a year, a confession further detailed the next day in a taped interview with a

Australasian Spartacist

Janet Langridge, self-confessed cop agent.

Spartacist spokesman and Tom Kelly, solicitor. She was immediately expelled by the Spartacist League.

Langridge initiated her spying activities last September when she was directed by ASIO to infiltrate the Young Socialist League (YSL), youth group of the Socialist Party (SPA). Until she encountered the SL and shifted her activity over to us two months later, Langridge submitted written reports on members and activities of the SPA/YSL in return for $50 per month. Langridge was given a special direct line phone number, 92-7920, to get in touch with her ASIO "contact," Terry Poulos. Poulos' home phone number is 625-5660.

After being accepted to go to university in January, faced with the prospect of extending her activities with the SL, Langridge began to express doubts to ASIO about continuing her involvement with either ASIO or the SL. Having never infiltrated the SL, which they told her was "an extremely hard target," ASIO considered Langridge's work important. She was offered a 12-month contract "to work my way into their confidence, become a member, do everything that was expected of me, go to the local meetings, make thorough reports of the people, how many were there, the positions they held" (Langridge, from the interview). ASIO was particularly interested in the method of election to and the composition of the SL's leading bodies, and our international ties.

In return for filing written reports on such information as frequently as once a week, Langridge would receive $600 per month tax free. Most of the money would be banked in Langridge's account at St. George's Building Society in Crows Nest and ASIO would keep the pass book to make sure Langridge didn't look like she was living beyond her means and draw suspicion. She accepted. In her own words, Langridge's reasons for working for ASIO were because "it was exciting... I wanted to go to university and to have plenty of money."

Langridge's accomplice in her cop activities was her boyfriend, Mark Tiernan, an apprentice electrical fitter at Delairco, 90 Sussex Street, Sydney. Tiernan attends courses one day a week at North Sydney Technical College. It was Tiernan who first "dared" Langridge to apply to ASIO. When Langridge notified Tiernan that she was about to turn herself in to the SL, he warned ASIO, thereby preventing the possibility of further exposure. According to Langridge, Tiernan was also in the pay of ASIO this year, at the rate of $75 per month, to aid Langridge's work.

Langridge revealed her spy role to the SL, she claims, because she came to "respect them and ...what they stand for and I don't respect myself for what I've been doing." This may well be true. The truth of the class struggle and the honesty, dedication and commitment of those fighting for the cause of proletarian revolution have often proved more attractive than the bourgeoisie's blood money. It is not surprising that ASIO's "major fear" was that Langridge might follow in the steps of ex-ASIO agent Lisa Walter, who exposed her ASIO connections after infiltrating the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Adelaide.

But unlike the social-democratic SWP, who "recruited" self-confessed former police agent Walter to their organisation, we have no place for Langridge in ours. The most vile and murderous state agency of the bourgeoisie stands behind small-fry like Walter, Langridge, and Tiernan. Their confessions and self-portrayal as victims must not obscure the left and labour movement to the danger they pose. For a fistful of dollars and a few kicks they were prepared to hand working-class militants over to the ruling class's apparatus of repression. They cannot be trusted. No radical student should want to sit in the same classroom with these police pimps. Tiernan's co-workers should want to rid their workplace of the putrid stench of this still-loyal ASIO accomplice. The Electrical Trades Union should keep him out of its ranks. He is a conscious enemy of the workers movement.

There is no failsafe defence against police infiltration in the workers movement. The best defence is to maintain a high level of political debate unmarred by slander and violence. Gangsterism and cop-baiting—for which the Maoists and the Healyite Socialist Labour League are particularly notorious—by creating an atmosphere of apolitical

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JUST OUT!

English Spartacist

Spring 1977 Issue includes:

- Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency
- Letter to the Spanish Liga Comunista
- Spartacusbund Expels Left Opposition—Trotskyist Faction Fuses with TLD
- The Fight in the United Secretariat: Reformist Appetite vs. Guerrillaist Centrism

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Striker Murdered by Pro-Company Thugs

Ligue Trotskyste Calls for Workers Militias

Rouge

Massive demonstration June 6 in Reims protesting murder of strike picket.

Two weeks ago a group of pro-company goons attacked a union picket line outside a glass works in the industrial city of Reims, to the northeast of Paris, killing one worker (Pierre Maître) and wounding two. The wanton slaying shocked French public opinion and led to protest marches in both Reims and the capital.

The attack was directed against a militant strike which had begun a few days previously. On June 1 the police had also attacked the picket line in an effort to disband it. However, the workers, affiliated with the Communist Party-led Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) labor federation, repulsed the attack, hospitalizing one cop. After that the police were content to watch from a distance.

The shooting took place following an attempt by the thugs to rip down a CGT strike banner. They, too, were beaten off, managing to escape in their car only by using a tear gas spray can. Fifteen minutes later they returned to open fire with an automatic rifle. The alleged leader of the attack (who has a long record of gangster assaults against the CGT) and his confederates are members of the Confédération Française du Travail (CFT).

While issuing vehement press releases denouncing the cold-blooded murder, the CGT bureaucrats' "answer" to this atrocity was to call a five minute *"general strike" to honor the slain unionist ...and to call of the strike off without obtaining its central demands! However, the workers of Maître's department heatedly refused to return to work before their comrade had even been buried, whereupon the rest of the factory also voted to stay out.*

The recent dramatic increase in strikes in France—in particular factory occupations and militant picket lines—has led to a number of confrontations with cops and goons and is rapidly making workers self-defense into a burning immediate question. The response of the Stalinist CGT and social-democratic CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail) tops, however, has been to beg the bourgeois state to dissolve the CFT. (This outfit, ostensibly a trade union, is actually a gang of enforcers for virulently anti-union employers. In addition, there is a significant overlap between CFT thugs and members of the SAC, a paramilitary private army of militant right-wing Gaullism.)

Not only is it illusory and downright dangerous to call on the bosses' state to ban fascists and company thugs (police "unionized" in the CFDT are calling for the outlawing of all "parallel police," which could easily include union militias), but the reformists have failed to challenge the CFT power base. The CGT is the dominant union at the state-owned Renault auto company, but the CFT (in close cooperation with management) maintains a reign of terror at Citroën and Simca and is threatening at Peugeot as well. Union militants must demand an organizing campaign to drive the CFT thugs out of French industry!

On Wednesday, June 8, a demonstration in Paris called by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), the Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs, the Parti Socialiste Unifié and the recently formed Comités Communistes pour l'Autogestion drew approximately 10,000 protesters. We reprint below the leaflet put out for this march by the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency.

On June 5, a gang of thugs from the Confédération Française du Travail (CFT)—an organization supported and financed by the most reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie for the purpose of destroying the organized workers movement—shot up a picket line in Reims, killing one CGT worker and wounding two others. This attack took place in the context of increased repression by the bourgeois state against working-class resistance to the Barre plan [government austerity measures]. In the last several months, dozens of occupied factories, picket lines and demonstrations have been savagely attacked by the official or semi-official armed gangs of the bourgeoisie (assaults on garbagemen in Paris, against the march by permanent substitute teachers, against the General Motors strike; attacks against hiring halls and union offices in Orléans, Grenoble, etc.).

The Ligue Trotskyste de France honors its class comrade who was cut down by the bullets of the bourgeoisie's goons.

When picket lines and occupied factories are systematically attacked, we must fight for a militant defense of picket lines the physical expression of the class line—and for the formation of workers self-defense squads. As was already stated by Trotsky in the *Transitional Program*:

> "Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands. The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office, but in the factory and ends in the street. Scabs and private gunmen in the factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. *Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating *workers' groups for self-defense*... It is necessary to give organized expression to the valid hatred of the workers toward scabs and bands of gangsters and fascists. It is necessary to advance the slogan of a *workers' militia* as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organizations, meetings and press."

But instead of organizing the masses of workers to crush even the embryos of fascist gangs, company militias and organizations like the CFT, the reformists, in the name of their class-collaborationist coalition [the Union of the Left], systematically break strikes. The PCF [Communist Party] and PS [Socialist Party] weaken, divide and disarm the workers, delivering them up to bourgeois repression. As if that were not enough, the CGT and CFDT insult the working class by calling a so-called "general strike" of five minutes!

Cops Out of the Unions!

The Union of the Left makes legalist appeals to the bourgeois state to dissolve the fascist gangs. But at the same time, it is the CFT's good friends in the state apparatus, such as Chinaud, who are asked to "democratize" the armed fist of the bourgeois state, the police. Thus the Stalinist and social-democratic betrayers and the union hacks subservient to the Union of the Left welcomed the "democratic police" into the workers demonstration [against government austerity policies] on May 24 with open arms. By its actions, the popular front announces in advance that it will not touch the army, police or fascists.

We already have a good idea of what will be the policy of the Union of the Left in power. On 16 March 1937 in Clichy, the Popular Front government's minister of the interior ordered [the police] to open fire on workers demonstrating against a fascist meeting. Several workers were killed so as not to break the contract signed with the bourgeoisie: to preserve at any cost private property and the bourgeois state, and therefore its watchdogs—the police, the army, the fascist gangs. And in Chile, [Allende's] popular front systematically deprived the working class of the necessary arms, leaving it defenseless against the reactionary junta's coup d'état.

The Pseudo-Trotskyists: Loyal Opposition to the Union of the Left

The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, taking up the reformists' slogan, asks the bourgeois state to dissolve fascist organizations and other capitalist hands. The LCR thereby reinforces the workers' illusions concerning the nature of the bourgeois state and implicitly demands application of a law which was already used against its predecessor, the Ligue Communiste, and other working-class organizations in June 1968 and June 1973. This is a suicidal policy! The same logic leads the LCR to congratulate itself on the unionization of cops and judges—that is, on introducing the bourgeois state into workers organizations.

In the name of its united-front strategy and of a supposed dynamic of the mass movement which can only be expressed within the framework of the traditional organizations of the working class, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste lines up behind the gestures of Maire [head of the CFDT] and Seguy [head of the CGT]. For Lutte Ouvrière as well, appeals for self-defense belong in the pages of "theoretical" journals.

The workers movement must cleanse its ranks of direct agents of the class enemy: cops, judges and prison guards are not workers. As a defense against the bosses' thugs, appeals to bourgeois "justice" are worse than useless; such appeals sow illusions among the working class. The only effective way for the working masses to defend themselves against attacks like that at Reims is to organize self-defense squads, from the picket line to workers militias. To crush the Barre plan, to protect its struggles and organizations, the working class must exert its independence and demand that its treacherous leaders break with their bourgeois allies and the Common Program [of the Union of the Left]. Only by carrying out such a struggle can the proletariat, under a Trotskyist leadership, crush the CFT, the fascists and the company goon squads on the road to overthrowing the bourgeois state.

For effective self-defense of picket lines, for workers militias!

Cops, judges and prison guards out of the unions!

PCF, PS, unions, break with the popular front!

No calls on the bourgeois state to dissolve fascist and company gangs!

For a workers government based on soviets!

For the rebirth of the Fourth International!

Ligue Trotskyste de France
Paris, 8 June 1977

For Workers Defense Against Rightist Thugs in France!

Goon hired by Peugeot during April 1973 strike at Saint-Etienne auto plant.

Editions Sociales

The death earlier this month of French union militant Pierre Maître (see article in this issue) highlights the growing threat to the French trade-union movement posed by the bosses' thugs, company unions and openly fascist shock troops. In the struggle for industrial unionism in the United States similar forces were mobilized—at one point security guard outfits such as the Wackenhuts and the Pinkertons had become professional private strike-breaking police for some of the major employers. For decades, J. P. Morgan's Iron and Coal Police exercised a reign of terror to keep unions out of western Pennsylvania. But while this phenomenon still exists in some minor U.S. industries, its importance has considerably lessened since the 1930's.

In contrast, today in France not only are the company thugs a major factor preventing the unionization of key industries, but they are tied to openly right-wing terrorist groups such as the Gaullist militia, the Service d'Action Civique (SAC), veterans of the OAS (the secret army organization of supporters of General Salan who revolted over De Gaulle's settlement with the Algerian nationalists), and fascist groups such as the former Ordre Nouveau.

An idea of the scope of these tolerated political/criminal gangs was given in a 29 May *New York Times* article about the paramilitary SAC, which it describes as "an extremist private militia ready for armed intervention on the political scene." SAC sources boasted of the ability to mobilize thousands on short notice and told the *Times* they had "an autonomous communications network that could function even under conditions of a general strike, a training camp near Nice and enough weapons to arm 50,000 people."

The combined forces of such "parallel police" and the thugs of the national company "union" federation, the CFT (Confédération Française du Travail) pose a real barrier to the unionization of key industries. In auto, for example, Citroën, Simca and Berliet (truck manufacturer) are all controlled by the CFT, while at Peugeot it is on the offensive and getting massive aid from the employers. This leaves only the state-owned Renault company as (for now) a stronghold of the Stalinist-dominated Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT). As part of the campaign to drive legitimate labor organizations from the plants the CFT has killed trade-union militants on a number of occasions and has prevented the distribution of left propaganda.

What is the CFT?

A look at the past several years shows that the situation is not just a question of the military balance of forces, *but that the CGT with its reliance on the state to "ban" the company unions and the bosses' militias has aided the reactionary offensive.* To make matters worse, pseudo-Trotskyist groups and the "far left" in general have opted for only a more militant version of this policy, combining calls for "dissolution" of the rightist bands with adventurist street battles pitting several dozens or hundreds of leftists against well-armed fascists recruited from degenerate elements of the bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie.

AFP

CFT thug Claude Lecomte (cross) watching rally outside Reims Citroën plant during 1973 strike. Lecomte led CFT gang which recently killed picket at Reims factory.

Informations Ouvrieres

200,000 demonstrators protested murder of Renault worker killed by company-hired thugs in 1972.

A recent book *Les truands du patronat* ("Management Thugs"), written by the French Stalinist Marcel Caille illustrates the intrieate connections between the CFT, the state and the paramilitary right. The bulk of Caille's documentation was furnished by one Marcel Michaut, a former CFT leader at Berliet truck who has since gone over to the CGT. Michaut's information corroborates a great number of eye-witness reports, articles and brochures which have appeared in recent years.

While declaring itself "apolitical," the militantly anti-communist CFT actually is a direct instrument of the most virulently anti-union sectors of the bourgeoisie for the purpose of destroying the workers movement. While functioning to mobilize armies of scabs when strikes occur, on a day-to-day level CFT work in the shops consists of setting up complex networks of spies to inform on the workers and intimidate them, employing physical terror against union militants to neutralize them, drive them into quitting or get them fired. Breaking picket lines and storming occupied factories is another CFT specialty, the most famous example being its April 1973 attack on the occupied Peugeot factory in Saint-Etienne. The commando was composed of CFT members from Peugeot and Berliet factories throughout France, as well as ex-parachutists and foreign legionnaires recruited for the occasion.

In every case the CFT has been brought into the plant at management's request. Once implanted, CFT organizers set up an elaborate labor spy operation to root out the militant workers, a process in which access to "secret" police dossiers is readily available. The CFT budget is generously subsidized by the bosses. After a few years, with the militants identified and driven out, a new layer of workers, all carefully checked out, are brought in. Thereupon, new elections are rigged and the CFT is duly recognized by the courts as the legitimate bargaining unit.

A November 1973 article in the right-wing journal *Les Informations* described this process by publishing the account of a director of a large enterprise telling how one Louis G...., a retired naval captain, offered his services to bust the union in a factory where the CGT was solidly implanted:

> "The plan was very simple: you implanted trustworthy men in the factory—he already had a list made out—most of whom were veterans. Instructed in advance, these men were to spread the good word on the shop floor. For management's part, all we had to do was systematically act upon the demands of the CFT and ignore those of the others. Success was guaranteed with examples to back it up."

The link-up with the state apparatus is also made explicit from Miehaut's recollection of the free hand he was given to consult police dossiers on union militants not only on the precinct level, but in the central Paris files as well:

> "All I had to do was make a phone call to the central intelligence service of the prefecture of M. Richard, and within five minutes I had information on these people and knew all about them ...whether they had files on them, whether they had been brought into court, whether they were short on cash, etc...."

Michaut adds that the personnel of the CFT and SAC, as well as the Comités de Défense de la République created in June 1968, have been intimately linked with central intelligence ever since the Gaullists took that particular police service in hand after 1958.

CFT recruitment, according to Caille, comes from various sources: through veterans associations, undercover agents, former OAS commandos, and so on. Another means of recruitment is through the black-mailing of immigrant workers who are numerous in the auto industry. Immigrant workers are frequently told to take out a CFT union card in order to be hired into the auto plants. If they refuse to do so, they run the risk of being sent directly back to

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Main Enemy...

(continued from page 3)

choslovakia in 1968, seek to reform the bureaucracy; outright capitalist-restorationist elements (particularly some of the nationalists); and tendencies and individuals seeking to return to the path of Bolshevism

"As Trotskyists, we begin from our fundamental program of unconditional defense of the USSR, a degenerated workers state, against imperialism, and call for political revolution to remove the bureaucracy which is the principal threat to the achievements of the October Revolution. Only a return to norms of proletarian democracy, not only freedom to express dissenting political views but also the establishment of full power in the hands of the soviets (workers councils), and the building of a Bolshevik-Leninist party can lead forward to socialism instead of backward in the tail of the bureaucracy toward accommodation with imperialism."

> "Soviet Dissidents: Between Leninism and Liberalism," *WV* No. 29, 28 September 1973

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, has a sharply counterposed position on Soviet dissidents, based on their classless concept of "democracy." An editorial in the March 1977 *International Socialist Review* tails simultaneously after Carter's "human rights" platitudes and pro-imperialist dissidents, constantly referring to abstract "democracy":

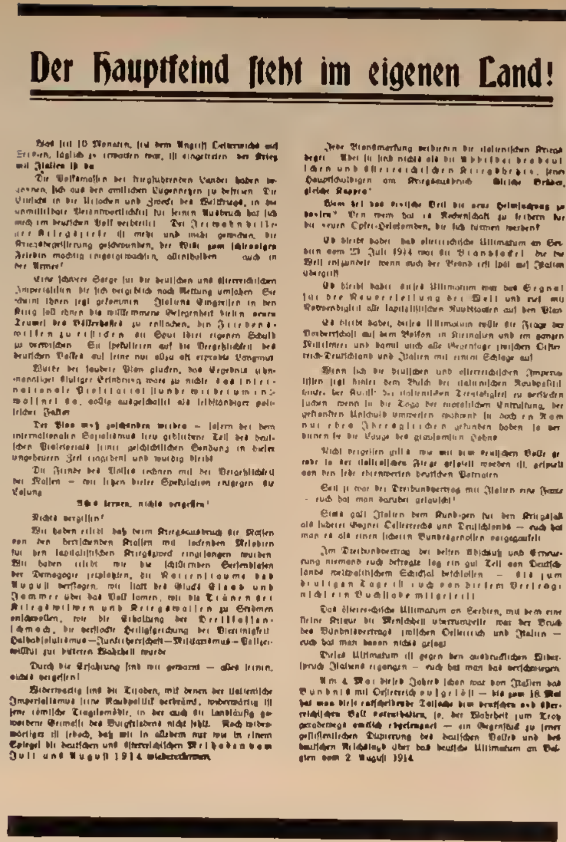
> "Before Stalin, the socialist movement was universally recognized as fighting for human rights. Far from being counterrevolutionary, the demands for democratic rights made by Andrei Sakharov and others express the historic interests and aspirations of the Soviet working people."

In the same article, the SWP approves of appeals by Sakharov and others for enforcement of the Helsinki accords, an open call for the imperialists to put economic/diplomatic/military pressure on the USSR.

For the SWP, defense of the Soviet Union has become an abstraction, while it pursues the contrary policy concretely. In countless articles on East bloc dissidents in the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press* there has been no mention of military defense. The most explicit statement of this evolving policy has come in a recent exchange in the *Militant* (24 June) between SWP leader Joseph Hansen and Morris Starsky on "Washington, Moscow and the Arms Race." Starsky makes the unexceptionable assertion that the USSR has the need and right to arm itself fully against the United States' long-range goal of restoration of capitalism in Russia. To this Hansen replies:

> "The world Trotskyist movement has never wavered in its defense of the Soviet Union (and the other workers states) against imperialist attack....
> "The defense of the workers states occurs on two levels, *political* and *military*. Of these the political is the more important by far....
>
> "Yet in a madness that has no equal in human history the nuclear arms race continues. '*Military defense' has obviously become meaningless* in terms of saving a country from the most terrible catastrophe imaginable—its extinction....
> "If we now place within this political context the Kremlin's policy of haggling with Carter over relatively insignificant details in the nuclear arms race, it is clear that Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament, an issue of great importance in exposing Carter's imperialist objectives." [our emphasis]

Hansen must be thanked for presenting a clear exposition of the SWP policy of anti-Trotskyist revisionism on the most fundamental issues. For the first time in months military defense of the USSR is mentioned ... but in the context of past attacks only. Then we are told in so many words that "'military defense' [in quotation marks, no less] has obviously become meaningless..."! Hansen distinguishes between military and political defense, terming the latter "more important by far"; and then he explains that in the context of the nuclear arms race, a "political" defense is to disarm militarily!!



Der Hauptfeind steht im eigenen Land!

Dietz Verlag

Left, 1915 "Internationale" group statement written by Liebknecht bears headline "The Main Enemy is at Home." Right: Karl Liebknecht.

Aside from the proposals for a limit of "Armageddon One" ("a stockpile large enough to obliterate humanity *once*"), the article calls for reducing nuclear capabilities to "one-fourth, one-eighth, and so on," and places the main blame for the failure of the arms limitation talks on Brezhnev. Nowhere in this article (or a previous one on the collapse of the Moscow SALT negotiations) does Hansen mention the elementary fact—recognized even by the liberal press—that the American proposals would have given tremendous superiority to the U.S. (see "'Human Rights Crusade Fuels U.S. War Machine," *WV* No. 154, 22 April 1977). This incredible article contradicts everything that Lenin and Trotsky ever wrote against the chimera of disarmament. Who would police it—the UN? Or does Hansen consider that U.S. observers, spy planes and spy satellites are part of a "political" defense of the Soviet Union?

We condemn the government of the Soviet Union for making its military strength a matter of negotiation with the imperialists.

"Majority Rule" in Southern Africa

Carter objects to his policy being labeled "cold war" and "one-sidedly" anti-Soviet. Consequently, in the last three months he has added a second leg to his "moral" foreign policy by coming out with great fanfare for "majority rule" in southern Africa. In his Notre Dame speech he proclaimed:

> "What draws us [the American people] together, perhaps more than anything else, is a belief in human freedom. We want the world to know that our nation stands for more than financial prosperity....
> "Finally, let me say that we are committed to a peaceful resolution of the crisis in southern Africa. The time has come for the principle of majority rule to be the basis for political order, recognizing that in a democratic system the rights of the minority must also be protected."

Having gauged the significance of the Angolan setback—not even a bloody nose in terms of U.S. global interests, but ominous for the lack of public support—Carter is laying the basis for possible future intervention if necessary to block Russian diplomatic moves and defuse guerrilla struggles: "The United States is determined to work together with our European allies and the concerned African states to shape a congenial international framework for the rapid and progressive transformation of southern African society and to help protect it from unwarranted outside interference."

The clear duty of revolutionaries is to expose this hypocritical justification for future imperialist pressures, power plays and interventions. We must say clearly that the American ruling class is no ally of the oppressed non-white majorities of southern Africa. After sanctimoniously wagging a finger at South African prime minister John Vorster, vice president Mondale proclaimed that the United States had cleansed itself of a "moral blemish" by "coming clean" on apartheid. No, say the Marxists, American imperialism, the butcher of Vietnam, cannot wipe off the blood stains from its murderous deeds. The moral pretensions of this behemoth are as sinister as Hitler's claim to be civilizing Europe.

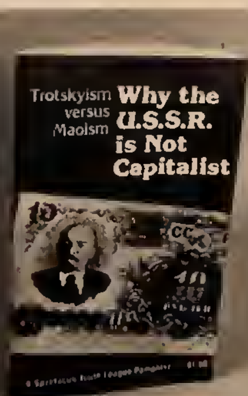
Yet this is not the response of the reformists. Seeing that the American bourgeoisie has decided to put on "human rights" airs, they seek to cash in on the sudden popularity of the South African blacks' cause by borrowing the slogans of Carter and his front man Andrew Young. Instead of warning of the dangers posed by the U.S. intervention, they call on the government and American capitalists to live up to their own words. Thus on university campuses around the country groups such as the SWP and the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) are demanding that boards of trustees divest their portfolios of shares in companies which have affiliates in South Africa.

While agitating for actions of international labor solidarity, such as "hot-cargoing" of arms shipments to South Africa, communists do not seek to drive industry out of the country, which would only further impoverish the black victims of apartheid oppression and weaken their capacity for struggle. Obviously nothing is accomplished by getting universities to sell off shares so that some bank can reap windfall profits. Nor do we call for boycott of cultural events with South African participation—we seek increased contact with the South African non-white masses, not a quarantine.

But most of all we do not call on "our" government, the main enemy of American working people and a menace to all the exploited and oppressed, to take action against the racist Pretoria regime. *White-supremacist South Africa is not qualitatively more reactionary than the "democratic" United States.* The racist South African police and army have killed more than a thousand black protesters during demonstrations over the past year. This vicious crime must be denounced—the working class will remember the victims, Soweto must be avenged! *But not by calling on the imperialist power which massacred millions of Vietnamese peasants and workers.*

American businessmen shouldn't invest in South Africa because of the moral stench? It would make as much sense to call on South African businessmen to withdraw their endowments from American universities which developed "counterinsurgency" techniques for Vietnam. The Afrikaner oppressor people has its back to the wall and believes it is fighting for survival. U.S. imperialism, however, swings its bloody sword around the world in the name of others' "freedom" and "human rights," i.e., to strengthen itself abroad.

JUST OUT!



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Revolutionary communists must tell American workers and anti-racist militants that the main enemy is at home. Those who want to pressure Carter should look at the history of the Rhodesian chrome boycott. After half a decade of ignoring these sanctions, the U.S. Congress just passed legislation calling for an embargo on Rhodesian chrome. This was not done out of dedication to human rights or majority rule, however, but because American business no longer needs Rhodesian chrome! The net result is that the Carter administration was able to score cheap propaganda points.

Finishing the Job at Home

The third leg of the Carter administration's policy of "moral" government is a hard line against labor and the poor, in the name of "fiscal responsibility" and independence from "any special interest." Carter became imperialism's top cop thanks largely to the AFL-CIO which spent an estimated $11 million and mobilized 120,000 union volunteers to get out the vote. In office, the hawkish businessman's democrat proceeded with a vengeance not only to deny the bureaucrats their special requests (like their preferred secretary of labor, John Dunlop), but also to prove himself as savage an enemy of the workers and poor as Ford or Nixon. The administration beat down the construction site picketing bill, rejected a meager AFL-CIO proposal for a $3-per-hour minimum wage, reduced unemployment benefits and reneged on Carter's campaign promise to support repeal of the open shop section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act.

So now the "elder statesmen" of labor are wailing like babes led astray, while the workers wade through the filth and decay of dying cities. Providing no more money for the tax-starved urban areas than his predecessors, Carter's proposal for the festering slums and minority ghettos which voted heavily Democratic in November is "workfare." Tens of thousands of destitute poor will be ruthlessly purged from the welfare rolls, while others are forced into hard labor at sub-minimum pay, often replacing union labor.

And the local wielder of the budget ax in New York City, Mayor Abraham Beame, brazenly proclaims: "I want to finish the job." Another so-called "friend of labor" and early Carter backer, Beame is demanding a second term to finish slashing vital social services, laying off municipal workers, enforcing the pay freeze and looting union pension funds to keep worthless city bonds afloat. Beame even offers a Gotham version of Carterite civic "morality" to hide his threadbare record: driving pornography from Times Square.

And of course the Concorde. As the average New Yorker rides to work or to the unemployment/welfare office jammed in a hot noisy subway car reeking of urine, its doors, lights, windows and fans defective, he reads in his newsless newspaper of the stalwart efforts of local officialdom to protect the environment—by banning supersonic airliners from Kennedy airport. Last spring we published an article, "You Can't Land the 'A' Train at JFK" (*WV* No. 147, 4 March), which revealed that the noise on some NYC subway trains reaches the same decibel level as the Concorde, causing vastly more hearing damage due to sustained exposure. The *New York Post* picked up the story, but failed to tell the real reason for opposition to the Concorde: protectionism by American aircraft manufacturers who have yet to build a supersonic transport.

Hypocrisy and Democracy

Carter's "human rights" crusade has so far evoked widespread, albeit largely passive, support from the American population at large, making him the most popular president since Roosevelt. Not only has this sinister campaign met with the eager approval of professional anti-communist liberals and reactionaries, including most importantly the U.S. trade-union bureaucracy, but it has also gathered wide support from previously disaffected layers of the petty bourgeoisie—especially among students and intelligentsia.

A rise in sharp class battles in Europe or the U.S. would quickly put an end to this hypocritical imperialist moralizing. Yet given the present period, characterized above all by the success of the labor bureaucracy in defusing potentially explosive class conflicts at home, Carter's "cold war" policy with a "human rights" face has served to accelerate the rightward motion of various centrist and reformist tendencies in the workers movement.

After Carter's first few months in office—mounting an anti-Communist attack on the USSR, taking a hard line against labor, doing nothing for the black masses of southern Africa—the chief imperialist should be an object of revilement, confined to his bunker like Nixon, afraid to venture out to face the angry population. Instead, after squeaking by the election his popularity ratings now soar, he goes onto university campuses and poses as the democratic liberator of humanity.

The fake-revolutionary left in the U.S. has done little to combat this image. The Maoists, still smarting from last year's acute embarrassment over being lined up with Henry Kissinger and the South African army against the MPLA, have generally retreated from politics into low-level economism. In

continued on page 10

UPI

Bus burns during black revolt in Soweto.

"Down with the War, Down with the Government!"

—Karl Liebknecht, 1914

We reprint below the statement by Karl Liebknecht, the German revolutionary Social Democrat and later Communist leader, before the Reichstag (parliament) on 2 December 1914, in which he proclaims his refusal to vote for war credits to wage the imperialist slaughter. This action, which meant an open break with party discipline, was the first decisive blow by the German Internationalists against the patriotic fever which had seized official Social Democracy after its shameful act of August 4. The speech was published in the first issue of Spartacusbriefe *(Spartacus Letters), the illegal organ edited primarily by Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Julian Marschlewski and Franz Mehring.*

In February 1915, police seized Luxemburg and imprisoned her for the duration of the war. Only Liebknecht's parliamentary immunity saved him for a time. Soon after he illegally published a pamphlet "Class Struggle Against the War!" In May 1915 he put out the leaflet (see facsimile on this page) entitled "The Main Enemy Is At Home!" which became the watchword of the Spartacus group. By calling for an end to the "civil peace" and openly advocating struggle against the Kaiser and the government, the Spartacists broke also with the bourgeois-pacifist slogans of the centrists around Kautsky, who called for reaching an "understanding" among the belligerent powers. Although at the Zimmerwald conference and in Luxemburg's "Junius Pamphlet" the Spartacus group hesitated to make a final break from the Kautskyan "Independents," the Internationalists' main slogans corresponded to Lenin's call to "Turn the Imperialist War into Civil War!"

Finally, in July 1916, Liebknecht was tried in a closed courtroom on charges of preparation, instigation and advocacy of national treason. In an article published in the first issue of the clandestinely printed Spartacus *(20 September 1916), Rosa Luxemburg reported that upon being informed of the guilty verdict Liebknecht proudly replied, "And yet I repeat: Down with the War! Down with the Government!"*

* * * * *

I justify my vote on the bill before us today as follows: This war, which none of the peoples involved have themselves desired, did not break out on behalf of the welfare of the German people or any other. It is an imperialist war, a war over capitalist domination of the world market, for the political domination of important fields of investment for industrial and bank capital. From the standpoint of the armaments race it is a preventive war brought about by the war party in Germany and Austria in the twilight of semi-absolutism and secret diplomacy. It is also a bonapartist undertaking aimed at demoralizing and breaking up the rising workers movement. This has been demonstrated with increasing clarity in recent months, despite a reckless hysteria campaign.

The German watchword, "Against Tsarism" served —in a similar manner to the English and French slogan, "Against Militarism"—to mobilize the most noble instincts, the revolutionary heritage and hopes of the people on behalf of national hatred. Germany, which to this day is a partner in crime with Tsarism, the model of political backwardness, has no vocation as a national liberator. The liberation of the Russian as well as the German people must be their own work.

This war is not a war to defend Germany. Its historical character and the course of the war rule out any faith in the claim of the capitalist government that its purpose, for which it requests appropriations, is to defend the fatherland.

An early peace, a peace which does not victimize any party, a peace without conquests must be demanded; all efforts toward this purpose must be greeted. Only the simultaneous strengthening of currents favoring such a peace in all belligerent states can stop the war before the bloody slaughter leads to complete exhaustion of all the peoples involved. Only a peace on the foundations of international working-class solidarity and the freedom of all peoples can be a secure peace. Thus it is the duty of the proletariat of all countries to carry out common socialist work for peace, even today in the midst of war.

...However, in protest against the war, those responsible for it and who orchestrate it, against the capitalist policies which brought it forth, against the capitalist aims which it pursues, against the annexationist plans, against the violation of Belgian and Luxemburg neutrality, against the military dictatorship, against the failure of the government and ruling classes to fulfill social and political obligations, I reject the war appropriations.

Karl Liebknecht

¡Acaba de salir!

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Main Enemy...

(continued from page 9)

the one area where they have been active, anti-apartheid campaigns on the campuses, they have fallen right into line with Carter administration policies. Any day now Andrew Young will walk onto a college campus and be hailed as a hero for saying the magic words "majority rule." The Communist Party, in turn, is so cynical that, while excusing Moscow's suppression of dissent, it merely urges Carter to adopt a more "balanced" policy, spending more time criticizing the right-wing dictatorships propped up by the dollars of U.S. finance capital.

But the left organization which more than any other has been caught up in the phony "human rights" pretensions of the Democratic administration is undoubtedly the SWP. Everywhere in the world today they pose the main issue as "democracy." In Portugal they supported the CIA-financed Social Democracy's anti-Communist mobilization of mid- and late-1975 in the name of de-

Leonid Plyushch WV Photo

mocracy. In the 1976 American elections the SWP presented its "Bill of Rights for Working People," called for elimination of the "illegal" activities of the CIA and "cutting" the war budget, and propagandized for their "socialist Watersuit" as a means of democratizing the government.

Today on the Russian dissidents they again see only classless democracy, apologizing for the Sakharovs and thus aiding Carter's crusade. On South Africa, the SWP ex-Trotskyists simply repeat "majority rule," knowing well that Carter/Young mean this to be a regime which maintains the social/economic substance of white supremacy while adding a veneer of black faces in the government. When Trotskyists call for a full program of democratic rights to smash apartheid, including a constituent assembly, and to lead the struggle forward to a workers and peasants government, the SWP denounces this as "sectarian" and "ultra-leftist."

In contrast, the Spartacist League has stated repeatedly that the Carter "human rights" crusade is not merely hypocritical but is aimed at whipping up chauvinist, anti-Communist sentiment in order to strengthen the hand of the U.S. to act as gendarme of the "free world" and put the Soviet Union on the defensive. In the same spirit, a Bolshevik response to democratic posturings of the imperialists was provided more than half a century ago by Leon Trotsky in the Manifesto of the Second World Congress of the Communist International, commenting on Woodrow Wilson's crusade for the League of Nations:

> "Under the 'League of Nations' flag, the United States made an attempt...to chain to its chariot of gold, the peoples of Europe and other parts of the world, and bring them under Washington's rule. In essence, the League of Nations was intended to be a world monopoly corporation, 'Yankee and Co.'
>
> "The President of the United States, the great prophet of platitudes, has descended from Mount Sinai in order to conquer Europe. '14 Points' in hand. Stockbrokers, cabinet members and businessmen never deceived themselves for a moment about the meaning of this new revelation. But by the way of compensation the European 'Socialists,' with doses of Kautskyan brew, have attained a condition of religious ecstasy and accompanied Wilson's sacred ark, dancing like King David."
>
> *First Five Years of the Communist International*, Vol I

The end to Wilson's blustering, said Trotsky, came when he encountered the Soviet Republic and Communism. Again today, with the Stalinists lamely justifying their suppression of workers democracy and the social democrats eagerly tailing after Carter, only a truly communist, Trotskyist vanguard can expose the hypocrisy of the imperialist "human rights" hoax and show the road forward to real democracy for the exploited and oppressed. ■

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Rightist Thugs in France...

(continued from page 7)

their native countries, with their dossiers sent via the French police to their domestic counterparts. (On this important subject of the role of the immigrant worker, however, Caille's book is very sketchy, undoubtedly due to the Communist Party's call for limiting the total number of immigrant workers in France!)

Reformists Rely on Bosses' State to Control Bosses' Thugs

Although written mainly as an exposé of the nefarious activities of the CFT/SAC gangs, Caille's book demonstrates the criminal responsibility of the reformists in tolerating their spread. The CFT is able to implant itself in industry largely because the CGT relies on appeals to the bourgeois state. The CGT program for fighting the CFT, says Caille, is based on "calls for new legal provisions to strike at those responsible for the actions referred to in this book."

Along with his legal cretinism, Caille cannot resist throwing into his book a few repulsive accusations against the forces to the left of the Communist Party (PCF). Referring to the February 1972 assassination of Pierre Overney, a Maoist worker shot in cold blood by a company goon while leafleting outside a Renault plant, Caille implies Overney was a provocateur. At the time, PCF leader Georges Marchais stated: "What a gift for the authorities, what a monstrosity from the far left.... Are we going to start over again as in 1968?... I say no, it must not start again." At the time the PCF boycotted Overney's funeral, although a demonstration of virtually the entire left brought out over 200,000 people to march in the funeral procession.

If this was the PCF's "defense" of the Renault workers in 1972, it was only a reflection of the CGT's shameless scabbing on the 1947 Renault strike, which he attributes to the Syndicat Démocratique created by Voix Ouvrière. In an effort to discredit Trotskyists, Caille makes a vicious amalgam between this combative union and the company-union "syndicats indépendants" set up by Pétainist collaborators after World War II. This was the same slander the Stalinists directed against the Trotskyists—who were the first group to set up a clandestine press under the Nazi occupation—in order to prevent *La Vérité* from being legally published for more than a year after liberation.

The "syndicats indépendants"—the forerunners of the CFT—were prevented from obtaining official registration under a 1947 governmental decree stipulating that only unions which demonstrated a patriotic attitude during World War II can be recognized. Such laws for state control of the unions must be opposed by revolutionists. It is clear that they could be used at any time against the Trotskyists, who called for revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the imperialist war (while actively fomenting opposition and sabotage against the Nazi occupiers in industry *and within the German armed forces*). However, this obvious fact has not stopped the Pabloist revisionists of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) from calling for the dissolution of the CFT, i.e., implicitly demanding application of this law. The LCR and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) fully approve the PCF's dangerous call on the state to ban the paramilitary right, with the OCI calling for a united front to demand "dissolution" of the bosses' gangs in 1972, upon the occasion of the murder of a PCF militant by the Gaullist militia (*Informations Ouvrières* 4-10 May 1972).

Editions Sociales

CFT head Auguste Blanc

Also at this time, when the Ligue Communiste was at the height of its period of running around the streets engaging in frequently adventurist confrontations with the brown-shirted vermin, its action program of 1972 called for "dissolution of the armed bands of capital, CDR, SAC, Ordre Nouveau, CFT." In June 1973 the Ligue's wishes were fulfilled, and Ordre Nouveau was in fact banned, on the basis of a 1936 law passed by the Popular Front. *But this very same law was used to dissolve the "far-left" organizations in June 1968, and again in June 1973 to ban the Ligue itself!*

While it has been the long-standing policy of the PCF to call for the dissolution of the CFT, today it is hacking away from even this demand because it wishes to avoid confronting the CFT in the factories, fearing the explosion of working-class militancy which could ensue. The LCR is seeking to use this opportunity, interviewing Caille (*Rouge*, 9 June 1977) in the wake of the Maître assassination, to pressure the PCF to the left.

Moreover, while in the past the Pabloists have traditionally linked the demand for dissolution of the fascists with the call for workers self-defense, this half of the program is now being relegated to the fine print as the Ligue moves increasingly to the right. Throughout the recent events it said virtually nothing about workers self-defense; an LCR Political Bureau statement issued over the assassination at Reims failed to mention it at all.

While the LCR and their "far left" cohorts water down their slogans in order to appeal to Communist Party militants, the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, passed out several thousand leaflets at the recent Paris demonstration protesting the assassination of Pierre Maître, ending with demands for effective defense of union picket lines and workers militias; for cops, judges and prison guards out of the unions; against calls on the bourgeois state, the executive committee of the ruling class, to dissolve fascist and company gangs; and for a workers government. ■

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UMW Elections

(continued from page 12)

rhetoric, disintegrated almost as soon as it was placed in office. This "reform" leadership bargained away the local right to strike in the 1974 contract and lined up with the coal operators and courts in opposition to the massive wildcats which repeatedly ripped through the coal fields. The Miller "democrats" passed a ten-point anti-strike program which included suspension from the union for engaging in wildcat strikes.

While virtually the entire U.S. left supported the MFD in 1972, the Spartacist League stood out for warning that these fakers' reliance on the government undermined the fight for union democracy and guaranteed that they would turn on the miners' militant struggles. The experience of the last five years has completely confirmed our analysis.

National Coal Strike Ahead

When the UMW's contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) expires December 6, there will almost certainly be a nationwide shutdown of UMW-organized mines. The miners are restless and have repeatedly demonstrated both their eagerness to fight and their contempt for the existing contract. In addition to mine safety, benefits and pensions—all of which are below the standards of major industrial unions—one of the key issues is sure to be the right to strike over grievances, which all three UMW candidates claimed to be pledged to with, however, restrictions on the "roving pickets" which are a standard and vital strike-spreading tactic.

The BCOA is implacably opposed to the right to strike, and it is this issue which is sure to provoke a showdown. Miller's inability to sufficiently discipline the miners has already caused some of the operators to discuss dissolving the BCOA and dumping industry-wide bargaining in order to deal with the union on a company-by-company basis. In addition, the UMW's bargaining strength has been undercut by the union's inability to organize non-union mines in the rapidly expanding industry. The amount of U.S. coal production under UMW contract has fallen precipitously, from nearly 75 percent to just over 50 percent.

Facing the negotiations, the Miller regime is a combination of incompetence and spinelessness. Having fired virtually the entire staff which propped him up in the 1974 negotiations, Miller has neither a negotiating team nor, more decisively, a program to fight the BCOA. The Carter administration is pushing an energy policy projecting a huge increase in coal production and is demanding discipline in the coal fields, confronting the miners with the necessity of facing down the government as well as the coal companies.

The incoming Miller regime is a weak one, and repeated outbreaks of class struggle in the mines are a virtual certainty. However, the miners' courage is in itself not sufficient to guarantee decisive victories. In the absence of a militant opposition which has drawn from the disastrous Miller/MFD experience the correct lessons—the need for absolute independence from the capitalist state and for intransigent opposition to class-collaboration—new struggles will throw up another layer of misleaders or, alternately, exhaust themselves in demoralization. The crystallizing of a class-struggle opposition which transcends the reformist demagogy of the Millers, Patricks, Pattersons and their hangers-on is the key task in the next period. ■

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Workers League Supports Redbaiter Patterson in UMW Elections

The U.S. left was generally restrained in its coverage of the June 14 United Mine Workers (UMW) elections, and for good reason. Almost without exception, self-proclaimed socialist groups had backed Arnold Miller in the 1972 elections. Having ignored the massive Labor Department intervention in this government-ordered election, and overlooking the sub-reformist program of Miners For Democracy (MFD), they were put in an awkward position when Miller began siding with the companies and courts against wildcat strikes.

This time around the Socialist Workers Party and International Socialists both supported Patrick, although with obvious discomfort, suggesting that the tattered banner of the MFD had passed to this former Miller ally. The Communist Party maintained an awkward silence on Miller and Patrick, neither of whom is very popular these days in the coal fields, and concentrated on campaigning against Patterson with tired "fight the right" rhetoric. The Revolutionary Communist Party-backed "Miners Right to Strike Committee" dodged the elections altogether, burying themselves in economist emphasis on the contract. In contrast, the Spartacist League sharply opposed all three labor fakers, who despite their bickering and backstabbing have been united against the miners' militant wildcats.

The most unusual position by a left group on the Mine Workers elections, however, was certainly that taken by the political bandits of the Healyite Workers League (WL). Long accustomed to giving "critical" support to any left-talking out-bureaucrat, the WL recently came out for the most right-wing UMW candidate, Lee Roy Patterson! Without batting an eye, these unashamed hucksters explained their position in an article entitled "Stop Government Intervention in the UMWA!"

> "We give critical support to Patterson in order to defeat the slates of Arnold Miller and Harry Patrick, and deal a blow to the government and the Labor Department, who have gained unparalleled influence in the union during their term of office."
>
> *Bulletin*, 7 June

Who would suspect that the Workers League in 1972 supported the Miller/Patrick forces, which had brought the Labor Department into the UMW in one of the most massive government interventions ever imposed on an American union? Not surprisingly, the WL doesn't breathe a word today about its earlier enthusiasm for the MFD "reformers" who led the government raid.

Moreover, the *Bulletin* offers no explanation for how a vote for Patterson would be a vote against government intervention. In fact, Patterson threatens to drag the union into court to dispute the election. And, as the WL was forced to admit, Patterson stands shoulder-to-shoulder with Miller and Patrick in support for the Democratic Party, the main conduit for capitalist politics in the unions.

Workers League support to Boyle henchman Patterson has absolutely nothing to do with independence of the unions from the capitalist state. Figuring that their readers have short memories, the *Bulletin* clears the table with every roll of the dice, making little or no pretense to present a consistent political line. Nor did they expose Patterson's demagogic talk of a national strike this summer. (Similarly, the WL hailed right-wing Steelworkers union leader I. W. Abel's disgruntled mumbling about forming a labor party in 1972. What the Healyites didn't mention is that Abel was upset over the influence of blacks, feminists and antiwar activists at the Democratic convention which nominated McGovern, and that his "neutrality" actually tilted toward Nixon.)

The struggle for socialism is not a floating crap game. Miners have long memories and will remember who told the truth about Miller, Boyle, Patrick, Patterson and the rest of the sellout bureaucrats. Needless to say, it wasn't the Workers League. ■

Kremlin Hands Over Ethiopian Students to Bloody Mengistu

While Ethiopian butcher Mengistu Haile Meriam was being feted by top Soviet bureaucrats early last month, foreign newsmen reported an "unexplained incident." The Ethiopian embassy in Moscow was cordoned off by several hundred police wearing helmets and flak jackets. Ambulances parked at the scene indicated that a confrontation of some sort was expected. After several hours, about 60 Ethiopian students filed out and were whisked away without comment, leaving the reporters scratching their heads.

This week a public demonstration by some 40 Ethiopian students at Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University made it crystal clear that the students were protesting Mengistu's extermination campaign against young leftists in Addis Ababa. The demonstrators identified themselves as supporters of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), the group which has suffered hundreds of casualties in recent months at the hands of Mengistu's soldiers and neighborhood vigilante committees (see "Bloody Colonel Mengistu Slaughters Leftists," *WV* No. 162, 17 June).

The Soviet Union is sending thousands of weapons and the Cuban government has dispatched "diplomatic advisors" to aid the Ethiopian dictatorship in crushing leftist students and workers and the Eritrean independence fighters. Castro has hailed Mengistu as a "great revolutionary." And now Moscow is acceding to demands by its new ally for the deportation of its student opponents abroad. The demonstrators reported that one student, a 20-year-old woman, had been handed a visa and an airplane ticket by Soviet authorities and ordered to leave for Ethiopia. Rather than face Mengistu's sadistic hangmen, she reportedly went into hiding. It is clear that the Ethiopian students who courageously demonstrated in Moscow on behalf of their victimized comrades face death if deported to Addis Ababa. But with all the phony talk of "human rights," one can be sure that these "dissidents" will not receive the press coverage of a pro-imperialist opponent of socialism such as Sakharov. Class-conscious workers around the world must demand that the Soviet bureaucrats keep their hands off these young militants and cease their scandalous efforts to win the favor of butcher Mengistu by offering the leftists as a blood sacrifice! ■

Workers Vanguard

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(continued from page 5)

mistrust, only facilitates the work of the secret police, no less than the social democrats' complacency. *It was the SL's Bolshevik discipline and programmatic integrity which broke Langridge.* In contrast to its assessment of the SPA/YSL as a "soft target", ASIO considered the SL to be a "hard target" because our politics "went into a lot more depth and there's a lot more expected of a person."

We are not complacent. Despite the utmost vigilance on the part of revolutionists, it must be assumed that the bourgeoisie's secret police agencies can succeed in penetrating our ranks. Paranoid fear and slander mongering only make their task easier. Genuine revolutionists respond not by coddling inherently untrustworthy "turned" agents, or by spreading vicious, unsubstantiated rumours, but by exposing actual, known agents to the entire left and workers movement.

We are a legal organisation. We have nothing to hide. Unlike the stealthy would-be assassins of ASIO, we state our aims openly and explicitly: the abolition of capitalism and all class society around the world. We demand that ASIO and all secret police agencies be abolished, that all infiltration into the workers movement cease. But we also recognise that the bourgeoisie will never do away with its covert repressive apparatus. Just deserts for ASIO and all the bosses' secret police spies will come only after the proletarian revolution installs the working class in state power. Smash ASIO through proletarian revolution!

Spartacist League of Australia and
New Zealand
15 June 1977

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WORKERS VANGUARD

In Three-Way Contest Between Labor Fakers

Plurality for Miller, No Victory for Miners

Badly discredited as the strikebreaking president of the United Mine Workers (UMW), Arnold Miller has won reelection only because his opponents were even more disreputable. But Miller will begin a second five-year term as a minority president, with a hostile majority on the union's International Executive Board (IEB) and the strong possibility that his victory will be challenged both within the union and through the courts. Above all he lacks a program to beat back the coal operators in the upcoming contract negotiations, where the UMW's strength and ability to fight will be put to a severe test.

With over 70 percent of the ballots counted in a moderate turnout, Miller won about 42 percent of the vote. Lee Roy Patterson, IEB member and crony of former president Tony Boyle, came in second with 33 percent while UMW secretary-treasurer and former Miller ally Harry Patrick ran third with 24 percent. Patrick posed as the continuator of the "reform" spirit of the now-defunct "Miners for Democracy" (MFD), while Patterson railed against the MFD and promised an "orderly" administration.

Robert Gumpert

Harry Patrick

John Blair/Photoreporters

Lee Roy Patterson

UPI

Arnold Miller

How Miller Won

Miller's narrow victory was based on the split in his opposition between Patrick and Patterson. As he did in 1972, Miller carried the bulk of the retiree vote, especially important in the Eastern Pennsylvania anthracite districts where up to 90 percent of the UMW voters are retirees. Miller also carried his home turf, the big West Virginia districts. But more than anything else, the liabilities of his opponents gave Miller his second term.

Harry Patrick, part of the original MFD "team," never did manage to stake out a position sufficiently distinguishing himself from Miller. Since Patrick broke from Miller only last fall, evidently many miners felt that it didn't make sense to switch to a second-stringer. Though Patrick had the strongest showing of the three candidates among the growing force of young miners, he could not overcome Miller in the union's strongholds in the Appalachias and the East.

The fraudulent character of Patrick's claim to be a serious opponent to Miller was immediately clear in his concession statement. Instead of pledging to continue a fight against the policies he claimed to oppose, Patrick called for unity behind Miller and said he would quietly return to his job as a mine mechanic.

Early on in the election race, Lee Roy Patterson was widely seen as the front runner. That Patterson could be a serious contender at all is testimony to the complete bankruptcy of the union's "reform" leadership. Achieving position in the union hierarchy by association with the corrupt Boyle gang, Patterson had opposed moves to allow miners to vote for district officers and to ratify their contracts. He also had one of the worst district safety records in the entire UMW and opposed the militant miners' strikes of the last few years.

But what really torpedoed Patterson's candidacy were exposés in the final month of the campaign concerning his ties to the leadership of the United Steelworkers (USW). It was revealed that the Patterson campaign had accepted $4,000 to $5,000 from the USW tops. Far more important than this rather trifling amount were the political strings attached. In a May 5 Washington, D.C., press conference Patterson acknowledged that he would "definitely" consider merger with the USW.

Though the coal and steel industries are closely linked and joint strike action would strengthen both unions, the USW hacks are looking for an opportunity to gobble up the much smaller miners union only in order to quash the strikes which frequently disrupt the supply of coal to the steel plants. The USW leaders are particularly concerned about the threat of a prolonged coal strike this winter.

The fiercely independent miners want no part of the no-strike deals of retiring Steelworkers president I.W. Abel or his flunky successor Lloyd McBride. When the revelations broke, Patterson feebly tried to deny his previous statements on merger, with little success. Miners began turning from Patterson in droves. Patterson won most of the southern districts but could not regain enough momentum to overtake Miller.

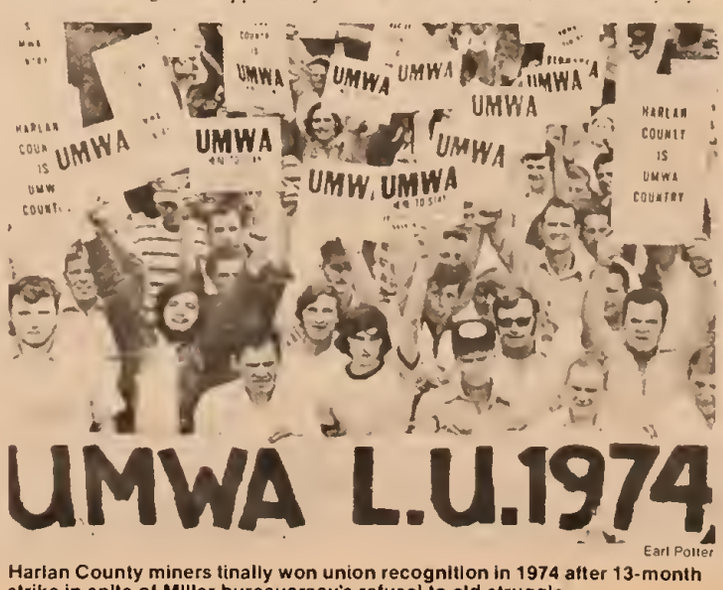
Keep the Government Out of the UMW!

Miller's victory, however, is far from secure. Patterson, who has the loyalty of the bulk of the IEB and may strengthen his hand in continuing elections for IEB representatives, has indicated that he may appeal to the IEB to overturn the vote. While vote fraud is not a major issue (so far results have been challenged in only one small local), Patterson claims that decisions of the UMW tellers, charged with supervising the elections, caused his defeat.

The tellers ruled that Patterson's slate could not appear on the ballot as a unified group since he had not fielded candidates for every post. The tellers also overruled the IEB when it voted to knock one of Miller's candidates off the ballot in retaliation.

Two of Patterson's cohorts on the IEB, Frank Clements and his vice-presidential running mate Gene Mitchell, have indicated they will not support an IEB-ordered re-run. But Patterson may have enough support on the Board to order one anyway. Also, having filed five separate court suits against the elections prior to voting day, Patterson has prepared for a further court fight to overturn the elections.

No less than Miller, who relied on the Labor Department and courts to usher him into power in 1972, Patterson is quite willing to invite the bosses' government to dictate the union's course. After the devastating fiasco of the MFD and the strikebreaking court injunctions of the last five years, miners must not let the government again wreak havoc in their union: Labor Department and courts out of the UMW!



Earl Potter

Harlan County miners finally won union recognition in 1974 after 13-month strike in spite of Miller bureaucracy's refusal to aid struggle.

End of an Illusion

While Miller has won re-election, few UMW members still have the illusions which boosted him into power five years ago. Many miners once held high hopes that the victory of the MFD heralded a new era of militant and democratic union leadership. But the MFD, held together only by personal ambition and vague

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

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1 July 1977

Vlouiard/Gamma/Liaison

Adolfo Suárez (right) with King Juan Carlos.

J. Bilbao/Cambio 16

Cops in Renteria disperse demonstrators protesting murder of two men by the Guardia Civil during May "Amnesty Week" in Basque region.

After Spanish Elections

Suárez' Sham Democracy

Immediately following the Spanish parliamentary elections on June 15, the first such balloting the country has seen in 41 years, the Western media rushed to praise "a job well done" (*New York Times*) and proclaim Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez the victor. The Spanish liberal bourgeoisie patted itself on the back on being admitted to the "Club of the Democratic Nations of the World" (*Cambio 16*, 26 June), and announced that "henceforth, Francoism belongs to history and it is hopeless to seek to revive it" (*El Pais*, 17 June).

Having been entered in the social register of imperialist "democracy," the Suárez government has proclaimed its reforms a success, supposedly marking the peaceful transition from dictatorship to freedom. Now it is time to "get on with the job," cleaning up odds and ends such as a new constitution, passage of an austerity plan to meet the burgeoning economic crisis, and granting limited regional autonomy to the Basque and Catalan provinces, all according to the cabinet's timetable. The duty of the Spanish citizenry, consequently, is to get off the streets, leave politics to the politicians and go back to work.

Much of the left has also interpreted the June 15 vote as a victory against Francoism. Suárez' party, the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD), received only 34 percent of the vote and under half the seats in the Cortes (parliament). The Socialists (PSOE), and Communists (PCE), on the other hand, received 29 percent and 9 percent of the vote respectively, and an absolute majority or close to it in the major cities. This augurs well for the municipal elections scheduled for the fall. Consequently, the ostensibly Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel has concluded that "the Spanish bourgeoisie was compelled to liquidate the Francoist dictatorship" (*Inprecor*, 23 June). *Lutte Ouvrière* (11 June) in France announced in advance that, "tomorrow Spain will have a parliamentary regime, and ultimately little will distinguish it from the traditional European bourgeois democracies."

A Semi-Bonapartist Regime

In reality, the Juan Carlos monarchy has deep roots in Francoism and Suárez' "Spanish democracy" masks a strong-state regime with more than a few holdovers from the Caudillo's four-decades-long rule. While some of the special repressive apparatuses inherited from the dictatorship have been dismantled or reorganized (e.g., the Tribunals of Public Order), others remain (Guardia Civil, armed police, anti-riot brigade, secret police, etc.). Even the *New York Times* (19 June) felt compelled to note that, "Spain has far to go... in excising or remodeling many vestiges of authoritarian rule."

As to what *Cambio 16* termed "almost-free elections," all the "far-left" parties, some separatists and the rival monarchist Carlists were excluded from participating in their own names. This could lead to a post-election crackdown directed at these sectors. Moreover, those groups advocating active boycott of the elections were legally prohibited from holding meetings during the election campaign, and the press law is so stiff that the liberal Madrid newspaper *Diario 16* was seized four days before the election on charges of defaming right-wing boss Manuel Fraga Iribarne.

The electoral law was heavily weighted toward conservative (rural-based) parties, and under the existing fundamental law the prime minister (whose term does not run out until 1981) is responsible only to the king. The reformists are talking hopefully of the new Cortes "taking on constituent characteristics," but according to this same Francoist constitution it is prohibited from laying a finger on the army, the monarchy or "national integrity."

The American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), as well as the liberal press generally, claim that "the main neo-Francoist party received a humiliating 8.3 percent of the vote" (*Militant*, 1 July). Fraga's Popular Alliance (AP) certainly suffered a sharp defeat, with such luminaries of the Francoist Bunker as former prime minister Carlos Arias Navarro defeated in Madrid. The so-called "ultra-Bunker" alliance of fascists and falangists did even worse, receiving only 0.35 percent of the vote.

However, it is false to view the AP as the only Francoist party, and in any case it is hardly "neo." There is nothing "center" about the UCD except its name, and it is made up of notables and upper-level government officials who have exchanged their blue shirts and Roman salutes for more respectable attire befitting those who today extol the virtues of democracy. Suárez himself was the former head of the Francoist umbrella organization, the National Movement.

The electoral defeat of the far right and the 40 percent of the vote won by the workers parties have certainly encouraged the laboring masses in Spain. However, an evaluation of the significance of the elections must take into account above all the Suárez reform scheme, in which this restricted balloting was the pièce de résistance. The vote tally itself was at most a standoff, for while the UCD does not have an absolute majority it is still close enough to be able to form a minority government. But the fact that the elections were brought off successfully, without disturbances or charges of pervasive fraud and with favorable international reception, represents a major step toward the consolidation of a Gaullist-style "strong state." In this key respect the June 15 elections represented a victory for Suárez.

The Francoist dictatorship was a corporatist regime resting fundamentally on the army (rather than a fascist regime, based on masses of enraged petty bourgeois, as was falsely claimed by sectors of the Spanish left). Now much of the Francoist superstructure has been dismantled, as the vertical syndicates (CNS) are reorganized, the National Movement dissolved, etc. Now there are institutions which at least purport to represent the democratic choice of the population, although their actual powers are slim and a sizable section of both chambers of the Cortes is appointed by the king. Yet the army remains untouched and untouchable, exercising powerful influence behind the scenes and ready to intervene openly on a moment's notice. Like the early Gaullist Fifth Republic in France after 1958 or the Karamanlis government in Greece since 1974, the Juan Carlos/Suárez reforms have established a semi-bonapartist regime in Spain, although still quite unstable.

This is above all due to the *defeat* of the massive working-class political strikes and demonstrations which repeatedly brought hundreds of thousands into the streets against the dictatorship. It is due to the active cooperation of the reformist misleaders of the Spanish proletariat, who consciously limited and sabotaged these struggles in return for royal assurances of democratic reform. As a result, the Carrillos and González have their seats in the Cortes, but the masses do not have even bourgeois democracy, much less the proletarian democracy which would enable the working people to genuinely intervene in determining and implementing the affairs of state. What the king and the army give, they can also take away. ■

LETTER FROM SOLEDAD

The "Lumpen Vanguard" Myth...6

The Racist Killing Goes On

Soweto Bleeds

UPI

Militant youth protest cop attacks against memorial meetings on anniversary of 1976 Soweto rebellion.

On June 16, 1976, police bullets ripped the body of Hector Peterson. The 13-year-old Soweto school boy was the first to die in six months of mass upheaval against the white supremacist South African state.

A year later, the killing goes on, and South Africa's largest urban labor compound continues to writhe in agony. Unemployment and inflation keep climbing, fostering fierce job competition, a staggering crime rate, near starvation and a maelstrom of bitter, violent hatred for the apartheid system.

Soweto youths marked the anniversary of the massacre with memorial meetings and school boycotts, but their non-violence did not prevent police attacks. The students defended themselves with rocks, firebombs and hastily erected barricades, repeatedly clashing with police patrols enforcing a ban on protest demonstrations. The cops even fired tear gas shells into a Roman Catholic church where a commemorative service was taking place.

This year Prime Minister B.J. Vorster's stormtroopers have been praised for their restraint. According to government statistics, they have murdered *only* about a dozen blacks in Soweto and the East Cape township of Kabah in the last two weeks! This so-called "minimum force" policy has involved the massive encirclement of several black townships by police armed with submachine guns and backed by army paratroopers. Nearly 600 militants have been subjected to preventive detention or arrest (many of them sentenced to public flogging).

The most audacious protest took place this week in Johannesburg, the industrial metropolis which taps Soweto's labor supply. Hundreds of young blacks slipped past the police cordons, converging on John Vorster Square where hundreds of their brothers and sisters languish in jail. With fists raised they chanted slogans calling for release of political prisoners, especially 20 Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC) leaders who had been rounded up. Hand-lettered placards denounced the school system as "education for slavery."

Furious at being caught off guard, police brutally dispersed the march, arresting 146 demonstrators and beating many to a pulp. Inability to contain anti-apartheid protests with an overwhelming military presence prompted the local police commander to announce an end to the "low-key" approach (relying on non-lethal weapons of repression) and a return to the indiscriminate butchery which produced over 600 deaths during the rebellions that convulsed the townships last summer.

As they did several times during last year's unrest, the SSRC called for a three-day general strike. It was reportedly 40 to 50 percent effective on June 16 but quickly tapered off. The failure to strongly mobilize black workers underscores the underlying weakness of the "black consciousness movement"—its lack of a program to link the struggle for democratic rights with the mobilization of the social power of the black proletariat around its class interests.

In the absence of a revolutionary working-class party or even a significant black trade-union movement in the Witwatersrand area, leadership of anti-apartheid struggles has fallen by default to the students. In a city where the majority of the population is less than 25 years old, the crisis of leadership has been perceived as a generational conflict between the high school students and the quisling Urban Bantu Council (UBC), the advisory governmental body which "represents" the masses of Soweto. Worsening living conditions have discredited the UBC to the point that a majority of its members resigned in early June. However, the students have been unable to win the active allegiance of Soweto's 300,000 workers.

Deepening unemployment, as the South African economy languishes in the third year of recession, has sparked cut-throat job competition. Desperate, hungry workers gather each morning at the Johannesburg Labour Office, thrusting out work permits, begging the chance to work an entire day to earn little more than the price of a meal and railroad ticket back to a crowded, unlit shanty in Soweto. Company labor contractors often recruit on a tribal basis, thereby exacerbating tensions within the black population. During one general strike last August, the police attempted with some success to mobilize migrant Zulu workers against student pickets and roadblocks.

As the dead end of their "strategy" of racial self-assertion and spontaneous urban rebellion becomes increasingly evident, many "black consciousness" militants are joining the outlawed African National Congress (ANC). In recent months, hundreds of young exiles have fled to ANC camps in Tanzania, where they are said to be undergoing guerrilla training. This is part of the two-pronged ANC/Communist Party (CP) strategy for driving the ultrareactionary Nationalist Party from power. They hope that a combination of imperialist economic sanctions and harassing guerrilla actions will disrupt the social fabric sufficiently to panic the ruling class into a change of regimes and liberalized policies in which to pursue by increments the vague ultimate goal of "majority rule." Historic authority allows the ANC to claim hegemony at least among the urbanized blacks in South Africa, but it has not provided a program that can marshal the latent power of the non-white working masses to achieve their liberation from white-supremacist rule.

The forging of a proletarian vanguard party will require the sharpest struggle against these petty-bourgeois nationalists and their Stalinist mentors. Trotskyist revolutionists must point out that the ANC's vociferous denunciation of Vorster's retribalization Bantustan schemes is rendered hollow by its long courtship of Zulu paramount chief Gatsha Buthelezi. It must be made clear that the utter defeat of ANC guerrilla operations during a decade and a half of "armed struggle" demonstrates the impotence of such a strategy against this industrially advanced power with its large oppressor caste armed to the teeth. And it must be repeatedly stressed that the ANC/CP's guerrillaist talk is just as much aimed at prodding the "conscience" of sections of the white bourgeoisie as were the pacifist protests of the 1950's.

Neither the "black consciousness" student movement nor the traditional nationalist leaders can show the way forward to the Soweto protesters. The liberation of the oppressed non-white masses of South Africa awaits the construction of a Trotskyist party rooted in the black and "Coloured" (mixed-race) proletariat. Such a party will centrally pose the struggle for democratic demands—abolition of the pass laws and all racialist legislation, end of job reservations, equal pay at the highest levels, full trade-union and political rights for blacks, destruction of the Bantustan system, redistribution of land and a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage—aimed at destroying the apartheid police-state regimentation which sharply impedes the mobilization of the oppressed blacks. It must be stressed that these democratic demands can be won only through the organization of the powerful working class around the struggle for its own class rule. For a black-centered workers and peasants government which expropriates industry and finance and extends the revolution internationally throughout black Africa! ■

AP

South African cops armed with tear gas grenades move in on black youth demonstrating in Soweto.

UPI

Demonstrators flee tear gas barrage last week.

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Down with the Monarchy and the Union Jack!

It is 25 years since the coronation of Elizabeth II of England, "Queen by the Grace of God and Defender of the Faith." And her Silver Jubilee is celebrated with royal pomp, nauseating sycophancy and national-chauvinist rejoicing over an institution which should have been abolished centuries ago (and once was, with a headsman's axe).

As this impoverished island writhes in the death agony of British imperialism, the Queen's portrait and the Union Jack are everywhere. "Her Majesty"—drawn on mugs, embossed on ashtrays, etched on glass, sewn on clothes—gazes "serenely" down upon her humble "subjects"; the Union Jack, once the arrogant symbol of a great colonial power and still the emblem of imperialist patriotism, waves from the windows of houses and in the numerous street festivals in honor of the Queen.

The British are sensitively self-conscious about the anachronism of a monarchy in an advanced industrial nation, a monarchy still maintained in the lavish style to which it became accustomed in ages gone by. The tone for the monarchy's modern apologists was set more than a century ago by historian Walter Bagehot, who provided a rationale for the mission of British imperialism: "Above all things our royalty is reverenced. Its mystery is its life. We must not let in daylight upon magic." Today, in this corroded ex-empire when the masses of working people find increasing difficulty in putting meagre subsistence on the table, the job of keeping out the "daylight" is more difficult but not less important for the ruling class.

Today "reverence" is mixed with an appeal to the Queen's "decent civility," her sense of "duty" and familial responsibility. She is pushed as a symbol of past imperialist "glory" and the "civilized way" to endure the present hardships of the decayed empire. The Toronto *Globe and Mail* (6 June) editorialized:

> "The Queen is a nice woman who likes horses, dogs and children.... A thoroughly nice woman.
> "But a slight little figure, too, who is the symbol of Magna Carta and habeas corpus and trial by jury and courage and dignity and responsibility and doing your duty even when it is boring and even when it is dangerous. Centuries. The Crown. The people. All in the slight figure which, when it passes, blurs the eyes and puts a choke in the throat of even some republicans.
> "Our Sovereign Lady the Queen. Bless her. Bless her."

Daily Mirror

Syndication International

Paul Harris/Photographers International

Top left: Ramsey MacDonald, who headed the governing Labour Party, donned full royal plumage when invited to Buckingham Palace in 1927. In 1931 he would allow the king to help "arrange" the popular front coalition with the Tories.

Above: The queen addresses her "subjects" at her "Silver Jubilee," a festival of national chauvinist reaction.

Below: The monarch rides in a golden coach to and from the palace. Such lavish display helps the British ruling class assert the principle of class privilege.

But for some, the "choke in the throat" when the Queen passes might be nausea. So a less obviously sentimental approach to the "magic" of monarchy has been developed: the Queen is good show and a lift for the tourist trade. On U.S. television commercials for British Airways, actor Robert Morley bids for England's piece of the American tourist market. He suggests that the Silver Jubilee, with its solemn ceremonies, palaces and golden coaches, makes England a Disneyesque "Fantasyland" for Americans brought up to believe that kings and queens are creatures like their fairytale counterparts: sorcerers, witches and trolls. Meanwhile liberals slightly embarrassed by the trappings of feudal hierarchy offer a simpler justification: "The Jubilee is a benign event. It does no harm" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 12 June).

A Queen for All Reasons?

Does the monarchy do any real harm? After all, says its apologists, it has no power. The monarchy no longer represents feudalism as an economic-social order. The tyranny of kings has been replaced by the tyranny of capital. The *Economist* magazine points out that despite her visible crown the Queen would not dare echo Richard Nixon's "If I do it, it's legal."

But the monarchy performs important functions for the British ruling class. First of all, it serves an ideological purpose as a popular focus for national chauvinism and reaction. British ideologues argue that the Queen is a symbol of an advanced civilization, of general social achievement and—especially—of class harmony. The bourgeois economic order replaced the feudal one, they say, but look how well we retain our continuity with the past! The English social revolution, which came early and was somewhat truncated, makes for a pretty, if inapplicable, myth of class peace: the feudal aristocracy and the bourgeoisie which supplanted it reached accord and became the Establishment, embodied in the monarchy, the House of Lords and the Established Church.

The Queen thus represents the British counterpart to the American myth that U.S. society is classless. In England it is manifestly impossible to deny the existence of class-based inequality. So the ruling class maintains that while there are classes, and there may be shifts in the class structure, *there must be no class struggle*. The monarchy is the living and familiar sign that there is a grossly unequal social place for everyone, and that this is historical and inevitable. That is why the Queen is treated with such dignity, why this cow is sacred.

There is plenty of talk about the privilege of the monarchy, but it is nearly always cast in the arguments that anti-monarchist liberals have raised since the nineteenth century: it is a waste of money. But it is not the amount of money that makes the monarchy reactionary; the function of the money is to flamboyantly assert social privilege. For the bourgeoisie, it's cheap at the price.

So the Queen, who really believes in the monarchy, maintains a costly, stuffy sense of that privilege. Her "right" to feed her six Corgi dogs out of little silver bowls once derived from "god"; now it derives from capital, but it is all the same to her royal highness. She still has her castles (one with 365 rooms), ornate gold carriage, servants, race horses, royal yacht and airplane, Keeper of the Swans—and of course her personal stock portfolio, tax-free by statute. No one really knows exactly how much the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Shachtmanite Orphans Look for Home...

RMC Seeks "Fusion" with SWP

The Detroit-based Revolutionary Marxist Committee (RMC), a rightward-moving Shachtmanite formation and one of a series of splits from the now faltering Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), has announced its intention of seeking to enter the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The rationales for this move are contained in a long and interesting document entitled "For Trotskyist Unity" (*Revolutionary Marxist Papers* No. 14). For its part the ex-Trotskyist SWP seems willing enough to consummate such a unification if only the RMC will meet several organizational conditions.

Significantly the SWP does not make the "fusion" dependent upon the RMC dropping its deep-rooted opposition to the Trotskyist policy of unconditional military defense of the USSR in conflict with imperialism. Why should it? The SWP long ago abandoned this central plank of the Trotskyist program in deeds if not in words. Especially now, while it is shamefully tailing U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, the SWP will no doubt find it useful to admit into membership a tendency that holds a position historically linked to a social-patriotic adaptation to American imperialism. Just as the SWP's reformism demanded the expulsion of the pro-guerrillaist centrists of the Internationalist Tendency (IT), likewise the ex-Trotskyist SWP reformists find it convenient to admit these hardened Shachtmanites into their party. This fusion is intended primarily as a statement to the bourgeoisie, the labor bureaucracy and mainstream social democrats—notably the Harringtonite Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC)—of the kind of social-democratic grab bag the SWP has become.

The reformist SWP still finds its Trotskyist heritage to be a useful veneer, however. Trotsky's proletarian revolutionary struggle against Stalinism is falsified and advanced as a justification for what in fact is a Stalinophobic reconciliation with U.S. imperialism. What else can be made out of the solidarity with Soviet dissidents of the stripe of Sakharov, Bukovsky, and Amalrik, all of whom assign to U.S. imperialism the task of struggling against Stalinism in the name of "democracy" and "human rights"? It is precisely for the same reason, to demonstrate their democratic "respectability" and thus hopefully make themselves more acceptable to their "own" bourgeoisies, that "Eurocommunists" such as Spanish Communist Party leader Carrillo flirt with the idea of "rehabilitating" Trotsky.

The SWP is thus compelled, despite the evident congruence between its practice and the Shachtmanite policies of the RMC, to justify, at least internally, a fusion which stands in flat contradiction to its seldom-stated *paper* program. This contradiction is noted early on in SWP leader Larry Siegle's "Report on Revolutionary Marxist Committee Fusion Proposal" (*SWP Internal Discussion Bulletin*, May 1977). Concerning the RMC's position on the Russian question, Siegle notes:

> "Their [the RMC's] view on the Soviet Union is not just a matter of what stand to take in the event of a full-scale attack on the Soviet Union by imperialism—which, to be practical, might not leave anybody much time to take a position at all. But this is a question which comes up everyday. It comes up right now. Every issue of the *Militant* that writes about Carter's latest gambit on the arms talks has a line different than theirs. Everything we write and say about Stalinism, about events in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Vietnam, or East Europe, involves at its heart these basic differences."

Given Joe Hansen's recent writings on "disarmament" in the *Militant* there is a strong temptation to point out that brother Siegle spoke too soon. But as if to adumbrate Hansen's social-pacifistic "third camp" line on the question of Soviet nuclear armaments, Siegle hastens to add:

> "We don't believe that their state capitalist theory *and the political positions that flow from it* pose an absolute barrier to membership in the party." [our emphasis]

Apparently not! Siegle would have been more accurate if he said that the "third camp" positions of the RMC, far from being an absolute barrier to SWP membership, are in fact what makes the RMC/SWP unity waltz conceivable. For the SWP today, an absolute barrier to membership would be, on the contrary, a firm insistence on the Trotskyist policy of unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism.

The SWP: 1957 and 1977

This is the first group coming into the SWP since the 1957 fusion with the left wing of the Young Socialist League (YSL), the youth group of Max Shachtman's Independent Socialist League (ISL). The comparison between that fusion and the one being proposed with the RMC is instructive. In 1957 the left wing of the YSL broke with Shachtmanism and came over to the Trotskyist program of the SWP, including on Soviet defensism. Both the experience of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, the first stages of an anti-Stalinist proletarian political revolution, and the drive by Shachtman to liquidate the ISL/YSL into the "State Department socialist" Socialist Party/Social Democratic Federation (SP/SDF) impelled the YSL left opposition to join the then still-revolutionary SWP.

In 1957, it was the Shachtmanites that raised the slogan of "Down With Totalitarianism, East and West!" Today, it is the SWP's presidential candidate Peter Camejo who tells the U.S. House Intelligence Committee: "We are opposed to totalitarianism everywhere in the world, whether in the USSR or in Spain." In 1957, Shachtman liquidated his organization into social democracy and went on to support the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba by Kennedy's CIA. In 1977, right-wing Shachtmanites, sensing the SWP has no operational differences with the program of Shachtmanism, propose to enter the SWP in order to resolve the few remaining contradictions between the SWP's paper program and its reformist appetites. Once again we see that "third camp" politics lead to adaptation to social-patriotic reconciliation with imperialism.

Between the still-Trotskyist SWP of 1957 and the social-patriotic, reformist SWP of 1977 stands the struggle of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP, the political forebear of the Spartacist League (SL). The RT crystallized in part out of the former leadership of the left wing of the YSL in opposition to the SWP's capitulation to Pabloism which first found expression in the SWP leadership's uncritical tailing of black nationalism and Castroism. Unable to tolerate the RT's revolutionary politics the SWP leadership was forced to dirty its hands and expell the RT for its political ideas. This 1963 expulsion compelled the SWP leadership to *break* with the historic norms of internal party democracy in the Trotskyist movement and to revise its organizational rules, in effect by outlawing factions.

The justification for the 1963 expulsion of the RT was codified after the fact in 1965 when the SWP adopted the resolution "The Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party." This resolution, drafted by Cannon, Dobbs and Novack, was intended as an answer to "For the Right of Tendencies to Exist Within the Party," submitted by RT leaders Shane Mage, James Robertson and Geoff White in March 1963. By that time the SWP had taken a long step toward the banning of inner-party tendencies. The 1965 resolution effectively finished the job. Under the guise of reasserting the norms of the SWP guiding the regulation of inner-party discussion, "The Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party" advanced the following syllogism: 1. Factions are permitted in the SWP. 2. Factionalists are disloyal people. 3. Disloyal people are expelled.

Today in 1977, facing a prospective fusion with a politically aggressive tendency, the SWP leadership turns back to its 1965 resolution. In discussing what the SWP means by fusion Siegle observes: "The party can only be built on loyalty.... It can only be built if its members are loyal to the party, not to some tendency or grouping *inside* the party.... If the RMCers understand and agree with this, then all other problems will work themselves out" (our emphasis). The RMC, which hopes to enter the SWP as a tendency, is worried. Its "For Trotskyist Unity" states:

> "We will only accept a fusion which is democratic, a fusion which recognizes our rights as a tendency as well as our responsibilities. .
>
> "The problem we are concerned with in the SWP is a far cry from Stalinist bureaucratism. Certain well established democratic rights are reserved for minorities and are respected. The main problem we see is the majority leadership's refusal to systematically define and honor an entire range of tendency rights—right to exist between conventions, to hold tendency meetings, to circulate internal tendency documents, etc.—which have not been formalized in party procedure. This omission makes loyal behavior on the part of oppositions difficult regardless of the intentions of such oppositions. This kind of disturbing practice can and should be examined in the course of fusion discussions."

"SL Baggage"

The SWP leadership is somewhat worried about the RMC. What are its politics? What does the RMC have in mind? Siegle is especially concerned about "sectarian baggage" the RMC is alleged to have inherited from the SL. Referring to those organizations to the left of the SWP, Siegle launches into a diatribe against the SL:

> "This land of Oz is inhabited by groups such as the Class Struggle League, Tom Cagle's Socialist League, the RSL and the Spartacist League. The Spartacist League, the largest of these grouplets, sets the tone of fanatical sectarianism and deep hostility to the independent struggles of the oppressed nationalities and women, and developments like the Steelworkers Fight Back. This milieu is also stamped indelibly with the Spartacists' parasite approach to politics, in which any living struggle becomes merely another occasion for the Spartacists to denounce as opportunists anyone who wants to build any movement outside of the Spartacist League."

What the SWP is howling about is the SL's principled insistence on the necessity to construct a Leninist combat party to lead the working class in struggle against the bourgeoisie and its ideological agents in the workers movement. The SL's exposure of the SWP's opportunist tailing of labor fakers, petty-bourgeois feminists and nationalist hucksters makes comrade Siegle uncomfortable. Too bad! The SL, contrary to the wishful thinking of the SWP leadership, is not about to go away.

Siegle and the SWP would like to fuse with the RMC. Unfortunately they fear that it has been infected by the SL:

> "It is obvious, that the RMC is still carrying some of their [the SL's] sectarian baggage. It often seems that they try to find a position somewhere between us and the Spartacist League. For instance, they disagree with the Spartacists on the question of demanding that federal troops be sent to Boston to defend Black schoolchildren. They say we are correct on that. But then they feel compelled to attack us for not raising forcefully enough [i.e., not at all] the idea of self-defense, and they use the Spartacists' 'labor-Black defense' slogan."

Obviously what the SWP leadership intends, therefore, is to harden the RMC against the SL's authentic Trotskyism, while offering its own abandonment in practice of Soviet defensism as a bridge to absorbing this Shachtmanite clot. And the RMC membership, at least, may well be demoralized enough to go for it.

Fusion à la RMC

The SWP badly wants the fusion with the RMC to prove to the labor fakers and social democrats that they can all coexist happily in the same organizational framework. At the same time it fears it will be politically incapable of handling the hardened Shachtmanite RMC. But what does the RMC intend? After disclaiming any "entry" perspective the RMC lays out its ideas. "We want a genuine *long-term* fusion of our cadres with the SWP's" (our emphasis). "For Trotskyist Unity" proceeds, explaining:

> "This is not a proposal for the liquidation of the RMC as a tendency. We continue to have important differences with the SWP and the United Secretariat as a whole.... We have not abandoned these positions but have only changed our estimation of the possibility of coexisting within the SWP and the United Secretariat *despite* these differences and of actively seeking to win support for our views in a loyal and comradely fashion."

Some fusion perspective! No wonder Barnes & Co. stand ready to wheel out

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IMG Turns Lenin into a Menshevik

LONDON—On 9 June the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), changed the name and format of its weekly press. In itself this was not a remarkable occurrence, for these political chameleons have changed hues many times. What is noteworthy is the IMG Pabloists' current "unity offensive" towards other pseudo-Trotskyist centrists, a maneuver in which the appearance of *Socialist Challenge* is intended to play a major part. While the "offensive" appears to be stillborn, this has not stopped the IMG from aggressively attacking Leninist-Trotskyist orthodoxy on the key question of democratic centralism—all in the hope of attracting a motley handful of "state-capitalist" Mensheviks. In the process they have sought, in a series of "theoretical" essays, to turn Lenin himself into a unity-at-all-costs Menshevik.

The Dwarf and the Mole

The new paper will certainly differ less from *Red Weekly* than the *Black Dwarf* and early *Red Mole* differed from their predecessor, the *Week*. The *Week*, a duplicated newsletter reflecting the views of British USec supporters, was a staid paper devoted to entry work in the Labour Party. The rationale for these policies was described by IMG honcho Tariq Ali (the new editor of *Socialist Challenge*):

> "The I.M.G. was formally constituted in 1965; its early life was dominated by the Labour Party and its strategy premised on the emergence of a left current inside the Labour Party which would raise the banners of revolt against the Wilson clique. This never took place despite the vicious and reactionary policies of the Wilson administration. Thus the policy of 'waiting for lefty' had to be adjusted."
> —*The Coming British Revolution* (1972)

The "adjustment" was certainly sharp. Ali, who joined the IMG in April 1968, immediately took the editorship of an "underground-sixties" style fortnightly, the *Black Dwarf*. The *Dwarf* featured pin-up posters of Che and headlines like "STUDENTS—THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD" (in giant type). Ali opined in an editorial on the *Dwarf*'s first anniversary that the paper should be "audacious and yes, vulgar." Another favourite was "We Shall Fight, We Will Win, Paris, London, Rome, Berlin." Ah, those were heady times, and the IMG became the epitome of New Left student vanguardism which effectively wrote off the working class.

But while, as Ali wrote later of the *Dwarf*, "its politics were similar to those of the I.M.G.," not all members of the paper's staff were IMGers. In March 1970, five members of the *Dwarf*'s editorial crew left to start the *Red Mole*, openly linked to the IMG, though again with non-members on the editorial board and with a style and programme very close to the *Black Dwarf*. It was during the lifetime of the *Mole*, roughly in 1972, that the IMG's present less flamboyant petty-bourgeois workerism took hold. With the inveterate impressionism of Tariq Ali & Co., this shift can be traced directly to the heightening of class struggle in Britain, most notably the fight to free the Pentonville Five (construction workers arrested for militant picketing).

"Euro-Pabloism"

The IMG has advertised its new offspring as a "non-sectarian polemical paper" which would "advocate and fight for the unity of the revolutionary left" (*Red Weekly*, 21 April). In a special four-page pull-out dated 19 May it lamented at great length the divisions in the "revolutionary left"—"expulsions and splits occur daily over tactical questions"—proclaiming in "non-sectarian" tones, "The main task which *Socialist Challenge* has set itself is the fight for a unified revolutionary organisation in Britain." This aim is spelled out in more detail in the first issue of the revamped paper:

> "We believe that there are hundreds and thousands of workers who are responsive to the initiative of the far left, but are repelled by its lack of unity. That is why we will continue to appeal to other organisations to participate on the Editorial Board of this paper and help to shape its future. We do not believe that *any* revolutionary socialist organisation today is a party or even the sole nucleus of a future party. To pretend otherwise leads to sectarian posturing."
> —*Socialist Challenge*, 9 June

Aficionados of the zigging and zagging of the USec will recognize here the unmistakable imprint of the Mandelite majority's endless quest to become one with a fabled "new mass/broad vanguard." When *Rouge*, the newspaper of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, went daily last year it announced that a "large place" would be reserved for "an open tribune where all those who in some way represent the broad vanguard can express their point of view."

This "vanguard" was once taken to encompass an amorphous body of unorganised radical youth, but with the rise of popular frontism in southern Europe over the last few years USec leaders have increasingly oriented toward "broad" coalitions of *organisations* to the left of the mass Communist parties. On the continent this has led to participation in the popular-frontist Portuguese FUR, the Italian Democrazia Proletaria, an electoral bloc in France with Lutte Ouvrière and a "critical Maoist" group, and most recently the Spanish FUT. Not inclined to be left out of the action, the IMG in the inaugural edition of *Socialist Challenge* called for "socialist unity candidates," which should be "representative of the class struggle in their area."

But there is another purpose behind this "Euro-Pabloist" "unity offensive." Pledging *Socialist Challenge* to the "battle against sectarianism," Tariq Ali denounced "confusion and incorrect positions" on what the IMG terms the "party-faction question," remarking that, "even where there are differences of a programmatic nature, this does not automatically warrant separate organisations" (*Red Weekly*, 19 May). The considerable political distance between the two main wings of the USec—Ernest Mandel's centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the reformist Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF) led by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—has become so excruciatingly obvious, with both sides denouncing each other in public and following diametrically opposite lines on a host of issues, that the partners in this rotten bloc are having trouble justifying the very existence of such a grotesque parody of the Fourth International.

But neither side is willing to take responsibility for the split or give up the pretension to be the FI. So the IMT and LTF are now avidly seeking to pack in potential allies. The SWP is pushing for admission of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste to the USec, while IMT sections are all looking for fusions with other "far left" centrists. To be sure, a genuine Trotskyist vanguard would seek out openings for a Leninist regroupment, *on the basis of hard programmatic struggle for consistent Marxist policies*. But the USec, lacking anything remotely resembling a coherent line, invites all and sundry to join its swamp of permanent factions, tendencies and cliques.

The Bolsheviks: Faction and Party

Attempting to justify this promiscuous unity-mongering, the IMG has undertaken a fundamental revision of the history of Leninism. Lenin—who in 1905 wrote, "go ahead everywhere and in the most vigorous manner with the split, a split, and again a split"—is transformed into a unity-above-all-else conciliator:

> "No Bolshevik *Party* was created in 1903. What was created was the Bolshevik *faction* of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.
> "Furthermore, not merely was no Bolshevik *party* formed at this time, but Lenin was relentlessly against any split into two parties. His struggle after 1903 was a political and ideological faction struggle against the Mensheviks and simultaneously a struggle for a unified *Party* against what he termed the 'anarchistic' actions of the Mensheviks, which threatened the Party with a split....
> "Furthermore the actual split into two different parties through the expulsion of various elements did not take place because of the Mensheviks' *political views*, but because of a rejection and violation of the *organisational* principles of the Party...." (our emphasis)
> —*Red Weekly*, 26 February 1976

Later in the year, the IMG started off its theoretical supplement to *Red Weekly* in the same vein. A lengthy article entitled "The Bolshevik Faction and the Fight for the Party" (*Red Weekly*, 11 November 1976) asserted that "the political differences which Lenin and Trotsky considered could be contained within a united organisation were vastly greater than those which divide the organisations of the revolutionary left in Britain today."

This reading of Bolshevik history deliberately suppresses the *evolution* of Lenin from a revolutionary social democrat and left-Kautskyan to the founder of the Communist International. *In practice in Russia*, Lenin strove to create a disciplined, programmatically homogeneous revolutionary vanguard. Until World War I, however, he did not break in principle with the Kautskyan doctrine of the "party of the whole class." The resolution of that dialectical contradiction was one of the important elements creating Leninism as the Marxism of this epoch.

The 1903 split, in which Lenin's impulse toward an exclusive vanguard is indisputable, was ragged and explained by him at the time by reference to the particularities of the Russian situation, specifically the need to operate in conditions of total illegality. In 1906, in part under pressure from the authoritative German leadership of the Second International, a formal unity was effected. Lenin accepted this on orthodox Kautskyan grounds, namely that all tendencies in the proletariat should be in the party. For example he wrote at this time:

> "And right up to the social revolution there will inevitably always be an opportunist and a revolutionary wing of Social Democracy."
> —"The Crisis of Menshevism," December 1906

The unity of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in one party was more formal than real, as both groups organised most mass activities independently of one another. In one of his last writings, Trotsky commented on the Bolshevik-Menshevik relation as follows:

> "The Bolshevik faction led an independent existence.... In essence, the question so far as Lenin was concerned was whether it was possible to remain with Bogdanov in one and the same organization which although called a 'faction' bore all the traits of a party....
> "The Bolshevik faction-party carried on the struggle against Menshevism which at that time had already revealed itself completely as a petty-bourgeois agency of the liberal bourgeoisie."
> —"From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene," from *In Defense of Marxism* (1940)

In the course of his polemics against the manifold unity-mongers, among whom Trotsky was one of the foremost, Lenin expressed opposition to tolerating non-Marxist opportunists (even if disciplined) in the party:

> "There can be no unity, federal or other, with liberal-labour politicians, with disrupters of the working-class movement, with those who defy the will of the majority. There can and must be unity among all consistent Marxists, among all those who stand for the entire Marxist body and for the uncurtailed slogans, independently of the liquidators and apart from them.
> "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism."
> —"Unity" (April 1914)

Significantly, Rosa Luxemburg opposed Lenin's de facto violation of the organisational principles of the Second International. Between 1906-11, the Luxemburg-Jogiches group supported what it viewed as the Bolshevik faction of Russian social-democracy. But when Lenin moved to exclude the Mensheviks, Luxemburg broke with him on this question. Largely as a result of her prodding, the International Socialist Bureau intervened to effect a unity between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Lenin regarded Luxemburg's pro-"unity" role in 1912-14 as one of her gravest errors.

As for the IMG's contention that Lenin's and Trotsky's "method" was to reject a split until a historic betrayal on the magnitude of August 1914 (when the German Social Democracy voted for war credits in the imperialist war) had been committed, Trotsky destroys this

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WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

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The "Lumpen Vanguard" Myth

We print below an unsolicited article submitted for publication to WV *by a black inmate at Soledad Prison, presumably in response to our recent companion articles on the film* Brothers *and the politics of George Jackson (*WV *No. 159, 27 May). The author had previously been exposed to the views of the Spartacist League and now writes on the test of those views against a particularly hard and brutal reality. We recommend the article to our readers as a powerful, interesting and fundamentally correct polemic against New Left and "Third Worldist" idealizations of the lumpenproletariat as a revolutionary vanguard, a polemic informed and enriched by the author's personal experience.*

By way of introduction, we offer some comments on the lumpen question, particularly given the decisive importance of the oppressed black race-caste in American political life. While Marx's writings sometimes refer to the lumpenproletariat simply as criminals and other anti-social parasites (e.g., prostitutes), contemporary Leninism uses the term in a broader sense in referring to that stratum permanently removed from the process of production, the stratum Marx termed the "pauperized relative surplus-population." This is how the lumpenproletariat is described in The ABC of Communism *by Bukharin and Preobrazhensky:*

> *"The industrial reserve army gives examples of complete brutalisation, destitution, starvation, death, and even crime. Those who are out of work for years, gradually take to drink, become loafers, tramps, beggars, etc.... Here, we no longer find the proletariat, but a new stratum, consisting of those who have forgotten how to work. This product of capitalist society is known as the* lumpenproletariat *(loafer-proletariat)."*

It is evident that in the U.S. chronically unemployed youth, largely black and Spanish-speaking, who have no prospect of steady work, are part of the lumpenproletariat, sharing its characteristic lifestyle and social attitudes.

Except toward hardened anti-social criminals, proletarian communists are not hostile to the lumpenized population (e.g., welfare mothers, unemployed ghetto youth). However, in sharp contrast to the Black Panthers, revolutionary Marxists have no orientation toward nor program for the lumpenproletariat as such. *Rather we fight to eliminate the conditions which condemn a significant section of the black people and others to desperate poverty, social degradation and even crime. Key to such a struggle are programmatic demands for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to open up more jobs, massive public works at union-scale wages and free, quality, universal higher education with a stipend for students. Only the mobilization of the organized labor movement can realize these demands.*

While black lumpenproletarians have a social psychology similar to the lumpenproletariat in other countries, the political role available to them is fundamentally different. Many black lumpenproletarians are certainly corrupt and brutalized enough to sell themselves to political reaction; the number of black cops and prison guards indicates that. However, virulent white supremacist racial chauvinism is the ideological driving force of American political reaction. Militant reactionary movements in the U.S., above all fascism, cannot be racially integrated, just as Hitler's Nazi Party could not contain right-wing, chauvinist German Jews. Black lumpenproletarians, including criminals, will be among the first victims, not the shock troops, of American fascism.

Just as racist oppression prevents the black lumpenized population from being won to fascism, so it gives rise to anarchistic nationalist-populist formations, best represented by the Black Panther Party in the late 1960's. The Panthers were a highly contradictory phenomenon, simultaneously glorifying lumpen rage while retaining elements of a socialist program and morality, including hostility to the pervasive criminal victimization of the black poor. Marxists would seek to win the best elements of the Panthers, like George Jackson, and transform them into proletarian *revolutionary fighters through an implacable political struggle against lumpen radicalism with its nationalist-populist ideology and street-gang organizational style. "Sectoral" liberation is a completely empty illusion and radical-rhetoric accommodation to the status quo. We know full well that the socialist revolution in North America hinges upon the commanding presence of a black communist cadre component within the entire working class vanguard. Such black revolutionary militants, coming from that section of society with the most to win and least to lose, must as Leninists make their impact upon this capitalist-imperialist society as a whole.*

It is in the context of the social system that crime and punishment must be viewed; seldom do ruling-class courts sentence ruling-class children, and the prisons and jails of capitalist society show clear evidence of the class struggle.

In the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, Vol. III, Frederick Engels eloquently describes 19th century English justice:

> "When a rich man is summoned—or rather invited—into court; the judge expresses regret that the rich man had to inconvenience himself and tries in every way to turn the matter to the rich man's advantage; and if he must, despite everything, condemn him, he again expresses his infinite regret, and so on. But if some of the poor has to stand before that judge, he nearly always has to spend the preceding night in jail with a mass of others like himself; he is looked upon as guilty from the beginning."

Anyone who has been subjected to the arrogant rituals of capitalist courts, that is, anyone who is not rich and powerful, will tell you that conditions today are not so very much different from the ones Engels describes. He or she will tell you, without hesitation, that the state treats common prisoners like objects of social contempt and human defecation.

But one does not have to be poor or black or imprisoned to understand that there is a peculiar kind of justice practiced in this country. It is an understood social reality, like graft and corruption. For the wealthy families and political lieutenants of Wall Street, a cocoon of class privilege and legal impunity protects them from the nemesis of judicial retribution. The penalty of capitalist law and order is dealt out only to the powerless and hungry; for they are regarded to be nothing more than social pests that must be exterminated or hidden away from view.

It is the state which defines the criminal. And it is the social system which creates him and nourishes his development. A society's social health can be measured by the number of criminals it does not have, not the number of criminals in its jails and prisons. An unhealthy social system—based on the exploitation of many by a few—generates a sick and unstable society of human beings.

Crime and Property

The abject inequality of the judicial and penal system in the United States has sparked recent outcries for reform. But penal reform is not a new concept. And it is ironic that the present and inadequate system of fixed structures used for holding social deviants was derived, originally, from earlier attempts to reform then-existing systems of punishment.

Out of the poverty and general misery of the Middle Ages came a system of justice characterized by its cruelty and barbarism. It was the system of lords and kings, feudalism, which imposed "the fate worse than death" capital and corporal punishment primarily against serfs and peasants.

In the 16th and 17th centuries such barbaric practices as beheading, burning at the stake, boiling in oil, breaking at the wheel, and drawing and quartering were standard ruling-class means of maintaining social law and order. In England, for example, there were over 350 different crimes—including petty shoplifting!—which called for the death penalty. Less serious infractions to feudal law, of course, saw less serious penalties exacted through such public forms of humiliation as branding, flogging, dunking, mutilation, and the stocks and pillory.

It was the weight of these severe kinds of punishment which prompted early social reformers to seek more acceptable forms of punitive treatment. Although their intentions were no doubt sincere and good, these early religious reformists—like their modern-day liberal/radical counterparts—failed to attack the root to crime; the early penal reformers did not dig deep into the basic fiber of a social system which created the lord and serf, much less the court and criminal. Feudal crime was, on the most part like bourgeois crime is, the consequence of the property relations in society which generate and tolerate an economic and social disparity between those who own the means of production and those who must work it.

Most crimes, historically, point to a direct relationship to property; for the concept of crime and punishment is defined by the social class in ownership of the means of production. The various bourgeois revolutions which overthrew European monarchy redefined the nature of crime, and the old system of crime and punishment was "torn asunder." Under the relentless and intense pressure of the mobilized and armed masses, and influenced by the ideals of the Age of Enlightenment, the new rulers of a newly organized economic system granted certain concessions within the framework of the newly established property relations. Thus bourgeois crime and punishment took its epochal place in human history.

Punishment and "Penitentiary"

In America, attempts to establish imprisonment to replace flat-out corporal and capital punishment of the feudal sort began in 1632; a small wooden prison was erected in Boston to serve the entire Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Other early attempts at penal reform occurred between 1682 and 1718 when Pennsylvania Quakers, whose religious views made no compromise with bloodshed, initiated various reform campaigns to establish prisons as an alternative form of punishment. Labor was generally scarce in colonial America, and the Quakers argued that if criminals were isolated from society—and able to do "penance"—they could eventually be "rehabilitated" and returned to the workforce.

After 1786, largely due to the victorious American bourgeois revolution and later struggles by the American masses which led to the establishment of the Bill of Rights in 1789, most of the barbaric feudal practices of punishment were abolished. The institution of prison gained greater acceptance as a standard form of servitude. Pennsylvania established the Walnut Street prison in 1790; while New York followed its example in 1797. Other states adopted similar penal systems: Maryland, Massachusetts, Maine, New Jersey, Virginia, etc., instituted the Walnut Street prison model in succession.

But the Quakers firmly believed that isolation was the key to proper repentance, and their model prisons reflected the stern discipline and austere surroundings of a monastery: individual cells, enforced silence, total isolation from other prisoners, and a strict daily regimen of repentance. It is to the dubious credit of these early bastilles of contrition that the term "penitentiary" evolved, and the penitentiary today is an anachronism of its religious and authoritarian model.

A Lumpenproletarian Vanguard?

The arrest and trial of hundreds of black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and white militants during the turbulent 1960's served to focus much public attention and debate on American courts and prisons.

Such trials as the ones involving the Chicago 7, New York Panther 21, Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Erica Huggins, Carlos Feliciano, Los Siete de la Raza, Soledad Brothers, and countless other well-publicized cases generated wide interest and support among many leftists and liberals. This public attention and introduction of politicized elements, into the narrow confines of imprisonment, helped to inject radical politics into the lives of a number of poor and angry young convicts.

The social dynamics of prison life revolve around the mental and material processes of an imprisoned lumpenproletariat. It is here that we find the matrix of much of the largely petty-bourgeois prison attitudes and lifestyle, magnified and exaggerated a hundred times.

In Marxist terminology the lumpenproletariat represents a stratum of society, not a class. It is an amorphous social body which contracts and expands according to the vicissitudes of the capitalist market economy. Its members come from the chronic unemployed, although they may originate

Closed compound at Soledad prison.

from any class. They don't have a direct social relationship to the means of production, nor realize surplus value through the marketing of "commodities" owned by a capitalist, or bought in exchange with a capitalist. Only through a secondary and parasitic form does this social stratum appropriate "wealth."

Dr. Frantz Fanon, the noted black psychiatrist and nationalist, a man of sagacious and international reputation among New Leftists and nationalists during the 1960's, contributed greatly to the exposition of the myth of lumpenproletarian vanguards. His book *The Wretched of the Earth*, an examination of the psychological and political impact of colonialism on its victims in Algeria, advanced the notion of an objectively revolutionary lumpenproletariat and a reactionary working class.

Fanon's purely anti-Marxist view gained a wide audience and won him the blind admiration of the middle-class New Left and nationalist movements of the day. The Black Panther Party saw in Fanon's theories a justification of its largely eclectic and anti-working class outlook; it did not hesitate to seize upon the opportunity to become the lumpenproletariat's chief proponent and apologist in the United States.

These nationalists concluded that their "vanguard" party could be built around a nucleus of "vanguard" black lumpenproletarians: politicized convicts and ex-convicts, radicalized pimps and prostitutes, reformed dope dealers and rehabilitated addicts. This distorted outlook reflected Fanon's general conclusion that the most oppressed were the most revolutionary; an erroneous assumption which catapulted the lumpenproletariat into the mainstream of middle-class radical and nationalist politics.

Karl Marx characterized the lumpenproletariat as capable of "the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices, as of the basest banditry and dirtiest corruption." And in recent history there is some evidence to show that individuals from this particular stratum of society are, indeed, capable of heroic and exalted deeds and sacrifices. Malcolm X resurrected himself from the bowels of prison to become a dynamic and eloquent fighter for the rights of black people; George Jackson's courage and determination cannot be denied; Alprentice Bunchy Carter made the ultimate sacrifice when he was assassinated along with John Huggins at UCLA in 1968. The list goes on, naming individuals radicalized and politicized by their own experiences, choosing a *social* solution to their oppression.

But these examples of individuals do not prove any inherently revolutionary qualities of the lumpenproletariat as a social body; they only show that various individuals from various backgrounds and classes will, at one time or another, reject their past and side with the oppressed in common struggle. It is likewise with the bourgeoisie: the mere fact that Engels, a factory owner, was able to break from his privileged class background and become the revolutionary collaborator of Marx does not, one iota, negate or diminish the reactionary and counterrevolutionary character of the bourgeoisie!

For the bulk of the lumpenproletariat its social and economic stake in capitalist society—its largely parasitic relationship *within* capitalist society—is dependent upon the continuance of such an economic system. The general attitude and material position of the lumpenproletariat—as it pertains to capitalism—is not the rejection of capitalist society itself, but rather a desire to benefit from it.

History has seen this stratum of society mobilized again and again in the service of reaction. Its members swelled the ranks of Hitler's fascist storm troopers; and it served with dubious distinction as relentless pursuers of Mau Mau rebels in Kenya for the British. The lumpenproletariat is always readily available to serve as strike breakers. During the 1930's they were used as vicious shock troops against militant workers' meetings and demonstrations; in the 1960's they served as equally treacherous police and FBI informers and agent-provocateurs, contributing greatly to the large number of illegal COINTELPRO frame-ups and disruptions of socialist, nationalist, leftist and antiwar organizations in the U.S. Today it serves as fodder for the South African and Rhodesian armies, and informers for the secret police. The lumpenproletariat's mercenary nature and extreme individualism makes it an unreliable and undesirable ally of the forces engaged in deadly serious conflict with the bourgeoisie.

There is no escaping the lumpenproletarians in prison; they are all around you. They are the professional and amateur criminals, big and petty, Mafia and independent, declassed and socially demoralized: *all are searching for a substitute version of the elusive American dream.*

A very large number of them are black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican; but that fact, alone, cannot give or take from their dubious social worth. (It can only help to serve as a grand indictment against a racist and ethnocentric social system based on the exploitation of wage-labor, and the accumulation of wealth.) There are also the many white lumpenproletarians, and they too occupy the same space and participate in the same mad rush to escape their personal circumstances. But America has lied to all of them.

The Lumpenproletariat in Prison

Yet this hegemonic influence of lumpenproletarians in prison does not, at all, take away the fact that a large number of prisoners come from working-class backgrounds. According to a LEAA survey in 1972 about 60 percent of people in jail, awaiting trial, were employed (under-employed?) at the time of their arrest; compared with 30 percent who had been unemployed for more than a year. These statistics cover only those arrested who couldn't make bail. It is believed that the percentage of those employed, among those able to make bail, must be far higher.

Although the numbers of proletarians in prison are quite impressive, their social weight is negligible. Prison is lumpenproletarian turf, and they are much more organized and less uncomfortable within these surroundings. Prison-born gangs in California—like the Mafia Mexicana, Nuestra Familia, Aryan Brotherhood, and Black Guerrilla Family—although representing only a small minority of lumpenproletariats in prison—exert influence far beyond their numbers. These men know the power of organization.

Together with imprisoned members of street or motorcycle gangs, such as the Crips and Hells Angels, they are a vitiating influence on the general prison population. With the close cooperation of many prison guards, who smuggle in drugs and other contraband for profit, there is a constant supply and demand for narcotics. Often these illicit activities erupt into violent and fratricidal gang warfare, further degenerating the already tense and uncomfortable conditions inside.

Prison Distorts Politics

Life in a closed compound reflects the political currents of the times like a House of Mirrors. *Prison distorts politics.* It corrupts intellectual growth, stifles political development, and retards the radicalizing prisoner's emerging social consciousness. Politics become obtuse, lost, foreign, devoid of a living and learning relationship with the class struggle. Strong is the prisoner's hostility toward theory; there is a tendency to emphasize impulse over contemplation, action above strategy.

In no uncertain terms, the objective conditions of confinement—where prisoners are isolated and out of touch with the masses—ferment their own distorted view of politics. *Prison distorts reality*; and it is not surprising that the general trend of prison-based politics often finds itself expressed through reformism and adventurism: the prevailing mood of the incarcerated alternates between resignation and desperation.

Recent attempts to reform penal institutions, and organize convicts along trade-union lines have largely failed. The reformist Prisoners Union finds itself as frustrated and ineffective as its smaller rival, the Maoist-oriented United Prisoners Union. Both groups have been unsuccessful in efforts to penetrate an organizational presence behind prison walls, much less promote even the minimum of reform.

Although many convicts are eager to join organizations which purport to fight for their rights, several important factors contribute to the general impotence of these would-be "unionists." Unlike the factory the prison is not homogenous in its makeup, and convicts are constantly being transferred or paroled. The prison is not a point of production; most convicts are without the crucial worker's power to withhold labor in support of demands. Despite what many prison organizers wish to believe, the prison can still continue to be a prison (and function as a prison) regardless of their occasional and insignificant work stoppages.

Furthermore, intense racial and ethnic and regional animosities among convicts have proven to be a major barrier for organization. This weakness in prisoner solidarity is exploited and encouraged by prison officials to keep convict hostilities away from guards and directed at other prisoners. Such a situation provides for a diversion of attention away from the *real* contradiction—between prisoners and guards—lending the false impression that guards are only present to mediate disputes and lessen social antagonisms. (It is interesting that such a rationale is similar to the ones used by the capitalist state in relation to society, and the British army in Northern Ireland.)

Prison organizing is also suppressed by the fact that the Bill of Rights does not fully apply to prisoners. For example: freedom of speech and assembly do not apply to convicts, nor the right to strike and organize; they cannot even vote. Recalcitrant individuals are either transferred to another prison or sent to the "hole" or set up to be killed.

Such conditions as these provide for unfavorable conditions for prison-union organizing, and it is more than likely that prison officials are quite aware of this and will fight tooth and nail to keep things just the way they like them. The recent history of prison struggles has seen the extreme limitations of such struggles. And the forces of state repression will not hesitate to brutally put down any prison strike or rebellion which has gotten out of its control: Attica is a perfect example of the vicious lengths the state will go to prove its point. The curse of the penitentiary is its extreme isolation from the masses; and sporadic and desperate prisoner-resistance to the miserable conditions of confinement can easily be contained.

Revolutionary communists generally support the just struggles of prisoners to improve their living conditions in America's jails and prisons. But there can be no illusions about any qualitative departure from the primitiveness of capitalist law and order without socialist revolution. The institutions of bourgeois society are bound by design to protect and serve the social interests of the employer class over that of the working class. And as long as these special interests conflict—as long as the class struggle continues—the capitalist state will faithfully intervene on behalf of its master.

In the final analysis, the relationship between the capitalists and the working class is the relationship between the parasite and the host. It is a matter of irrefutable and historical record that these two organisms cannot live a symbiotic and beneficial existence. Attempts to change an aspect of class

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UMW...

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dents were urging the miners to go back to work so that the "...situation can be alleviated."

In an attempt to appease the striking miners, Perry led an eight-man delegation to UMW headquarters in Washington to demand the return of all funds to the membership, an end to misuse of fund benefits and the replacement of Harry Huge, a Miller supporter and Washington, D.C., lawyer who, though not a member of the UMW, represents the union on the trustee board. Huge incurred the miners' wrath by voting *for* the benefit reductions along with management and the "neutral" member of the board.

The Washington meeting predictably satisfied none of the miners' demands. Huge claimed his hands were tied by the BCOA's refusal to shift the necessary cash and by federal laws governing fund administration. As in the case of the government's virtual takeover of the Teamsters pension fund, the attack on the UMW shows once again that government regulation ostensibly for "protection" of the workers, along with the labor bureaucracy's groveling capitulation to such legalism, are just another weapon in the employers' arsenal.

Miners should demand that the medical and retirement trust funds be fully funded at no cost to union members and that these monies be administered by the *UMW alone*. These funds should be contractually guaranteed and not pegged to productivity. The bosses must not be allowed to cut off health or pension payments with complaints about strikes, unnecessary doctor bills or bad weather.

The assault on the miners' medical benefits is the latest of a whole series of provocations by the coal operators designed to whip the union to its knees before serious contract talks begin. To preserve the union and prepare it for the job of organizing unorganized coal mines nationwide, these attacks must be fought head-on! A militant miners' leadership would have met the benefit-slashing with a call to expand the strike nationally, demanding full restoration of benefits.

But the warring bureaucratic factions in the UMW seek to exploit the union's ongoing crisis only to feather their own nests, not to fight the BCOA. Miller above all fears a showdown with the coal bosses and echoes their line that strike action weakens the miners' position. Likewise, his bureaucratic opponents merely seek to take demagogic advantage of the benefit cuts to embarrass the union president and push to overturn his re-election.

UMW secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick, who ran third in the June 14 presidential election, had conceded defeat and called for unity behind Miller. Now he smells a possible comeback. Charging that Miller's "cold-blooded" manipulation of the funds, designed to hold off the cutbacks until after the election, "poisoned" the race, Patrick has called on the International Executive Board (IEB) to schedule an immediate rerun.

Miller's right-wing opponent, Lee Roy Patterson, chose almost the same moment to announce his determination also to force a new election. Patterson controls a majority of the IEB and may well have enough votes to order a rerun. In addition Patterson filed five separate lawsuits against the UMW prior to the election and believes they establish the basis for an appeal through the courts and the Labor Department. To complete the three-ring circus, Miller also is expected to appeal to the courts or the Labor Department to head off a new election should he be outvoted on the IEB.

The miners have already had far too much experience with government meddling in their union. Miller and his "Miners for Democracy" cronies were elevated into office in 1972 with the crucial assistance of a Labor Department-supervised election. These bureaucratic "reformers" then stood with the courts and cops against the massive miners wildcats which swept the coalfields. Just last summer miners waged a huge strike against court interference in contractual disputes.

The miners must now stand vigilant against any attempt of the capitalist courts or government agencies to interfere in or rerun union elections under the phony cloak of "democracy." The very same laws of this capitalist "democracy" are used by the BCOA and union tops as an excuse to tie up the miners' money. It is this big business "democracy," with its courts, anti-strike legislation and injunctions—and if necessary troops—which the BCOA and Carter administration will use to throttle and discipline the restive miners.

The Miller leadership is incompetent, cowardly and now more discredited than ever. Patrick and Patterson are no better. Since 1972 the Spartacist League (SL) has refused to lend Arnold Miller any political support, however critical. Unlike our opponents on the left, who supported Miller's first election in a near-unanimous chorus, we pointed to his empty program and his reliance on the government to get into office.

In the 1977 election Miller was so badly discredited that opportunists like the International Socialists and the Socialist Workers Party sheepishly crept into the Patrick camp. The Communist Party campaigned against Patterson (i.e., for Miller and Patrick) while the Workers League came out for Patterson. The SL, however, stated that support for any of the rival pro-capitalist wings of the UMW bureaucracy meant more broken strikes and government intervention into the union.

The proof has not been long in coming. The failure of all three of these misleaders to lift a finger against the latest provocation of the BCOA demonstrates anew that miners cannot look to these fakers to defend even their existing conditions, much less organize the unorganized and win new rights for labor. The slashing of health benefits must be met by a nationwide strike. Placing no confidence in the UMW bureaucracy, such a strike can be run only through democratically elected strike committees.

A show of determined resistance *now* to BCOA cutbacks can open the way for the miners to take the offensive in the crucial upcoming contract battle and win what is necessary to meet their needs: full cost-of-living protection for wages and pensions; fully paid-for health benefits for working and retired miners; organization of the 50 percent of U.S. coal production that is non-union; a shorter workweek at no cut in pay; union control of safety conditions. But these victories cannot be attained without the forging of a new class-struggle leadership. Otherwise the employers will continue to hammer away at the courageous and combative, but desperately leaderless, Mine Workers ranks. ■

Workers Vanguard

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Anita Bryant...

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demands that teachers' unions defend the democratic rights of their entire membership *whether or not* ordinances protecting these rights are retained by the bourgeois state.

What the Crusade Is All About

Homosexuals have become the open target of a general assault on democratic rights. The reactionaries hope that the widespread prejudices against these "deviants" will prevent the defenders of democratic rights from rallying to their defense. But democratic rights are not divisible: the reactionary mobilization has blacks, women, "reds" and all varieties of "deviants" lined up in its sights. The most recent such assault has been a Supreme Court decision permitting states to withhold public assistance funding for abortions.

Anti-ERA, anti-busing and anti-abortion forces have all found the Carter anti-Soviet "human rights" moralism a fertile culture medium in which to grow their rightist mobilizations against homosexuals, minorities, women and eventually the working class itself. But the "gay rights" demonstrations—locked into subreformist "life-style" politics—have posed no strategy to overcome the oppression they protest.

The demonstrations were in the main dominated by Democratic Party politics, with central slogans calling for "Human Rights for Gays" and the election of "gay Democrats." All the marches included large components of the clergy and Democratic politicians hustling votes. One aspirant to the NYC City Council asserted, "Vote for your own!" "Not Anita but Bella" went another slogan. All the marches were stamped with the symbols of religious and patriotic backwardness—candles, crosses and American flags. Popular slogans included "God loves Gays," simple-minded chants of "Two, four, six, eight; being gay is better than straight," and "Anita, we would rather fight than switch."

Reflecting the New Left sectoralism of "gay liberation," the demonstrations were wracked by internal dissension as various groups claiming to be the true representatives of the oppressed vied for power. Thus, the New York march was torn by a dispute over whether it would be led by Lesbian Feminist Liberation or a group of NYC bourgeois politicians. The lesbians won out, but other lesbians felt too oppressed as women to participate in a sexually integrated demonstration. They headed for Central Park, where they held their own exclusionist rally for "dykes and tykes" and set up a goon squad to enforce the exclusion of all male "oppressors." The logic of this sectoralism is that radical lesbians must choose between which autonomous oppressed splinter group they belong to, based presumably on which form of oppression they experience most at any particular time. The result of this particularism has been that men rather than women have led the struggle against the attacks on homosexuality. This was particularly true in Dade County.

Life-style radicalism was abundant at all the demonstrations, but there was very little sense of what the recent attack at Dade County would mean for homosexuals or how to fight it. In fact, many groups made it clear that they thought it was a good thing that homosexuals were under attack because it made them angry, brought them out into the streets and helped "build the gay movement." Homosexuals, who often live compacted into "communities" within the large urban centers, can develop an exaggerated sense of their social weight in U.S. society. That they are being scapegoated by the right wing is hardly anything to be happy about. Mainly it is dangerous and poses the need to understand that this attack is part of a much broader assault on democratic rights.

The response cannot be "homosexuals of the world unite," or the struggle will surely lose. In fact, the question of sex should not play such a role. It is a product of life-style radicalism that some demonstrators carried banners that read "Heterosexuals for Gay Rights." The point is that a general struggle to defend democratic rights does *not* depend on the sex lives of the participants, but on the mobilization of the social power of the working class to defend the democratic rights of all the oppressed.

Fake-Lefts Tail Lifestylers

A number of fake socialist organizations claiming to represent a working class perspective came to the NYC demonstration to tail after the life-style radicalism that dominated the "gay liberation movement." The Socialist Workers Party, the Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League and the tiny Communist Cadre all attempted to appeal to the "gay socialists" on the basis that homosexual oppression is a strategic consideration for the socialist revolution. The RSL therefore raised the slogan: "Gay liberation through socialist revolution." The Communist Cadre in a similar tailspin behind this section of the petty-bourgeoisie in motion, called for "a united front against sexual repression" and "sexual misery" and put forward the slogan that "The sexual revolution and the socialist revolution are inseparable."

The Los Angeles demonstration had a similar collection of fake-left tailists, life-style radicals and representatives of the bourgeois church and state. Homosexual "solidarity" above politics took on a "free speech for fascists" tinge when a civil libertarian took the speakers platform to protest the exclusion of a group of homosexual Nazis. He was shouted down and forced to leave the platform.

An exception to the anti-working-class tenor of the Los Angeles demonstration—whose organizers requested that the demonstrators thank the police for their tolerance—was the militant joint contingent of the Spartacist League and the Bolshevik Tendency of the Red Flag Union (RFU-BT—formerly the Lavender and Red Union). The Red Flag Union (BT), which represents the most advanced section to emerge from the "gay rights movement," is presently engaged in fusion discussions with the Spartacist League. The two groups carried slogans which stressed the need to fight for democratic rights for homosexuals and chanted "Workers unite to smash the right!"

A speaker from the RFU (BT), which has for years struggled within the homosexual milieu, took the microphone to pose the need for a Bolshevik party embodying the Marxist program, the only program capable of overcoming all forms of special oppression through victorious socialist revolution. To the amorphous and ineffective "gay liberation movement" the RFU (BT) spokesman counterposed the need to build the Trotskyist vanguard. The political development of the RFU was a challenge to the demonstrators to look to the SL and take their places not as "gay rights" activists but as proletarian cadres in the front lines of the class struggle. ■

Spartacist League Forum

Euro-Communism: Joining Carter's "Human Rights" Campaign?

Speaker:
ED CLARKSON
Spartacist League

Saturday, July 9 at 7:30 p.m.
215 W. 23rd Street (between 7th and 8th Avenues)
New York City

Massive Job Cuts Threaten S.F. Longshore

SAN FRANCISCO—On June 23 the bureaucracy of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) announced the election of Jimmy Herman and Curtis McClain to replace retiring International president Harry Bridges and secretary-treasurer Lou Goldblatt respectively. The succession "contest" was so lackluster that barely 50 percent of the ILWU's membership turned out to vote, and Herman/McClain easily beat their Northwest-based opponents, G. Johnny Parks and Fred Huntsinger. In addition, the former president of Los Angeles Local 13, Rudy Rubio, who had previously posed as an opponent of the International, ran unopposed for a vice-presidential slot on the Herman/McClain slate.

But while the ILWU bigwigs are slapping each other on the back, *the union bureaucracy has openly joined hands with the bosses in implementing a massive workforce reduction on the Bay Area docks.* Citing a supposed absence of job opportunities for S.F. longshoremen, the joint coast Labor Relations Committee (LRC)—a bargaining committee which embraces both the ILWU and PMA, the employers' federation—has declared San Francisco a low work opportunity port (LWOP).

Unless this move is met by militant resistance from the ILWU ranks, the number of longshoremen in San Francisco will be drastically slashed. The gutting of Local 10 is beginning with "voluntary" transfers to other ports, but it will soon proceed to forced deregistrations (permanent layoffs) and forced early retirements.

Originally the president of Local 10, Cleophus Williams, had called on the union to *voluntarily* invoke LWOP! Williams had scheduled a referendum vote on this issue, urging Local 10 members to vote for institution of LWOP. However, shortly before the scheduled referendum, PMA unilaterally declared the "low work opportunity" contract provisions in force in San Francisco. This completely exposed Williams' policy as nothing other than the PMA's.

In the face of an aroused membership at a special union meeting on June 9 Williams was forced to maneuver, while maintaining his essential position. In this task he was assisted by the loyal "opposition" grouped around Herb Mills and Larry Wing. It was Mills who seconded Williams' motion which asserted: "In view of the fact that LWOP has been entered into the grievance machinery we cancel the referendum and will poll the other locals about the number of slots available for voluntary transfers."

The motion was backed enthusiastically by the membership, which thought that it was voting down LWOP and its hated provisions of forced transfers and deregistration. However, the motion was no such thing; it was merely a ruse to smuggle LWOP in through the back door. The implementation of "voluntary" transfers was, in fact, merely the *first* phase of Supplement III of the contract, which includes mandatory transfers and deregistrations after "volunteers" are exhausted.

The urgently needed strike action against the impending massive cutback in the workforce was deliberately scotched by the combination of Williams and the Mills/Wing clique. Seventy-five Local 10 members had endorsed a call initiated by the class-struggle "Longshore Militant" grouping which demanded a coastwide strike for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. A motion to implement this policy was bureaucratically ruled out of order by the leadership.

WV Photo

"Longshore Militant" sign at Ferry Building pay line urges militant opposition to LWOP ruling.

Subsequently the ruse became more evident. As suggested by the arbitrator, the joint coast LRC took up LWOP and on June 15 declared San Francisco a low work opportunity port, invoking Supplement III of the contract. Nonetheless the leadership has attempted to brazen it out. On June 17 Williams and Local 10 secretary-treasurer George Kaye issued a bulletin stating that "This means no one will be forced to transfer. This is what the union wanted all the time."

This is a crude and base deception. Howard Keylor and Stan Gow, Local 10 executive board members and publishers of "Longshore Militant," issued a leaflet June 20 which blasted Williams, Mills et. al. for their back-door implementation of PMA policies. The leaflet cited key passages of Supplement III, including one stating, "After volunteers have been transferred, transfers will be made in order of inverse seniority." Gow and Keylor also pointed out that "Having declared S.F. an LWOP under Supplement III, no additional authority is required to proceed to the next, involuntary transfers."

AP

Jimmy Herman

They also brought to light other provisions of Supplement III which the leadership had "failed" to inform the membership of: under Item 6, men who sign the "Agreement to Transfer" will permanently lose their "pay guarantee" (PGP) if for any reason they decide not to transfer. Item 7, in turn, declares that those who transfer cannot return to their original port or switch to any other port for three years—unless the port to which they transfer also becomes an LWOP!

Williams, Kaye, Mills & Co. know full well that more than "voluntary" transfers are involved. It is no secret that PMA desires to reduce the longshore workforce in S.F. by 1,100 longshoremen (out of a total of roughly 2,200). But even International officials have made it clear that there are only 150 openings for "volunteers" coastwide. Williams let the cat out of the bag when he issued a second bulletin on June 23 which "promised" that a meeting at the International level would be held before *forced* transfers are implemented. This clearly shows that the present measures will inevitably be followed by involuntary transfers and deregistrations.

The jobs crisis has stripped the fake-oppositionist mask off the reformist Wing/Mills and Communist Party-backed cliques in Local 10. These groupings had earlier ballyhooed "voluntary" transfers as an alternative to the Williams/Bridges schemes of declaring San Francisco a low work opportunity port. This program was, in fact, adopted at the coastwide longshore caucus in April. Now voluntary transfers are being implemented, but as the first stage of Supplement III and LWOP! The International, Williams, the CP-backed grouping headed by Proctor and Robinson and the Mills/Wing gang have all joined hands in supporting LWOP and the present contract, *and opposing strike action for jobs.*

Standing out uniquely from this reformist hodgepodge is the class-struggle grouping around "Longshore Militant," which firmly opposes all transfers, voluntary or otherwise, and demands strike action. The 20 June Gow/Keylor leaflet concluded with the call:

> "The membership must make a hard choice. PMA intends to nickel and dime us to death, invoking Sup. III step by step, playing low seniority against high seniority, young against old, skilled against unskilled, black against white, port against port, until we are too weak to fight. The only alternative has been posed by the *Longshore Militant*. We must reject Sup. III by dumping the contract now and throwing out the leadership which enforces it and electing strike committees to organize a battle for jobs for all longshoremen through a shorter work shift at no loss in pay. This call has been endorsed by 75 members of this Local, including 4 members of the Executive Board. If longshoring as we've known it is to have any future, we must stand and fight!"

If Local 10 is gutted, it would be a major step toward the destruction of the ILWU. The outcome of the jobs crisis, however, is far from determined. It is evident that the majority of Local 10 members have yet to free themselves from the illusions perpetrated by the Local 10 bureaucracy's various cliques, which claim that job cuts will stop with the voluntary transfers. But as the PMA game plan unfolds these illusions will be peeled away. The 75 signatures endorsing strike action, while not yet a qualitative shift in the relationship of forces, already show a loosening of the reformist stranglehold on the membership.

The convergence of the International, Williams, the Wing/Mills reformists and the Stalinists behind PMA and LWOP has made the "Longshore Militant" a clear pole in the ILWU. While "Longshore Militant" is still small, the history of the proletarian movement has demonstrated time and again that such groups, provided they do not waver in the struggle against class collaborationism and provided they seize opportunities for militant united struggle, can grow rapidly in situations where the bankruptcy of all wings of the reformists becomes evident to the masses. In the next period the task of "Longshore Militant" and its allies in the Militant Caucus of Local 6 of the warehouse division must be to regroup the best fighters in the ILWU around its banner in preparation for the battles which must be fought to preserve the union. ■

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Silver Jubilee...

(continued from page 3)

Queen is worth because she is the only person in Britain granted exemption to a recent law requiring financial disclosure. *Newsweek* (13 June) estimates the total wealth of the Queen and her eldest son at about $140 million, excluding an art collection valued at another $85 million. It further estimates that the Queen and her kin cost the taxpayers about $15.4 million a year. But far more costly to the working class is the ideological assertion of privilege and its anti-democratic effects.

Even the bourgeoisie puts up with maintaining these symbols of privilege, sometimes at the cost of considerable embarrassment. Cabinet ministers tell of finding themselves kneeling on the wrong side of a monarch and having to scrape and crawl on their knees to the other side of the room. Cabinet ministers do not crawl for nothing!

Influence and Rallying Symbol

It is not just for strictly ideological purposes that the monarchical establishment is maintained by British capitalism. The monarchy has sometimes exercised direct influence. Of course the monarchy isn't about to use its residual governmental powers today. The last time it vetoed a parliamentary act was in 1707 under Queen Anne. And it has been more than a century since a monarch disbanded a government.

But at critical moments the monarchy has gone beyond its role as advisor to and mouthpiece for the ruling party. At the Jubilee ceremony the Queen created a minor shock wave by attacking the Scottish nationalists: "I cannot forget that I was crowned queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain." But this attempt to influence politics is dwarfed by more dangerous attempts by monarchs to exert reactionary influence.

Queen Victoria, who openly detested any form of republicanism, exerted enormous influence, including choosing personnel for the foreign service, vetoing cabinet appointments and urging a free hand for imperialist policy in Ireland, the Sudan and elsewhere. George V considered dismissing the government over the Home Rule question lest Parliament hand Ulster "to the Pope." George VI proclaimed simply that "India must be governed," urging that Gandhi and Nehru be kept in prison.

Recent British monarchs have intervened in domestic politics as well. In 1931, Ramsay MacDonald's "Great Betrayal"—the National Front coalition government with the Tories and Labour MP's—was arranged by George V, exercizing his "right to be consulted and encouraged." Discussions between the Duke of Windsor and the Nazis in Germany placed the Duke as the rumored likely prospect to head a quisling government in England.

The House of Lords has also raised its be-wigged and powdered head from time to time. Just last year it used its vestigial "right" to approve all legislation by vetoing a Commons-approved bill to nationalize the port of Felixstowe. Then on November 22 a Labour proposal to nationalize the aircraft and shipbuilding industries was blocked by a vote of 197 to 90 in the Lords.

The House of Lords is not elected, the bulk of its lifetime members being drawn from the hereditary "peers" and from bishops and archbishops of the Church of England. Since 1958 the government has held the right to appoint Lords under the "life peerage" system. In addition to the big businessmen, aging Labour Party leaders can expect to become "Lahour peers," rewarded for their service to the hourgeoisie by being put out to pasture in this powdered-wig grazing ground.

These vestiges of feudalism do not often attempt to overstep their bounds, nor would their removal in itself alleviate the oppression of the British working masses. But these relics are not merely an affront to the working class. Under particular circumstances they could become a real military danger to the proletariat.

Remember that the British officer corps is drawn from the petty aristocracy and owes its traditional allegiance to the Crown. The Queen is nominal head of all the armed forces. As the *London Times* (11 June) reported: "To mark her Silver Jubilee the Queen has appointed herself and other members of the Royal Family to a total of 18 honorary commands in the army and RAF, and 19 more in the Commonwealth armed forces." While these commands are merely honorary, the very real officer corps is very clear that its loyalty is to Queen, not Parliament. In a future crisis situation it is quite conceivable that a right-wing bonapartist coup attempting to restabilize the hourgeois order would seek out the monarchy as a huttress to reactionary mobilization, and as a sign of "legality" and legitimacy against a weak hourgeois-democratic Parliament.

The Left and the Monarchy

Though the monarchy is a constant anti-democratic outrage and potential military focus for reaction, the institution goes on unimpeded by the British fake-lefts. The primary responsibility lies with the Labour Party, which has a programmatic election plank to end the monarchy but has supported this reactionary institution as part of its more general commitment to capitalism. As early as 1927 former Labour Prime Minister McDonald allayed any apprehensions about Labour's "democratic" pretensions when he accepted an invitation to the royal court and donned the traditional blue and gold-hraid costume of the peerage.

The Labour Party helps to make manifest Lord Balfour's famous dictum that whatever party is in office, the Conservatives are in power. Even as Labour helps launch the Silver Jubilee, it is clear that the Tories are the natural beneficiaries of the royal festivities.

At the official launching ceremony of the Jubilee, the Queen walked the length of Westminster Hall while her more notable "subjects" applauded. She paraded past the Yeomen, Gentlemen of the Household, State Trumpeters and Household Cavalry, each clad in his special livery and holding the pikes and staves and halbreds in the proper heraldic fashion. The Queen smiled. But there was one smile in this audience that was even wider than the Queen's. It belonged to Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Tory opposition.

Coincidentally (perhaps) Thatcher was wearing precisely the same color dress as the Queen, and the same hat, and seemed not the least bit embarrassed. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (15 May) speculated that "Mrs. Thatcher clearly has friends in high places or else impeccably royal taste." No doubt she has both. It is no wonder that she is beaming about the Jubilee and its reactionary momentum. Mrs. "Let-them-eat-cake" Thatcher and her Tories await their moment to supplant the government of James Callaghan, whose Labour Party is becoming ever more pitifully discredited by its enforcement of the wage-freezing "social contract."

But it is not just the Labour Party that refuses to challenge the British Establishment. All leftist and radical strata maintain a formal opposition to the monarchy but, despite self-congratulatory mock-rejection of the Crown, the populist appetite to associate with the spirit of Jubilee "good cheer" is evident.

The most bizarre and profitable form of mock-rejection of the Jubilee is the punk-rock version of "God Save the Queen" recorded by Johnny Rotten and the Sex Pistols. This number, which attempts to be deliberately arresting and pornographic, has become a raging controversy and despite (or because of) a government han is the number-one hit song in Britain. The Sex Pistols sing that they live under a "fascist regime" which has turned them into "morons" (the latter seems undeniable on the face of it), but they finally explain that they like the Queen after all.

It is not just the Sex Pistols, with safety pins on their noses, who feel ambivalent about the Silver Jubilee. The Communist Party, for instance, is holding "People's Jubilees." But the real Sex Pistols of the left are the state-capitalist Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists). These workerists are running a big campaign under the slogan "Stuff the Jubilee—Roll on the Red Republic." Their newspaper, *Socialist Worker*, is filled with radical-chic playful rejection of the event and calls for organizing "red" Jubilee celebrations. Of course they explain how many hospitals could be constructed with the money wasted on the Crown jewels, but the real message is, join the Jubilee. If the workers are being encouraged to have fun to celebrate the reign of the Queen, then these "socialists" will show the workers how they may have even more such "fun":

> "There's lots of things that socialists can do about the Jubilee. But the key is Don't be a killjoy. Add to the fun.
> "We're for street parties, but we're also for pointing out that we must live in a strange sort of society if we only get to have them every 25 years.
> "And do we really need a bunch of royal scroungers if we're to enjoy ourselves? If we were without them and all the other would-be captains and kings in society we could take over our streets and cities and towns and enjoy ourselves all the time.. ."
>
> *Socialist Worker*, 4 June

Amidst the carnival of reactionary sycophancy, we must recall with fondness the beheading of Charles I in 1649. Oliver Cromwell, at the head of the hourgeois revolutionary army, not only got rid of an intractable monarch, but for a time also abolished the House of Lords and more than a few bishops. By 1660, however, the son, Charles II, was returned to the throne along with the lords and bishops. Cromwell's corpse was dug up from his grave and hanged at Tyburn. And the British have had a monarch ever since. The arch-conservative Edmund Burke favorably compared the Glorious Revolution of 1688 with the "dangerously democratic" French Revolution of 1789, which occurred when the social forces were more fully matured and which swept out the monarchy so resoundingly that bonapartism and restorationism could never really refurbish it.

It is to the reactionary spirit of Burke that the Silver Jubilee is really dedicated. For Marxists, jubilation awaits the day when the proletariat, led by its vanguard party, uproots the bourgeoisie and its entire rotten retinue of feudal remnants. The instruments and symbols of repressive imperialist power have no place outside the museums. In one of the world's first modern capitalist societies, even minimal demands of the bourgeois revolution await the revolutionary proletarian victory: Down with the Monarchy! Down with the House of Lords! Down with the Established Church! ■

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IMG...

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myth in a self-criticism of his own role in putting together the anti-Bolshevik "August bloc" of 1912:

> "I was against the Leninist 'regime' because I had not yet learned to understand that in order to realize the revolutionary goal a firmly welded centralized party is indispensable. .
> "Lenin subjected the August bloc to merciless criticism and the harshest blows fell to my lot. Lenin proved that inasmuch as I did not agree politically with either the Mensheviks or the *Vperyodists* my policy was adventurism This was severe but it was true."
>
> —"From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene"

The Vanguard Party Principle

The betrayal of official German Social Democracy, particularly Kautsky, with the outbreak of World War I caused Lenin to fundamentally reassess the principles underlying the Second International. It was only then that he definitively broke with the concept of "the party of the whole class" and came out for a new revolutionary international. Lenin's definitive break with Kautskyism is signaled by his June 1915 article, "The Collapse of the Second International":

> "The old theory that opportunism is a 'legitimate shade' in a single party that knows no 'extremes' has now turned into a tremendous deception of the workers and a tremendous hindrance to the working-class movement. Undisguised opportunism, which immediately repels the working masses, is not so frightful and injurious as this theory of the golden mean, which uses Marxist catchwords to justify opportunist practice... Kautsky, the most outstanding spokesman of this theory, and also the leading authority in the Second International, has shown himself a consummate hypocrite and past master in the art of prostituting Marxism."

Lenin's pre-war belief that the Mensheviks were to the right of Kautsky turned out to be wrong; the opposite was the case. Martov/Axelrod took an anti-defensist position and on that basis participated in the Zimmerwald movement. Between the outbreak of the war and the February revolution, the main barrier to unity of the Bolsheviks and the Menshevik Internationalists was the latter's refusal to break with the social-patriots and the Second International.

The Communist International excluded not only reformists, but also centrists (like the Italian Serrati) who refused to break with the reformists. The famous 21 "Conditions for Admission to the Communist International" adopted by the Second Congress in 1920 were unambiguous on this point:

> "7. The parties belonging to the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the 'center,' and they must carry on propaganda in favor of this rupture among the broadest circles of the party membership. Otherwise a consistent communist policy is impossible."

And if a break from the centrists is a requisite for a mass revolutionary party, the programmatic homogeneity necessary for a communist propaganda group, which still stands before the task of assembling the vanguard of the class, is far greater still.

Is Defense of the USSR a Split Issue?

The IMG's proposed unity with all the many and strange breeds that inhabit the universe of British "Trotskyism" includes some which maintain that the Soviet Union is "state capitalist" and consequently do not defend the USSR against Western imperialism. For example, the International-Communist League (I-CL) was created in early 1976 through a short-lived fusion of the left-Pabloist Workers Fight group with the state-capitalist Workers Power group. To justify this ill-starred marriage of convenience, the I-CL proclaimed that "the Russian question is a tenth rate question." In addition to being a cover

for a rotten bloc, this attitude reflects the Little England insularity characteristic of the British left. The conflict between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet degenerated workers state is a decisive axis of world politics shaping events from southern Africa to Germany.

Pseudo-Trotskyists like those of the IMG invariably justify unity with non-defensists by pointing to Trotsky's advice to the Cannon wing of the SWP in the 1939-40 fight with Burnham/Shachtman/Abern. Trotsky advised his faction not to split the party even if the petty-bourgeois opposition gained a majority. This was, as he made clear, purely a *tactical manoeuvre* conditioned by the heterogeneity and instability of the anti-Cannon *rotten bloc*. The Abern clique maintained a defensist position, Burnham was openly defeatist and Shachtman was then agnostic. Trotsky wrote to John G. Wright (December 1939):

> "You have not the slightest interest in a split, even if the opposition should become, accidentally, a majority at the next convention. You have not the slightest reason to give the heterogeneous and unbalanced army of the opposition a pretext for a split....
> "A majority composed of this opposition would not last more than a few months. Then the proletarian tendency of the party will again become the majority with tremendously increased authority."
> —*In Defense of Marxism*

The defense of the Soviet Union is, in fact, one of the decisive lines of demarcation between Trotskyism and social democracy. Trotsky categorically stated that Soviet-defeatists can *not* exist in a revolutionary party as a permanent tendency; much less can one fuse with such an organisation:

> "The whole course of the world workers' movement, beginning with July 1914, demonstrates that defeatists and defensists cannot remain in the same party.... The basic task of the present discussion consists in demonstrating the full *incompatability* of defeatism in relation to the USSR with membership in a revolutionary proletarian party. Only such an energetic—a Marxist and not a lawyer's—campaign is capable of compelling the better part of the defeatists to reexamine their viewpoint."
> —"Defeatism vs. Defensism," December 1937

The IMG's Not-So-Grand Unity Manoeuvre

The IMG has offered the British "Trotskyist" swamp a deal which, by and large, the latter has refused to accept. For example, Alan Thornett's Workers Socialist League (WSL) denounced the IMG for its revisionist rewriting of Bolshevik history. However, their own version of the question is no more dialectical. They argue that Lenin formed the Bolshevik party in 1903—end of story. This gross oversimplification, evidently drawn straight from Zinoviev's *History of the Bolshevik Party*, unfortunately allows the IMG Menshevisers to dismiss all opposition to their false-unity mongering as based on Stalinist distortions.

The IMG's immediate appetite in its unity campaign is to sign up the Workers League (WL), a *right* split from Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists). The WL is state-capitalist and deeply opportunist, with a membership that is, for the most part, relegated to the political graveyard. (The main obstable to a fusion appears to be difficulties in convincing the WL that the IMG's current rightward motion will not be abruptly reversed, as these ultra-impressionists have so often done in the past.) The value of such a fusion would be primarily symbolic. It might encourage other clumps in the pseudo-Trotskyist asteroid belt to take the IMG's unity-mongering seriously.

But in the end, it is obvious that organisational seriousness and the IMG are mutually exclusive. The new *Socialist Challenge* is a fit organ of a group for which Bolshevik hardness, programmatic homogeneity and revolutionary intransigence are, as Trotsky put it, a book with seven seals. ■

RMC...

(continued from page 4)

the 1965 organizational resolution designed to muzzle oppositionists. With such a bald statement of an entry perspective, we have a measure of the importance the bureaucratized SWP places on this fusion which clearly is of no numerical significance for them.

RMC Perspective—"We Give Up!"

Of the several fragments which together once made up the hypervolatile RSL, the RMC evidenced the most political seriousness and thoughtfulness. This was demonstrated both by its actions in presenting both sides of the dispute which exited it from the RSL and by its publication of a number of technically competent and literate bulletins, the *Revolutionary Marxist Papers* (obviously modeled after the SL's *Marxist Bulletin* series), in which they tried to come to grips with a number of critical issues facing the workers movement. However, unable to transcend its Shachtmanite origins the RMC now finds itself impelled, willy nilly, into the arms of the reformist SWP.

Following its expulsion from the RSL, the RMC had set for itself the task of struggling for "the theoretical and programmatic revival of the Trotskyist movement, the re-establishment of its link to the revolutionary traditions of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky" ("Introducing the Revolutionary Marxist Papers"). Listing the dangers facing the new organization in the coming period, a document entitled "Our Next Tasks" (*Revolutionary Marxist Papers* No. 4) warned of the possibility of "an un-political collapse into another, seemingly more 'successful' tendency."

> "We have discussed the foolishness of such desires ... Individuals become impatient with the job of clearly and carefully elaborating the Marxist program themselves and seek shortcuts, become increasingly willing to abdicate their responsibility to think questions through to the end themselves in favor of joining a larger, seemingly successful group *without* first analyzing and honestly subscribing to that group's program. The unprincipled character of such an attitude and such behavior is obvious. What is just as true, however, is the fact that such a shortcut can only result in yet another political crisis within the newly adopted organization as the old and never really resolved disagreements and doubts re-emerge, differences widen, and the pressure of the class struggle shatters the new group's illusory image of success and certainty."

Poor RMC! Scarcely 18 months later we are told, "... the present polarization of Trotskyism is unfavorable to our independent growth. There are simply too many Trotskyist organizations which are too old, too large, and too well known for the RMC to be able to sharply distinguish itself in the eyes of many.. " ("For Trotskyist Unity"). So the RMC then poses for itself the question: "With Which Group Should We Fuse?" In other words—"We Give Up!"

It is clear from reading "For Trotskyist Unity" that the RMC considers anyone a "Trotskyist" who calls himself one. Thus the felt orphan RMC spends a fair amount of time shopping around the "family of Trotskyism" in search of a rich foster parent. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) is rejected out of hand. "This tendency constitutes one of the worst possibilities for fusion; it is a dead end. First of all, the iSt is one of the smallest international tendencies."

This is simple Kautskyan philistinism and an expression of the fact that the RMC is not interested in a genuine fusion based on deep programmatic agreement, but in an entry operation where its main consideration is to find the biggest swamp to fish in. The RMC then adds a second reason ruling out fusion with the Spartacist tendency: the alleged "ingrained sectarianism and ultra-leftism" of the iSt causes it to "dismiss the SWP and the entire LTF as 'reformist'. They [the iSt] are open to fusion only with groups which will accept their own program." Horror of horrors! You are quite right, comrades of the RMC. We will not turn our Leninist organization into a social-democratic garbage heap in which there are one, two, three, many "programs." While recognizing the rights of factions and tendencies to struggle for their views within the party, under the norms of Leninist democratic centralism, (long since discarded by the bureaucratic SWP), we do so as part of our struggle to build a politically homogeneous Bolshevik combat party, not a dilettantish discussion group.

"For Trotskyist Unity" also raises some other considerations:

> "First... fusion with the iSt is almost certainly impossible, even if we wanted it. According to its leadership, the SL will not even consider allowing those with a state capitalist position into either the iSt or a 'reborn' Fourth International. And secondly, we have no reason to believe from past history that the SL's internal life is conducive to oppositions. The SL has long been a monolithic organization with no established tradition of minority rights and a series of splits, expulsions, and failed fusions which indicate an intolerance for long-term differences."

The stumbling block to a fusion with the iSt, comrades of the RMC, is program. You refuse to unconditionally militarily defend the USSR against imperialism. It is that position and not your state capitalist rationales for such a programmatic stance that is the barrier to any possibility of a fusion. He who touches the Russian question touches the 1917 October Revolution. Your incorrect position on that question has catapulted you to the brink of joining the party of latter-day U.S. versions of Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske.

With regard to the SL's "intolerant" internal life, the statement is ignorant if it is not consciously slanderous. The SL which has an unblemished record defending workers democracy externally also has an impeccable record internally. We challenge the RMC to prove their charges concretely. Comrades of the RMC, the organization you are about to join not only in effect bans factions, but it flaunted the expulsion of a tendency (the IT) before the bourgeois courts to prove itself free from any taint of "violence." And you have the nerve to term the SL's practice of democratic centralism "intolerant"!

The reference to "failed fusions" is simply incredible. Both the SL/U.S. and the iSt as a whole have been built principally through a series of regroupments and fusions around the Trotskyist program. It is because of the iSt's programmatic hardness and homogeneity embodied in its cadre won through sharp political struggle from many organizations that it has been able to go forward while many of its erstwhile opponents have fragmented and gone spinning off into political limbo.

Into the Swamp!

In November of 1975 the RMC termed the SWP "apologists for Soares and the Portuguese social democrats" whose alibiing of reformism in Portugal was "reminiscent of the SWP's policy toward reformists and liberals in the U.S. anti-war, black, and women's movements in the 1960s and '70s.... Then, as now, mass unity (with the right against the left) is placed *above* the struggle for leadership..." ("National Committee Theses on Portugal," November 1975).

With regard to the two contending wings of the USec these same theses proclaim: "And now the SWP and IMT—respectively the shills of the social democrats and the Stalinists—find themselves headed for a full-scale rupture in the outfit which out of habit, cynicism, and bad taste continues to style itself the Fourth International."

Now, during the summer of 1977, the RMC is rushing to embrace this "outfit." Further, they have the gall to counterpose it to the "sectarian and ultra-left" iSt which we are told has an utterly anti-Leninist approach to the national question. Yet it was the *SWP*, not the iSt, which adopted a policy of criminal neutrality in the face of the 1975-76 invasion of Angola by the South African imperialists!

It is indeed a measure of the sharp rightward swing of the RMC and the deep cynicism borne of its political bankruptcy and desperation that impels it to link up with the gang it had so aptly described just a year and a half ago. The SL consistently warned all the various left spinoffs from the I.S. (the RSL and its fragmentation products) that "third campism" leads inexorably to social democracy. Now the RMC provides another squalid example with a proposed fusion whose respective partners are so deeply reformist, opportunist and anti-Soviet that it would be difficult to describe their combination as unprincipled. For the SWP it represents another milestone on its road to mainstream social democracy, the organizational codification of its abandonment in practice of Soviet defensism. Clearly the SWP and RMC deserve each other's company (for a little while). Bon appetit! ■

FORUMS

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VANCOUVER

Soledad Letter...

(continued from page 7)

society through reforms—without changing its basic and degenerate material basis—is superficial and cosmetic. Prison reform—within the context of capitalist society—is destined to fall short of expectations, and is tantamount to failure. The solution, therefore, is to remove the *tapeworm* from the environment.

But the only social force in society capable of such an historic and monumental task is the working class. And at every stage of the developing class struggles, the workers and their allies must be guided by a political leadership with a concrete and principled communist program. The Spartacist League has accepted the responsibility for building a mass revolutionary party, militantly opposed to the class collaboration of trade-union bureaucrats and Stalinists, dedicated to the principles and traditions of Leninist-Trotskyist politics. Its scientific analysis of world events and exemplary communist work afford the Spartacist League a unique opportunity to win the broad masses of workers and oppressed over to the program of socialist revolution.

Some day, all social barriers shall fall; national boundaries will be erased from the maps of the world; and classes and the prison that is bourgeois society shall fade into oblivion. Yet, in the meantime, intense class conflicts and social struggles are on the agenda; a bourgeoisie is yet to be defeated; and the revolutionary Spartacist League is fully committed to the life and death struggle for socialism in our lifetime.

Smash the state, smash the prisons!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Paul Hosefros/New York Times

New York City demonstration for homosexual rights last Sunday.

WV Photo

Chicago cops drag off protestor at June 14 demonstration against Anita Bryant.

Massive Nationwide Protests

Stop Anita Bryant's Bigotry Crusade!

Tens of thousands of demonstrators, angry over the anti-homosexual, right-wing crusade of Bible-spouting bigot Anita Bryant, took to the streets this weekend in record numbers in cities across the U.S. New York City saw its largest homosexual rights demonstration ever, estimated at 40,000 participants, with marchers forming an unbroken mass for 27 blocks from Washington Square to 34th Street.

Huge demonstrations commemorated the "Stonewall riot" of 1969—a symbol of homosexual resistance to police harassment—which was touched off when cops raided a Greenwich Village gay bar and were met for the first time with sharp resistance. Marches also took place in San Francisco, Miami, Los Angeles, Chicago, Atlanta, Kansas City, Seattle and Providence. In San Francisco, Mayor George Moscone ordered flags to be flown at half mast in memory of Robert Hillsborough, stabbed to death last week by four men who allegedly yelled "faggot" as they murdered him and beat his companion.

All of the demonstrations were sparked by the recent victory of Anita Bryant's right-wing "Save Our Children Campaign" in Dade County, Florida, which was successful in repealing a law prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals. Bryant has vowed that she will take her crusade wherever "God sends me," and that seems to be wherever reactionary forces can be organized for god, country and the family.

On June 14 Bryant went to Chicago to sing for a Shriners' Flag Day celebration at the Medinah Temple. She was greeted by more than 3,000 angry demonstrators. The Chicago cops showed that they were prepared to give the Bryant campaign a brutal boost, attacking and beating several demonstrators and arresting eight, including supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). Witnesses saw one cop drag a demonstrator across the pavement to a paddy wagon by the hair while other cops beat him with billy clubs.

Homosexuality is a touchstone of social attitude in the U.S. Bryant's crusade depends on a number of primitive fundamentalist lies about homosexuals and consequent fears among more socially backward Americans. The idea that homosexuals are child molesters is a lie more powerful than all of Anita Bryant's sermonizing.

This vicious slander hits particularly hard at teachers. The effect, therefore, of Bryant's campaign is to set up an employment test for teachers on the basis of the most backward notions of "social deviance" and to open up homosexual teachers to blackmail, because they could lose their jobs if "discovered." The Spartacist League

continued on page 8

Post-Election Benefits Cuts Enrage Ranks

Miners Strike Against Miller

Within eight days of the re-election of Arnold Miller as president of the United Mine Workers (UMW), 35,000 miners were on strike against the union leadership. Underscoring the complete bankruptcy of the Miller regime, the strike centered in the big West Virginia districts which, along with the retiree vote, had given Miller his slim margin of victory just days before.

Furious over the post-election announcement of big cutbacks in health benefits—which had long been rumored but adamantly denied by Miller during the campaign—thousands of miners in West Virginia walked out and within 48 hours spread the strike with roving pickets through eastern Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Local and district bureaucrats managed to get some miners, including five locals in southern West Virginia, back on the job by June 24, but as the annual two-week vacation began, 22,000 were still on strike.

The strike exploded in response to the June 20 declaration by trustees of the Health and Retirement Fund that 821,000 beneficiaries will have to start picking up the tab for a good part of previously fully paid health care. Working and retired miners will now have to pay the first $250 of hospital costs in addition to 40 percent of doctors' fees up to $250.

The attack on miners' medical benefits is a calculated provocation, designed to hatter and weaken the union prior to vital negotiations over the national contract which expires December 6. The employers' Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) has indicated that it is gearing up for a showdown to break the strength of the UMW. Using the fact that nearly half of all coal mined in the U.S. now comes from non-UMW mines, the BCOA is talking of junking the nationwide contract and bargaining on a company by company basis.

On June 16 the BCOA, which had twice earlier approved cash shifts among separate trusts to assure continued benefits, refused a third union request to do so, precipitating the crisis. While fund administrators claim that

Jack Mahoney

Arnold Miller

three of the funds are low on cash, a fourth one has plenty of money, reportedly taking in $14 million more per month than is required for solvency. Moreover, the cutback announcement was carefully timed to fall just before the June 24 beginning of the annual two-week vacation shutdown, in hopes that anticipated walkouts would fizzle out.

Outraged at the militant wildcats that have ripped through the coal fields, the BCOA is also determined to teach the miners a lesson: knock off the strikes or lose your benefits. Payments to the fund are made by the coal companies on a productivity basis, according to coal tonnage and man-hours worked. Fund trustees claim that strikes since the 1974 contract have cost the fund $65 million with another $20 million loss blamed on shutdowns caused by last winter's bitter cold. The BCOA is screaming about the 869,000 man-days lost to strikes in the first five months of this year, up 92 percent from last year, and wants to make the miners pay.

As Miller chimed in with the coal bosses to blame the reductions on strikes, local officials in Miller's home base, District 17, called a meeting to try to quash the wildcat. District president Joe Perry announced that he, the district executive board and the local presi-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 165

8 July 1977

Rightist Reaction Pushes Anti-Homosexual Hysteria

Stop Anita Bryant!

More than a hundred thousand people demonstrated in San Francisco. They were protesting against the reactionary anti-homosexual crusade of Anita Bryant, the fanatic Bible-thumping bigot who has proclaimed herself the nemesis of democratic rights for homosexuals. Bryant's right-wing rampage is obscene and dangerous.

Outraged "gay rights" activists have taken to the streets in response. The San Francisco protest was by far the largest, but just about every major American city has witnessed mobilizations in defiance of the Bryant crusade. In fact, the "gay movement"—the last gasp of New Left lifestyle radicalism—is seemingly the most vociferous liberal/radical mobilization this side of the Vietnam war. Whether this wave of anti-bigotry protest will have any significant effect on the American social climate depends on whether the working class can be mobilized in a fight for democratic rights through a class-struggle program to fight social oppression.

The present wave of homosexual activism was precipitated by Bryant's June 7 "Save Our Children" victory in Dade County, Florida. Appealing to the most disgusting backwardness with scare tactics designed to conjure up images of sinister homosexuals lurking in school playgrounds, Bryant succeeded in repealing an ordinance prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals. The repeal is an outrage against elementary democratic rights, in effect declaring "open season" on homosexuals and encouraging employers, landlords, etc., to put their prejudices into practice.

Bryant has vowed that Dade County is only the beginning of her "divine mission" and that she will now take her vicious anti-homosexual crusade "wherever God sends me." She has already appeared at a Shriners' Flag Day celebration in Chicago, where local cops showed their support for her "cause" by brutally attacking and arresting some of the 3,000 people who had turned out to protest her appearance. Bryant's reactionary rampage must be stopped!

But many "gay liberation" spokesmen seem to consider Anita Bryant more of a joke than a threat; some have gone so far as to proclaim that she has done homosexuals a favor by publicizing their oppression and forcing them to "unite" against it. The Spartacist League (SL) and Red Flag Union (Bolshevik Tendency) (RFU-BT, formerly Lavender and Red Union) recognize that the Bryant campaign—which has rallied forces representing the aggressive hard core of virulent reaction in this country—is a grave threat not only to homosexuals but to all concerned with democratic rights. The drive to create a favorable climate of opinion for overt victimization of homosexuals reflects something far more sinister than narrow-mindedness on the part of individuals.

The oppression of homosexuals, like the oppression of women, has historically served as an index of more general social and political attitudes, for democratic rights are indivisible. Those who imagine that hostility toward homosexuals can be eradicated through favorable publicity and "progressive" education under capitalism ignore the ultimately-genocidal logic of the reactionary bigotry which in the final analysis is wielded by the ruling class against the proletariat. Thus, along with communists, working-class militants, Jews and other "inferior races," homosexuals were rounded up for Nazi concentration camps, scapegoated for the crisis of German capitalism. The Protestant Church of Austria recently estimated that 220,000 alleged homosexuals perished in Hitler's "death mills." Similarly, during the first days after Pinochet's bloody rightist coup in Chile, troops marching through the streets of Santiago chanted "Death to the faggots!"; random killing of Chilean homosexuals was reported.

Paul Hosefros/New York Times

Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators turned out across the country June 26 to voice their opposition to discrimination against homosexuals.

To struggle effectively against the persecution of homosexuals, "gay rights" activists must begin by understanding that bourgeois democracy is partial, fragile and reversible. Just as "black is beautiful" does not abolish the horror of white racism, so the affirmation of "gay pride" cannot effectively combat the Bryant campaign. The struggle fundamentally is not about sex but about all-sided democratic rights. The "Save Our Children" mobilization is presently the most visible component of a much broader rightist offensive aimed at rolling back real and token gains of the last decade of liberalism. Recent targets include legal and safe abortions, especially for poor women; the Equal Rights Amendment; busing to combat school segregation; preferential minority-group college admissions. The "right-to-lifers" screaming for the death penalty grasp the logic of the Bryant crusade far better than do some of its opponents.

Reactionaries of every stripe have found Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" moralism a favorable climate in which to mount their mobilizations against homosexuals, minority groups, women and eventually the working class directly. Yet homosexual activists still look to the Democratic Party to lead the fight against the victimization of homosexuals! The impressive numbers at "gay rights" demonstrations have unfortunately been dominated by suh-reformist "lifestyle" politics, which like all New Left "constituency" politics collapses into mainstream pressure-group horse-trading and tokenism. If San Francisco mayor Moscone will fly the city's flags at half mast to commemorate the killing of a homosexual, can "gay liberation" be far behind? Yes indeed it can. The election of liberal Democrat Abzug would do "Gays for Bella" about as much good as black capitalist politicians in their daishikis have done the impoverished ghetto masses.

The homosexual movement has now become, in some areas of the country, a recognized constituency, and is thus sometimes catered to and everywhere abused. That is, a few "gay leaders" can now aspire to become part of the all-inclusive party of everybody's betrayal, the Democratic Party—i.e., to point Jimmy Carter's nuclear-missile submarines toward Russia so that Russian dissidents might be "saved" by an imperialism whose hypocrisy exceeds that of Nazi Germany while it competes in the "kill count" category. Manifestly, homosexual working people (like blacks, women, etc.) can only be left in the lurch, and ultimately grossly betrayed, by these ordinary operations of token cooption. "Welcome, homosexu-

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PART 1 OF 2

Heroic Soviet Spies....6

Letters

Dictatorship of the Proletariat: Leninism vs. De Leonism

June 22, 1977
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Dear *Workers Vanguard*:

As a DeLeonist and soon-to-be-member of the Socialist Labor Party, I found Joseph Seymour's article on "Leninism and Workers Control" (*WV* [No. 162], 17 June) to be of great interest.

In my opinion, Seymour's article is flawed by his failure to distinguish between workers' control of production in two very different contexts: underdeveloped and developed capitalist nations. In the former, direct workers' control of production through mass, democratic workers' organizations (such as soviets) is materially impossible due to the limited development of the productive forces. In such situations, the SL's formula of control by a workers' government (presumably a Party-state) and a consultative role for the mass workers' organizations is, I believe, correct. I should add that the only legitimate functions of such a government would be the suppression of counterrevolution and the most rapid possible development of the economy—gradually surrendering its powers to the workers' own mass economic organizations.

In the context of a developed capitalist nation, this formula is totally inapplicable. In nations where a high level of development of the productive forces prevails, the workers are capable of administering production in a planned, democratic way—quite without a separate "workers' government." Of course, some central authority would be necessary, but it must be an authority which is derived from the workers' own mass economic organizations—their General Executive Board, or whatever it may be called.

Moreover, the workers' mass organizations would be quite capable of militarily suppressing counterrevolution. With the military elimination of counterrevolution, the mass economic organizations would cease functioning as a state—their functions as a state would "die out." Thenceforth, they would be concerned with the "conduct of the processes of production." In the developed capitalist countries, no political group could exercise authority apart from that of the workers' own mass economic organizations without becoming a parasitical formation—totally unnecessary and an impediment to the establishment of a classless, stateless, communist society.

In closing it should be noted that Seymour is led to uphold a misleading appraisal of history in the service of his statist conception of socialism: it is simply not true that, historically, "workers' control has emerged *after*, not before, the government was overthrown." His ambiguous use of the term, "the government," allows Seymour to conceal the fact that the emergence of workers' control has always, and must necessarily, precede the *proletarian* overthrow of any essentially bourgeois government. (Workers' control is not, however, a necessary precondition for the military defeat of a bourgeois government by a Party acting in the interests of the working class. But unless effective workers' control emerges after the seizure of power by the Party, the Party will have no alternative but to act as a new ruling class.)

In sum, the essence of socialism is social control of the productive forces. Workers must manage all the industries and services—directly, democratically, and in a planned way—through *their own* government, based on economic constituencies.

Fraternally,
Steve Miles

WV replies: Our basic difference with De Leonism does not concern workers control (as this is generally understood), but rather the nature or, more precisely, existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transition from capitalism to socialism. Steve Miles believes that the overthrow of capitalism in an advanced country leads directly and immediately from the government of persons to the administration of things. As Marxists, we hold that this is not possible. Further, his absolute dichotomy between advanced and backward countries implies the prospect of socialism in one advanced country, like the U.S., amid poverty, starvation and barbarism for most of humanity. We reject such an anti-egalitarian, chauvinist concept.

Steve Miles' counterposition of De Leonism to Leninism is marred by self-contradictions and confusions concerning workers control of production. In the Leninist tradition, workers control is used in two different senses. One is that of dual power at the point of production during a revolutionary crisis. The other is that of an authoritative consultative role by factory committees in the context of centralized planning by a workers government.

What the author of the letter describes as workers control is actually centralized management by the economic organs of the laboring population. Daniel De Leon, so far as we know, never used the term workers control, and certainly did not use that term to describe the organization of the economy following the overthrow of capitalism. In his 1905 *Socialist Reconstruction of Society*, De Leon speaks of Industrial Unionism as the framework for "the governmental administration of the Republic of Labor." There are basic differences between the Leninist concept of a communist vanguard governing on the basis of soviet democracy and the De Leonist Industrial Union government, a syndicalist version of socialism. But these differences are only confused by identifying the latter with workers control.

The basic differences between the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism can be summarized as follows: The dictatorship of the proletariat requires a distinct administrative apparatus. Under socialism, all administrative functions are fulfilled through the *rotation* of the general population. The dictatorship of the proletariat requires an organized public force whose tasks are broader than simply suppressing counterrevolutionary conspiracies. Under socialism, organized violence will have disappeared from social life. During the transitional epoch, there exist significant divisions and conflicts of interest *within* the laboring population; these express themselves in separate political parties vying for governmental power through soviet democracy. Under socialist abundance and the cultural level associated with it, there is no reason to expect permanent divisions over economic and social policy; differences over such questions will be episodic.

Classes will not disappear overnight. Even after the smashing of the capitalist state apparatus and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, there will still be a working class, an urban petty bourgeoisie, in many countries a peasantry, and atomized remnants of the exploiting classes. Consequently, class conflict will persist. Economic differentiation will continue to exist, as will uneven and inadequate cultural levels and reactionary ideological attitudes. For these reasons a workers government must have an organized apparatus of coercion. Because we seek to build upon the already existing cultural and economic levels, specialized professionals (statisticians, doctors, administrators) will be utilized to the maximum by the victorious workers government. However, police methods may sometimes be necessary to prevent and reverse bureaucratic abuses arising from this petty-bourgeois administrative stratum. Backward elements among the laboring population may resist the policies of the socialist majority through violence, political strikes and other forms of direct action. (A workers government would seek to deal differently with backward workers who engage in violence than with counterrevolutionary terrorists.)

For a concrete sense as to why a workers government may have to employ force against backward workers, look at the race question in the U.S. Certainly a socialist government would aggressively implement racial integration in housing, schools, etc. In sharp contrast to the liberal bourgeoisie, a workers government would not implement integrationist policies in ways that undermine or threaten the material interests of white working people. Of course, for there to be a proletarian revolution in the U.S. it will be necessary for the key sectors of the working class to have overcome racial divisions in order to wage a united struggle against capitalism. Nonetheless, it is entirely possible that residual pockets of white racists would still violently resist school integration, just as they have done in Boston these past few years. No genuine socialist could deny the need for a workers government to use force to defend black children and implement school integration in the face of violent racist reaction.

The race question in the U.S. is an example of the divisions and conflicts of interests that will exist in the immediate post-capitalist period. Conflicts arising from economic scarcity will be aggravated by reactionary ideological prejudices—racism, national chauvinism, religious fundamentalism (à la Anita Bryant)—ultimately reflecting the heritage of material deprivation and cultural obscurantism. The situation is further complicated by the fact that soviet democracy will not be restricted to the organized working class of the old bourgeois society, but will also embrace much of the petty bourgeoisie of the old society (e.g., low-level government officials, salesmen), as well as former lumpenproletarians newly drawn into the labor process.

The laboring population as it emerges from capitalist society will give rise to serious divisions and conflicts of interest over such questions as the structure of labor payment, the level and distribution of social services (e.g., housing), the rate of investment and the scale of aid to backward countries. A communist vanguard will be needed to oppose *politically*, not bureaucratically, those backward, parochial and short-sighted tendencies within the working class.

It is evident that Steve Miles identifies the Leninist concept of a workers government with the Stalinist "one-party" regimes of the Sino-Soviet degenerated and deformed workers states. Such an identification is wholly false. The Bolsheviks took power in 1917 after having attained a majority in the soviets (workers councils). Lenin's party neither intended nor desired to eliminate the soviets and govern without the sanction of the working class as a whole. It was the social-democratic Mensheviks and petty-bourgeois populist Social Revolutionaries who rejected soviet constitutionalism and pursued policies which would have led to the victory of bourgeois counterrevolution. The atrophying of the soviets and elevation of the Bolshevik party to a monopoly of political organization was an unfortunate result of the civil war. Lenin did not regard the governmental situation in Russia as it emerged from the civil war in 1921 as a programmatic norm; we look forward to the fullest soviet democracy including all tendencies recognized by the laboring masses.

Furthermore, the Communist Parties of the Soviet bloc are not parties—voluntary associations based on a shared program—at all. They are organs of an uncontrolled state bureaucracy.

The basic statement of Trotskyism, the 1938 *Transitional Program*, asserts that the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy is the struggle for soviet democracy:

> "It is necessary to return to the soviets not only their free democratic form but also their class content. As once the bourgeoisie and kulaks were not permitted to enter the soviets, so now *it is necessary to drive the bureaucracy and the new aristocracy out of the soviets.* In the soviets there is room only for the representatives of the workers, rank-and-file collective farmers, peasant and Red Army men.
>
> "Democratization of the soviets is impossible without *legalization* of soviet parties. The workers and peasants themselves by their own free vote will indicate what parties they recognize as soviet parties." [emphasis in original]

The De Leonists' absolute dichotomy between advanced and backward countries implies the prospect for socialism in one country, like the U.S. Closing the gap between the most developed and the poorest countries is the responsibility of the international proletariat *as a whole*.

International socialist planning will strive to secure a *higher* rate of economic growth for backward than for advanced workers states. Backward elements in the advanced countries, imbued with national chauvinist attitudes, will undoubtedly want to limit the international redistribution of wealth to a minimum. They would also oppose increased immmigration from poor nations. A communist vanguard will have to fight for a genuinely internationalist economic program. It is the internationalist component of socialism which, above all, requires a communist vanguard governing a workers state during the transitional epoch.

Workers Vanguard

MARXIST WORKING-CLASS WEEKLY OF THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE

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Uproar in London over Police Attack on Pickets

Tribune

Police open way for scabs at struck Grunwick factory in North London.

LONDON—A struggle for union recognition at a small film processing plant in northern London, now in its eleventh month, has suddenly become front-page news. The recent introduction of mass picketing at the struck plant and the violent police response have turned the dispute into a focal point of sharpening class polarisation in Britain. The Tories, siding with the employers, bewail the power of the unions and the closed shop. The Labour Party leaders, reluctantly forced to give verbal support to the strikers, defend the right of union recognition in the abstract while seeking to gain credibility for the state as a "neutral mediator." At the same time, as the government they bear responsibility for the actions of the police, who daily rough up picketers in the course of enforcing capitalist "law and order."

The dispute began last August when a worker at Grunwick Film Processing was sacked for "talking back" to a boss. Fifty workers walked out soon after, to be joined a week later by another 100. Mrs. Jayaben Desai, one of the first to walk out and now one of the most prominent members of the strike committee, suggested that they join a union. The strikers contacted Jack Dromey, a Tribunite who is secretary of the Brent Trades Council. Dromey put them in touch with the Trades Union Congress (TUC). The TUC, in turn, referred the striking workers to the right-wing Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staff (APEX).

On 31 August 1976 APEX declared the strike official. By this time 137 workers, primarily Asian, were involved (91 full-time workers and 48 students). Two days later George Ward, managing director of Grunwick, told them they were fired. The workers took the dispute to an industrial tribunal, claiming unfair dismissal, but lost the case. The tribunal upheld Ward's contention that the workers were sacked for "breach of contract," not for joining a union.

After six weeks of fruitless picketing, APEX asked the government's Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS) to recognize its right to represent the Grunwick workers. Set up under the 1975 Employment Protection Act, ACAS attempted to poll the Grunwick workers to see if they wanted a union to represent them. Ward, on the advice of the ultra right-wing National Association For Freedom (NAFF), has consistently refused to cooperate with ACAS and denied it access to his remaining 216 employees. On 9 March, ACAS, only able to ballot the striking workers (91 out of 93 for union representation), issued a report concluding that Grunwick should recognize APEX. Grunwick responded by taking the matter to the High Court, claiming that the ballot was carried out improperly since not all the workers had been polled (i.e., the 216 or so scabs).

Back in November, the strike committee had requested blacking [hot cargoing] of supplies to Grunwick. The Cricklewood Post Office workers complied by refusing to deliver mail to the plant. Using the NAFF solicitors, Ward applied to the High Court to order the resumption of deliveries, and the Postal Workers union backed down. Since June 17, however, the Cricklewood workers have continued the blacking unofficially, and despite threats of suspension, 64 bags of Grunwick's mail have piled up.

Frustrated by the ineffectivness of the strike in mid-May, Dromey and the strike committee, with the cooperation of the Brent Trades Council and APEX, issued a call for mass pickets. (In response to this call, Ward began busing in scab workers.) At this point, Dromey envisioned about 200 pickets at each of the four gates. The first day of the picketing was 13 June. The police reacted with violent assaults, arresting over 70 people that day. Arrests now total over 250.

The picket lines, fluctuating from 200 to 2,000 daily, have attracted trade-union militants, the entire left-of-Labour spectrum, Labour MP's and prominent union bureaucrats. Arthur Scargill, leader of the Yorkshire miners, and Mrs. Audrey Wise, MP, a Labour "left" even managed to get themselves arrested. Meanwhile, two senior Tory MP's began to ride with the scabs in the buses, and the National Association For Freedom placed advertisements throughout the bourgeois press asking for monetary support for Ward.

The police were reinforced with the hated Special Branch and the Special Patrol Group (specialising in "crowd control"). At times there were almost as many cops as pickets. They unleashed daily attacks, and injured several pickets. As a whole, the bourgeois press has played down police brutality while pillorying the workers for defending themselves. In particular, it played up an incident when a policeman hit his head on a flying bottle. The Tories have commended the police for their "restraint" as has Labour Party Home Secretary Merlyn Rees.

The response of the Labour Party "moderates" has been continued support of APEX, but condemnation of the violence, which they attribute to the "far left" groups. The secretary of state for employment, Albert Booth, "suggested" in Commons debate: "I have every reason to believe that the general secretary of Apex will seek to cooperate fully with the police in every way he can to avoid any further violence or disturbances outside the plant" (*Times* [London], 1 July).

Booth has set up a Court of Inquiry, headed by Sir Leslie Scarman, the High Court judge who oversaw the official whitewash of the 1974 police murder of a young leftist during an anti-fascist demonstration in London's Red Lion Square. It also includes one employers' "representative" and one union official, to provide a veneer of neutrality. The Court itself has no legal power: Ward repeatedly states that he will not be bound by it if the decision is against him, and he has been backed by the NAFF in this.

This hard-fought and protracted strike is an important test of strength for the trade-union movement. It is also an opportunity for mobilising the union ranks around a popular, militant struggle of the sort which the anti-working-class "Social Contract" is intended to avoid. Because it involves a marginal group of workers, a number of union leaders have been coming to the Grunwick's picket lines, something they would never have done during strikes by Leyland car workers earlier this year. There the Social Contract was directly threatened. But even in this small strike, national publicity and mass picketing could let it get "out of hand," and this explains the reluctance of Labour and TUC tops to give the strike more than grudging support. Instead they are seeking to use the conflict at Grunwick's to bolster the authority of their discredited mediation machinery, hoping to defuse the class struggle. In an article in the 3 July *Observer*, TUC general secretary Len Murray wrote:

> "ACAS is industry's peacemaker....
> "All those in all the parties and all the organisations who gave their blessing to its formation and functions ought now to be outspoken and persuasive in supporting its efforts to bring peace to Grunwick's factories.
> "That does not mean taking sides in the dispute (although I see the best of reasons for taking the side of APEX); it means lining up on the side of conciliation, not confrontation."

If James Callaghan's government at Westminster, Labour bigwigs at Transport House and the TUC brass view the Grunwick's strike as a troublesome nuisance which must be channeled into a more manageable framework, the left groups who join the lines daily see it as the focus of the class struggle in Britain. The geriatric fake-Trotskyists of the *Militant* group ran a lead article in their 24 June issue headlined: "Grunwick—The Acid Test." Similarly, the reformist-syndicalist Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists) maintains that, "The battle of Grunwick is a battle for trade union organisation itself" (*Socialist Worker*, 25 June).

This assumes that this "self-made" small entrepreneur stands in the forefront of a generalised ruling-class offensive against the whole union movement. But, in fact, even the conservative *Economist* (25 June) refers to Ward as a "maverick," and offers free advice on salvaging the mediation machinery. The rights of immigrant workers in marginal industries are certainly at stake in the Grunwick struggle, and must be defended at all costs. But a small strike at a single shop must not be allowed to become a means of diverting attention from the main issue facing the union movement in Britain today: the Social Contract.

This "voluntary" ceiling on wage increases has subjected the working class to a steady hemorrhaging in its living standards in the three years since Labour came to power. Now the bulk of the union ranks are fed up as they face unrelenting inflation despite their "restraint." Already the engineers (AUEW—metal workers) have turned down Stage Three of the government's incomes policy, and annual conferences are scheduled soon for the miners (NUM) and transport workers (T&GWU) where opposition is massive. Revolutionarics must fight to turn this rejection of the labour fakers' class-collaborationist scheme into a wave of industrial action to break through the Social Contract. Labour "lefts" like Wise and "militant" union leaders like Scargill must not be allowed to get off the hook by a few gestures at Grunwick.

The strike has already elicited significant labour solidarity. Print workers at the *Sunday Telegraph* and the *Observer* carried out job actions to force their newspapers to run pro-union replies to particularly noxious attacks on the embattled Grunwicks workers. Civil Service Union members, who drive the police coaches, were reportedly refusing to continue ferrying these uniformed thugs to the plant. Protests by members of the college teachers union led to the police Special Patrol Group being thrown out of facilities it was using at Willesten Technical College. Camden Direct Workers Department staged a one-day strike on 17 June in support of the Grunwick workers.

Manifestly, a hundred workers cannot win this strike while production is carried on by scabs. Blacking must be continued, and particularly in the case of the post office, all deliveries to and from the plant must be shut off. Mass picketing must bring in thousands to close the entrances—then the police will not be able to escort busloads of scabs through the lines. A plant occupation is also clearly called for. An area-wide sympathy strike could bring 'tremendous pressure on the recalcitrant employer, and turning the scheduled demonstration of 11 July into a one-day national solidarity work stoppage would serve notice that Britain's workers are determined to win this struggle.

The demands of such a work stoppage and mass demonstration should not be limited to the Grunwick strike, however. They must become a stepping stone to a militant battle for massive wage increases, for a sliding scale of wages and hours to put an end to depression-level unemployment and salvage the working class from economic ruin. Not by tailing Labour "lefts" and "militant" union bureaucrats can such a struggle be won, but only through building a Trotskyist vanguard party that can unleash the power of the British working class, by breaking the grip of Labourite reformism. Victory to the Grunwick's strike! Smash the Social Contract! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Varga Commission Finishes Work

OCI Slanders, But Varga Still Dubious Figure

The following article is slightly adapted from the introduction to a bulletin of documents concerning the Commission of Inquiry into the "Varga affair," to be published shortly by the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. The French-language bulletin will contain documentation of the iSt's battle for an impartial commission of inquiry as well as selections from testimony to the Commission and documents made available to it. The bulletin can be ordered from Pascal Alessandri, B.P. 336, 75011 Paris, France, or from Spartacist Publishing, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001.

Jaume Mor

Michel Varga

The documents reproduced in this bulletin testify to the struggle by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) to construct, and then to carry through to a conclusion, the work of a commission of inquiry to investigate the "Varga affair." They document efforts by the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and the Vargaite group (LIRQI, which now styles itself the "Fourth International") first to block even the existence of an impartial commission in the tradition of the Dewey commission of inquiry into the Moscow Trials, and then to create obstacles to the Commission's work. And they reveal the equivocations of the other organizations—the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), Lutte Ouvrière (LO) and the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—which participated in the Commission.

Origins of the Commission

Although increasingly sharp political differences separated the OCI and Varga since at least September 1972, it was not until the end of June 1973, after the "discovery" of Varga's archives around May 1973, that the OCI publicly accused Varga—falsely, as the Commission established—of being an agent of the Stalinist secret police (*Informations Ouvrières*, 27 June 1973) and, later, of the CIA as well. It subsequently took more than six months for the OCI to state that working-class organizations could examine these archives, and it was not until March 1974 that a pamphlet announced in the first *IO* article finally appeared.

The "Varga affair" went hand in hand with a very rapid right turn of the OCI, expressed above all by its capitulation before the popular front in the 1973 and 1974 elections, as well as its rapprochement, beginning in early 1973, with the reformist SWP. In a centrist organization such as the OCI, the formation of a left tendency opposing the leadership's right turn might have been expected. And in fact wobbles showed up in *IO* which looked like the stirrings of left oppositionists in the OCI. But the "Varga affair" cut short any potential crystallization of a serious left tendency in the OCI. Just as the Vargaites cynically sought to take up positions to the left of the OCI, so too the OCI took advantage of its accusations against Varga to seal off anything resembling an opposition. It was obvious that at the outset the OCI was counting on the disinterest of the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France and elsewhere to mask its right turn.

But the OCI did not reckon with the iSt. After seven months of repeated requests, the OCI released a part (20 percent, by its own account) of the "Varga archives" in August 1974. Seven months to xerox 200 pages!

Meanwhile, Varga was pursuing his mendicant methods. In the late 1950's he had sought funds from the U.S. State Department. Now his organization was running after the iSt, not in order to engage in political discussion but simply cynically in the naive hope of getting financing for its own "international conference."

In February 1975 the Spartacist tendency took the step of publishing a long article entitled "A Workers Commission Must Try Varga." The article's main positions on Varga and the OCI's baseless accusations were eventually confirmed by the deliberations of the Commission of Inquiry; our stand might have been drawn directly from the Commission's conclusions. We wrote:

> "Unfortunately, the irresponsible criminal conduct of the OCI, which refused to present its case against Varga honestly before the workers movement, is surpassed only by the astonishingly light-minded response of the Varga group to accusations which, if they are founded on fact, would define this tendency as a sinister clique."
>
> —*Spartacist* [édition française], February 1975

While denouncing the OCI's Stalinist methods as "foreign to the methodology and morality of Bolshevism," we established that in his letters Varga "showed himself to be anti-Semitic, racist and utterly cynical...a basically dishonest individual [acting] in bad faith."

From February until November 1975 the iSt, represented by its French sympathizing section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), led the battle for an impartial commission, without the participation of the accused LIRQI. The record of this fight is detailed in our "Declaration to the Commission of Inquiry on the Varga Affair" of 3 November 1975. During this entire period the SWP held itself aloof, no doubt hoping the Commission would never see the light of day. Since at least the end of 1974 the SWP had been maneuvering with the OCI to facilitate the latter's entry into the USec, and it was obvious that a condemnation of the OCI's lies by an impartial and authoritative commission of inquiry would damage these maneuvers.

As for the LCR and LO, they never objected in principle to participating in a commission which included the LIRQI. LO went so far as to say that it was prepared to accept the OCI into a commission alongside the LIRQI! The iSt "Declaration" of 3 November was drawn up after a meeting on 30 October 1975 during which the LCR and LO had agreed to participate in a commission on the bases proposed by the LIRQI—i.e., condemning in advance the OCI's accusations. At the meeting where our declaration was read, however, the LCR and LO pulled back from the LIRQI "commission"—not for reasons of principle, but solely for reasons of "efficiency" and "credibility."

Thus the Vargaites were in a position to accuse the LCR and LO of capitulating to the iSt. This accusation was not totally unfounded, as the LCR's and LO's hesitations are to be explained above all by their factionally motivated desire to condemn the OCI. Any means would have sufficed, including the LIRQI's "commission." If these organizations surrendered to the principled arguments of the representative of the LTF—a tiny organization compared to the LCR and LO—it is no doubt because they believed that a condemnation of the OCI by a commission which did not include the LIRQI would have greater authority. The recognized authority of the iSt regarding the "Varga affair" also stemmed from the fact that we were the only organization to check the OCI's translations of Varga's materials.

When its maneuver blew up in its face, the LIRQI set up its own "commission of inquiry," of which it was in fact the only component. Not content with accusing the LCR and LO of capitulating to the iSt, an enraged LIRQI accused the iSt of being agents of the OCI because of our principled refusal to participate in the captive LIRQI commissions. As we said in our "Declaration" (*WV* No. 85, 14 Nov. 1975):

> "We cannot take part in a cynical operation totally devoid of the most minimal democratic principles, whose only aim appears to be to whitewash Varga in the hope of factional advantage against the OCI. We are equally against whitewashes and frame-ups."

The Commission Meets

On LO's initiative, a real commission of inquiry was formed in March 1976. From April until December 1976, the Commission gathered testimony, documents, whatever was relevant to the "Varga affair."

At the beginning, the OCI took a very aggressive attitude toward the Commission. It repeatedly stated that the Commission should confine itself to "authenticating" the documents from Varga's archives, and congratulated itself that the members of the Commission "admitted" the documents' authenticity. The OCI suggested over and over in *IO* (in June 1976 and again in October) that the iSt shared its accusations against Varga. To make this amalgam, the OCI quoted our criticisms of Varga (passing over in silence our criticisms of the OCI) in a way calculated to suggest that we shared its characterization of Varga. It was only after the iSt addressed a letter of protest to *IO* that the OCI ceased to put forth this kind of amalgam.

In throwing up this smokescreen, the OCI hoped to obscure the fact that the real question was whether or not the documents confirmed the OCI's accusations. It is now established that they do not confirm the charges, which are therefore revealed as slanders. All the more so since the OCI representatives systematically refused to present other elements which might have aided in "proving" the accusations; it must be concluded that "other" proofs do not exist.

The OCI's attitude toward the Commission came out in its refusal (despite its protestations to the contrary) to make the entire archives available to the Commission or to groups which had requested them. Testifying before the Commission on 22 April 1976, Claude Chisserey of the OCI leadership claimed that the 80 percent of the archives which the OCI kept to itself consisted of bulletins and documents internal to the OCI and thus he "saw no point" in turning them over to the Commission—which, said Chisserey, alluding disingenuously to the exchange of internal bulletins between the OCI and SWP, the Commission was certainly familiar with already. But the SWP representative later stated that the SWP had never received any such bulletins.

Later, the OCI refused to allow Pierre Broué and Jean-Jacques Marie (who had collaborated with Varga on the journal of his Institute) or Roger Monnier (with whom Varga had left his archives) to testify before the Commission.

Toward the end of the Commission's deliberations, the OCI found itself

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Conclusions of the Committee of Inquiry into the Varga Affair

Michel Varga (the political pseudonym used by Balasz Nagy) is today the main leader of the Ligue Internationale de Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale (International League Reconstructing the Fourth International—LIRQI), which now simply proclaims itself the "Fourth International." After the 1956 uprising in Hungary he emigrated to West Europe and, in the late 1950's, became a founder of the "Imre Nagy Institute of Political Science" and of its journal, *Études*. The purpose of this institute, as Varga presented it in 1958, was to analyze problems of socialism, particularly the problems of Hungary from 1948 to 1956. For these projects Varga entered into contact with various groups and individuals in the workers movement.

In 1961 Michel Varga broke with the Institute and the journal. In 1962 he joined the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI). Toward the end of 1972 a split occurred between a group led by Varga and the OCI. The group founded by Varga first took the name OCI-LIRQI Faction.

In 1973 the OCI published material (translated from Hungarian) excerpted from Varga's archives which it had obtained. This material dealt with the period of 1957-1960, and the excerpts published by the OCI are mostly parts of Varga's correspondence. On the basis of these excerpts, the OCI accused Varga of being an agent of the CIA and the KGB.

On 27 March 1976 the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, Lutte Ouvrière, Socialist Workers Party USA, the international Spartacist tendency and the Workers Socialist League (Great Britain) decided to form a Commission of Inquiry on the basis of the following declaration:

> "Some time ago, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) put forth certain accusations, asserting that Balasz Nagy, known as Michel Varga, was an 'agent paid by the CIA' and 'a GPU provocateur.' The leaders of the LIRQI, the organization of which Michel Varga is a member, have called for a 'workers commission of inquiry' to take a position on 'the campaign of unfounded accusations launched by the OCI leadership' as well as on 'the extension of these accusations to the International League [LIRQI] as such, going as far as repeated physical attacks upon militants of the OCI-LIRQI faction [the French LIRQI group], in particular during the joint demonstrations against Francoism and the leafletting outside the meeting to free Soviet mathematician Leonid Plyushch.'
>
> "We consider that such accusations against a militant or an organization are sufficiently serious that it is incumbent upon the entire revolutionary movement to determine whether or not they are justified. That is why we have decided to constitute ourselves as a Commission of Inquiry for the purpose of inviting the OCI leadership to present all evidence it claims to possess, and in order to request all those who could furnish evidence concerning this matter to come and testify.
>
> "The Commission's goal is a scrupulous verification of the facts and documents, which it will make public. In order for this verification to take place with the greatest possible authority, it invites all organizations claiming adherence to the revolutionary workers movement to participate actively in its deliberations."
>
> —signed by representatives of:
> Lutte Ouvrière
> Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire
> Socialist Workers Party—international Spartacist tendency
> Workers Socialist League

After a year of proceedings, the Commission of Inquiry now feels that it has come to its end. It has recorded testimony and sought to verify it to the degree possible.

For practical reasons, the representative of the Workers Socialist League was unable to participate regularly in the Commission's work. Five persons participated regularly: André Frys (LO), André Roussel (LO), Gus Horowitz (SWP), Georges Marion (LCR) and Jean Lesueur (iSt). This report is made by the following three participants in the Commission of Inquiry: Gus Horowitz (SWP), Jean Lesueur (iSt), Georges Marion (LCR).

I Preliminary Conclusions

The members of the Commission of Inquiry, at the end of their proceedings, wish to formulate the following preliminary observations dealing with the ongoing development of the inquiry itself.

1) On two occasions members of the OCI—first Claude Chisserey and Gérard Bloch, then Pierre Lambert—agreed to answer the Commission's questions. But numerous letters and requests by the Commission of Inquiry for testimony from other members of the OCI remain unanswered by the OCI. Pierre Lambert, for one, stated concerning this matter: "We will not allow the Commission of Inquiry to investigate inside the OCI. The goal of your Commission is to state whether the documents produced by the OCI are authentic or not." Concerning the use of violence by members of the OCI against the LIRQI, subsequently the LOR [Revolutionary Workers League] (name adopted by the French section of the LIRQI), the OCI representatives denied this, or refused to reply.

2) It was at the request of the LIRQI that the organizations making up the Commission of Inquiry decided to form it. But the LIRQI demanded that the Commission of Inquiry be formed on the basis of an a priori recognition that the OCI's accusations were slanders. Seeing that the organizations in question did not share its point of view, the LIRQI then formed its own commission of inquiry, the "Commission of Inquiry against the Slanders about Michel Varga," of which it is in fact the only member. Subsequently, on one occasion, LIRQI members agreed to testify before the Commission on the question of the [OCI's] use of violence. Rejecting the Commission in advance as a "maneuver," Michel Varga explicitly refused any collaboration with the Commission.

II Basic Conclusions

Despite the attitude of the OCI and the LOR toward the Commission of Inquiry, the undersigned members of it have arrived at the following conclusions, which they share in common:

1) *Was Varga a KGB agent?*

The OCI has not furnished any evidence proving that Michel Varga had relations with the KGB or the Soviet government. According to the words of the OCI leaders themselves, this accusation is based solely on "political reasoning."

According to the Commission, this accusation is therefore unproved.

2) *Was Varga a CIA agent?*

In order to assert this, the OCI bases itself mainly on the "Varga archives" relating to the period 1957-1960.

These archives show that during this period, after leaving Hungary and before joining the OCI, Michel Varga sought financial support from many sources, including sources close to the American government, the [U.S.] State Department or the Free Europe Committee, in order to finance the Imre Nagy Institute. The archives show that he actively sought this money, knowing full well what he was doing and attempting to hide the source of the money.

But these archives do not prove that at this time Varga was a CIA agent. They do not prove that Varga was a CIA agent after he joined the ranks of the OCI in 1962, nor that he had contact with the CIA during this period.

According to the Commission, the accusation that he belonged to the CIA is therefore unproved.

3) *Did the OCI know of Varga's past before accepting him in its ranks?*

There are no documents which make it possible to answer this question.

- In the LIRQI's publications, Michel Varga has asserted that the OCI was fully informed about his past before he joined its ranks. But Michel Varga refused to give his testimony to the Commission.
- As for the OCI, it has reasserted that it did not know of Varga's past as it appears in light of the archives. Pierre Lambert repeated this in his testimony before the Commission of Inquiry.
- The Commission also heard the testimony of Albi and Kaldy, two Hungarian militants presently members of the LCR and LO respectively, who worked with Varga after 1962 in his Hungarian Trotskyist organization, the LRSH [Revolutionary League of Hungarian Socialists]. According to their

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Draft Conclusions on the Varga Affair Submitted by the iSt

The Commission of Inquiry was formed by Lutte Ouvrière, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, the Socialist Workers Party and the international Spartacist tendency, with the sole aim of arriving at conclusions about the "Varga affair." Although composed of organizations otherwise having serious political differences among themselves, the Commission is united in its determination to safeguard the workers movement against the alien practices of violence and slander and to denounce such practices whenever they may occur, thereby rejecting any attempt to turn it into the tool of any political alliance or regroupment.

On the basis of testimony and documents presented to it, the Commission of Inquiry has arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The Commission notes that, although representatives of the OCI twice appeared before it, the OCI in fact refused to collaborate with the Commission of Inquiry, above all by not turning over to it the entire documentation at its disposal; and by refusing to allow testimony from its members who, based on their own experience, could have answered the Commission's questions—on the pretext that the Commission should limit itself to stating whether or not the documents presented by the OCI were authentic or not.

2. The Commission also denounces the attitude of the LIRQI and its organizations toward the Commission. With the failure of the LIRQI's attempts to prevent the creation of an independent Commission of Inquiry in the best traditions of the workers movement—in particular that represented by the Dewey Commission—the LIRQI set up a so-called "impartial" commission composed overwhelmingly of its own organizations! The LIRQI's slanders of the Commission, which it terms "Lambertist agents," merely show its impotent fury following the refusal by the organizations which formed the Commission to cover for its maneuvers.

3. The OCI did not present any sufficient proof to demonstrate the correctness of its accusations against Balasz Nagy, known as Michel Varga; namely that Michel Varga was supposedly a paid agent of the CIA and KGB. Moreover, the OCI dishonestly manipulated the quotations it extracted from Varga's letters. The testimony, documents and information gathered by the Commission lead to the conclusion that these accusations can only be considered false, and therefore lying and slanderous.

4. It goes without saying that the Commission of Inquiry condemns the OCI's procedures, which are of a Stalinist nature. The OCI may have been familiar with the "Varga archives." It is quite probable that it at least knew of their existence. The OCI therefore had a special responsibility to try to examine these archives, given the central importance of a complete and unambiguous break with imperialism on the part of those who claim to have broken with the Stalinist bureaucracies in Eastern Europe and the USSR. Thus the OCI chose to launch a slanderous campaign, whose sole aim was to intimidate and discredit Varga, only after his political differences with the OCI appeared.

5. The Commission condemns the scandalous lightmindedness of Michel Varga, who refused to appear before it or to make any deposition. He has thereby refused to clarify his present position vis-à-vis his past activities. Consequently, the Commission can only note the fact that between 1957 and 1960-61 Varga consciously solicited funds from sources functioning as agents of American imperialism, and even from the U.S. State Department. And although Varga himself publicly admitted having undertaken consciously anti-communist activities in order to "combat Marxism," he has never explained—nor has he explicitly renounced—certain formulations to be found in his letters at that time, which enable us to characterize his attitudes as anti-Semitic and racist. Varga therefore appears as a highly dubious figure.

6. According to depositions taken by the Commission of Inquiry, the OCI has for a long time practiced violence against competing organizations in the workers movement. The OCI simply used its unfounded accusations against Varga as a pretext—following the emergence of political differences—to physically attack members of organizations which included Varga. The Commission vigorously condemns the OCI for its slanders and its violence of a purely Stalinist sort, alien to the best practices of the workers movement.

In addition, the fact that the LIRQI invoked bourgeois justice against members of the OCI demonstrates that despite its protestations, it does not fundamentally differ from the OCI on the question of workers democracy.

[Paris, December 1976]

Heroic Soviet Spies

PART 1 OF 2

On 21 June 1941 more than 150 divisions of Hitler's Wehrmacht invaded the USSR in what was intended as the classic *Blitzkrieg* of all time, "Operation Barbarossa." Launching a surprise attack along a front extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea, German army Panzers quickly drove hundreds of kilometers deep into Soviet territory. The Russian border troops, completely unprepared, fell back in a total rout. Within five days the White Russian capital of Minsk was taken and in the north Finnish troops stood at the gates of Leningrad. "The greater part of the Russian air force was wiped out in the first few days; the Russians lost thousands of tanks; hundreds of thousands, perhaps as many as a million Russian soldiers were taken prisoner in a series of spectacular encirclements during the first fortnight" (Alexander Werth, *Russia at War, 1941-1944*).

A review of: *The Great Game*, by Leopold Trepper; *The Red Orchestra*, by Gilles Perrault; *Our Own People*, by Elisabeth Poretsky; *Codename Dora: Memoirs of a Russian Spy*, by Sandor Rado.

Just a few hours before the Nazi attack began, the Soviet army air force attaché to the Pétain government in Vichy, France—then in Moscow for briefings—was called into the office of Marshal Golikov, director of the Fourth Department (military intelligence) of the Red Army. A message was to be taken to a key Soviet intelligence officer operating from Paris. "You can tell Otto," Golikov had told the attaché, "that I have passed on the information on the imminence of the German attack to the big boss [Stalin]. The big boss is amazed that a man like Otto, an old militant and an intelligence man, has allowed himself to be intoxicated by English propaganda. You can tell him again that the big boss is completely convinced that the war with Germany will not start before 1944"!

"Otto" was the code name of Leopold Trepper, the head of the Soviet spy network operating in Nazi-occupied western Europe which was to become famous as the "Red Orchestra," the name assigned to it by Germany army counterintelligence. With sources at the highest level of the Wehrmacht command in Berlin, the "Red Orchestra" had for months been supplying Moscow with detailed information about the impending attack, including the proposed plan of battle. Nor was it alone. Another Soviet spy, Richard Sorge in Tokyo, had obtained the exact date of the invasion and the precise number of divisions involved. But these reports were routinely stamped "double agent" or "British source." Stalin placed his trust instead in the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact which had been signed with Nazi Germany in 1939. The entire Soviet people paid dearly, at a cost of millions of lives, for this criminal negligence of the defense of the USSR. This was the price for the Kremlin's reliance on deals with the imperialists instead of mobilizing the world proletariat to overthrow its exploiters.

"Soviet Totalitarianism"?

In recent years there have appeared in the West a number of books dealing with the exploits of leading Soviet spies during the World War II period. The latest, and best, in this field is the memoirs of Leopold Trepper, *The Great Game*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977), concerning the origins and activities of the Red Orchestra, the subsequent *Funkspiel* ("radio game") that outsmarted his Nazi captors, and Trepper's years in Stalinist prisons after the war. Hoping to tap the huge markets for Second World War literature and escapist spy novels of the Ian Fleming genre, advertising for *The Great Game* describes it as packed with "all the unbearable suspense of the very best espionage thriller." But this and related books are more than mere thrillers; they starkly confirm Trotsky's contention that the Kremlin was "the central nest of defeatism" and provide revealing insights into the tragedy of a generation of communists caught in Stalin's counterrevolutionary web.

Although they lacked the political fortitude to join the Trotskyist Left Opposition—except for Ignace Reiss (Poretsky), who was assassinated six weeks after his 1937 declaration for the Fourth International—many of the Soviet intelligence agents of the period were not at all the sadistic torturers and assassins generally (and correctly) associated with the Stalinist secret police. Both Trepper and Sorge, along with many others of lesser fame in the Soviet military/intelligence apparatus, anguished over Stalin's treacherous policies and his murderous liquidation of the remnants of Lenin's Bolshevik party. But they remained paralyzed with fear.

The very existence of this layer—what Trotsky called the "Reiss faction" of the bureaucracy—in the heart of the Soviet state apparatus flies in the face of bourgeois theories of "Communist totalitarianism" in the USSR. One of the standard distortions of Soviet history is the claim that Stalin's crimes were the natural outgrowth of the Red Army, secret police and intelligence apparatus set up under Lenin and Trotsky. Thus a recent academic study asserts:

> "It was under Lenin's guidance and direction that the salient features of the secret police...were crystallized. After Lenin's death, the secret police was gradually transformed into an instrument of Stalin's personal dictatorship. But it was Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, not Stalin, who entrenched the power of the secret police and created the institutional foundations for rule by terror."
>
> Leonard Gerson, *The Secret Police in Lenin's Russia* (1977)

Or take the reactionary ideologue Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. In a speech to the American AFL-CIO he favorably compared tsarist Russia and the Spanish Inquisition (!) to the Bolsheviks' revolutionary justice, concluding: "there never was any such thing as Stalinism. ... in reality Lenin had managed to give shape to all the main features before Stalin came to power.... He is the one who created the Cheka, the secret police, and the concentration camps" (*Warning to the West*, 1976). But contrary to Solzhenitsyn's slanderous attempt to blame Stalin's Gulag on Bolshevism, the military and security organs of the Soviet state originally attracted some of the most scrupulous and self-sacrificing revolutionaries.

The successors to the VChK (acronym for the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, popularly referred to as the Cheka)—the GPU (State Political Administration) and later NKVD—indeed became from the mid-1920's on an arm of Stalinist terror. But many of the more honorable elements sought refuge in the Comintern apparatus and the Red Army's Fourth Department. There they attempted to escape politics by burying themselves in technical work, assuaging their consciences with the thought that at least they were aiding the defense of the USSR from its imperialist enemies.

It was from this layer that Trepper, Reiss and Sorge—three of the most celebrated and effective Soviet intelligence officers of the period—were drawn. Trotsky wrote of Reiss and those like him, "Men keep hoping for a miracle which will on the morrow switch the policy of the ruling clique back to the old rails—and in this hope they keep toiling on." But in the end, because they failed to break with the Stalinist bureaucracy, they were pulverized not only physically but also morally, as Trepper put it, "between the hammer of Hitler and the anvil of Stalin."

Pathfinder Press

Ignace Reiss

McGraw-Hill

General Jan Berzin, victim of the purge.

Who Were the Soviet Spies?

For the bourgeois mind, which sees all spies as daredevils and bon vivants, driven by purely personal concerns such as money and adventure, the Soviet intelligence network was a closed book. They could marvel at it—as did Hitler, who declared in 1942 that "The Bolsheviks are our superiors in only one field, espionage"—but they could not understand or imitate it. While all the Soviet networks, which provided the highest quality intelligence during World War II, relied on traditional sources—disgruntled ruling-class individuals with access to vital secrets—at their core stood long-time revolutionary militants who had been won to the communist cause in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

These militants came from remarkably similar backgrounds. Typically they were members of Communist parties in countries where revolutionary struggles had been smashed and future possibilities seemed remote. Such situations produced cadres who had acquired certain military-technical skills, had been battle-tested and hardened through clandestinity and lacked current opportunities in their native countries. Thus there were, for instance, a number of German participants in the abortive October 1923 uprising who subsequently carried out military missions for the Comintern. Among the authors of the classic 1928 handbook on *Armed Insurrection* (published under the pseudonym of A. Neuberg, but actually jointly produced by Red Army and Comintern specialists) were Erich Wollenberg and Hans Kippenberger. And the Comintern military/intelligence emissaries to China in the late 1920's included Wilhelm Zaisser (who later gained fame as "General Gomez," commander of the Interna-

Gestapo Archives

Nazi file photograph of Leopold Trepper.

International

Red Army commander-in-chief Marshal Tukhachevsky, assassinated by Stalin.

tional Brigades in the Spanish civil war) and the notorious adventurer Hans Neumann.

A similar case was that of Richard Sorge, who joined the German Communist Party in 1919 and spent the next several turbulent years in clandestine work among the mine workers of the Ruhr, going to Moscow after the collapse of the 1923 insurrection. Another Soviet intelligence officer, who later defected to the West, expressed a common viewpoint among these militants:

> "When we saw the collapse of the Comintern's efforts, we said: 'Let's save what we can of the German revolution.' We took the best men developed by our Party Intelligence and the *Zersetzungsdienst* [sabotage squad] and incorporated them into the Soviet Military Intelligence. Out of the ruins of the Communist revolution we built in Germany for Soviet Russia a brilliant intelligence service, the envy of every other nation."
>
> Walter Krivitsky, *In Stalin's Secret Service*

While there were plenty of Germans in the Soviet intelligence networks, the core of the spy apparatus was made up of homeless East Europeans—Latvians, Hungarians and especially Polish Jews. Many of the latter had emigrated to Palestine in the early 1920's, joined the Communist Party and later arrived by one means or another in West Europe. Trepper, for example, was born in Polish Galicia, joined the left-Zionist Hashomer Hatzair youth group after World War I, took part in a workers' uprising in Krakau in 1923, was blacklisted by the Pilsudski dictatorship and decided to flee to Palestine. There he joined the Palestine Communist Party and initiated the Ichud ("Unity") movement of Jewish and Arab workers. Leading a clandestine existence for several years, after repeated arrests he was finally deported to France.

In Paris he at first lived with a childhood friend, Alter Strom, who had left Palestine a year earlier than he. Three years later, in 1932, he decided to leave France when Strom was arrested by the police as part of the "Fantômas" Soviet espionage ring. (The head of the network, Isaiah Bir, was yet another Polish Jew who had immigrated to France after a stint in Palestine.) Thereupon Trepper went to the Soviet Union, where he eventually came to the attention of the military intelligence branch on the recommendation of Strom. And when he returned to France in 1938 to set up the "Red Orchestra" network, he turned to former associates from his Palestine days, Leo Grossvogel and Hillel Katz, both of whom had been active in the Ichud movement.

This was not the only circle of emigré Polish Jews working for Soviet intelligence. Ignace Reiss was born in Austrian Galicia and after 1919 became a member of the Polish Communist Party. He worked for a time for the Comintern apparatus in Vienna, then entered his intelligence career by seeking to obtain military information about Pilsudski's forces during the Red Army's 1920 drive on Warsaw. A book by Reiss's widow, Elisabeth Poretsky (*Our Own People*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969), recounts how Reiss, Krivitsky and four other Jewish boyhood friends from the same border town all eventually joined the Soviet intelligence service.

The Dark Night of Stalinism

The initial plans for a Soviet intelligence network directed against Hitler's Reich were laid in Moscow in 1937 by General Jan Berzin, head of the Fourth Department. Berzin, a Latvian Old Bolshevik, had spent years in jail for anti-tsarist activities. During the Civil War he commanded a regiment guarding Lenin and the government, and he had worked under Trotsky in setting up the military intelligence section. A close associate of Red Army commander-in-chief M.N. Tukhachevsky, he was already under the shadow of Stalin's blood purge. However, he was determined to go on defending the Soviet Union and sought to get around the Kremlin directive against setting up an active network on German territory.

In selecting the comrades to lead such vital and difficult work he sought out those who in their own minds were still seeking to aid world revolution. Trepper says of his decision to join the Fourth Department:

> "Over and above our confusion and our anguish was the necessity of defending the Soviet Union, even though it had ceased to be the homeland of the socialism we had hoped for. This obvious fact forced my decision, and General Berzin's proposition allowed me to save my conscience.... by fighting far from Moscow, in the forefront of the anti-Nazi struggle, I could continue to be what I had always been: a militant revolutionary."

Many others were attracted to the Fourth Department out of similar motives—an apparent escape route from politics which would afford veteran militants a limited, technical avenue to continue to work for socialism. Elisabeth Poretsky describes an archetypal case, that of the Hungarian communist Theodore Maly. He joined the Cheka during the Civil War, then stayed on but finally could continue no longer after the brutal massacres of the Stalinist collectivization campaigns. "I went to the foreign division of the N.K.V.D. and asked for an assignment abroad.... I could not bear to live in the Soviet Union any more. I had to run away somewhere...." But there was no escaping Stalinism for old party cadres: either one succumbed to it or resisted, and the chances of survival were not qualitatively higher for the capitulators. Maly was shot in 1937.

The purge of the Red Army began at the top, with Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky. Tukhachevsky had been deputy chief of staff when Trotsky was commissar for the army but was removed when Stalin's flunky Voroshilov took over in 1925. According to Wollenberg, "Tukha never published a derogatory or even a critical statement about Trotsky," and in his contribution to the 1928 manual on armed insurrection quoted from one of the Red Army founder's orders of the day. Stalin doubtless planned for years to eliminate the popular and respected "Tukha," but the Kremlin's fear of war with Japan in the early 1930's forced Voroshilov to take him back. Then in the summer of 1937 Moscow papers suddenly announced the arrest of the Red Army commander and seven top generals, all old Communists and heroes of the Civil War, on charges of plotting with the Nazis to stage a coup and restore capitalism. The next day their execution was reported.

The details of the Tukhachevsky affair are still murky. Trepper says that Gestapo sources told him they had learned of plans for a coup and decided to back Stalin by planting doctored documents linking the Red Army commander to the Nazis. But whether or not Stalin had additional aid (as in the case of Comintern organizational secretary Ossip Piatnitsky, who was framed by phony German documents), his aim was to clean out the last, key sector of the Soviet state apparatus. In all, 13 out of 19 army corps commanders, 110 out of 135 division and brigade commanders, half the regimental commanders and most of the political commissars were executed, and a total of 25,000 Soviet officers were affected. On the eve of World War II the Red Army was decapitated by Stalin and nearly destroyed.

Trotsky analyzed the purges:

> "The generals rushed to defend the Red Army from the demoralizing intrigues of the GPU. They defended the best officers from false accusations. They resisted the establishment of the GPU's dictatorship over the Red Army.... The generals fought for the security of the

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Trepper on Stalin's Sabotage of Soviet Defense

—Excerpted from Leopold Trepper, The Great Game (New York, 1977)

On December 18, 1940, Hitler signed Directive Number 21, better known as Operation Barbarossa. The first sentence of this plan was explicit: "The German armed forces must be ready before the end of the war against Great Britain to defeat the Soviet Union by means of a *Blitzkrieg*."

Richard Sorge warned the Center immediately; he forwarded them a copy of the directive. Week after week, the heads of Red Army Intelligence received updates on the Wehrmacht's preparations. At the beginning of 1941, Schulze-Boysen sent the Center precise information on the operation being planned: massive bombardments of Leningrad, Kiev, and Vyborg; the number of divisions involved—In February, I sent a detailed dispatch giving the exact number of divisions withdrawn from France and Belgium, and sent to the east. In May, through the Soviet military attaché in Vichy, General Susloparov, I sent the proposed plan of attack, and indicated the original date, May 15, then the revised date, and the final date. On May 12, Sorge warned Moscow that 150 German divisions were massed along the frontier. On the 15th, he cited June 21st for the beginning of the operations, a date that was confirmed by Schulze-Boysen in Berlin....

He who closes his eyes sees nothing, even in the full light of day. This was the case with Stalin and his entourage. The generalissimo preferred to trust his political instinct rather than the secret reports piled up on his desk. Convinced that he had signed an eternal pact of friendship with Germany, he sucked on the pipe of peace. He had buried his tomahawk and he was not ready to dig it up yet.

Thirty years after the war was over, Marshal Golikov, writing in a Soviet historical review, officially confirmed the value of the information received

"The Soviet Intelligence Services had learned in good time the dates of the attack against the USSR and had given the alarm before it was too late.... The intelligence services provided accurate information regarding the military potential of Hitler's Germany, the exact number of armed forces, the quantities of arms, and the strategic plans of the commanders of the Wehrmacht...."

Marshal Golikov was in a good position to make such a statement. From June, 1940, to July, 1941, he was the Director of Red Army Intelligence. If the Russian chiefs of staff were so well informed, what was the reason for the débacle after the German attack? The answer is no doubt contained in a note Golikov himself addressed to his services on March 20, 1941:

"All the documents claiming that war is imminent must be regarded as forgeries emanating from British or even German sources."

On the most important dispatches sent to him by Sorge, Schulze-Boysen, and me, Golikov noted in the margin "Double agent" or "British source."...

On June 21, 1941, we had confirmation from Vasily Maximovich and Schulze-Boysen that the invasion was set for the next day. There was still time to put the Red Army in a state of alert. I rushed to Vichy with Leo Grossvogel....I insisted that Susloparov send the dispatch. Late that evening I went back to my hotel. At four in the morning the manager woke me up, shouting in my ear,

"It's happened, Monsieur Gilbert! Germany is at war with the Soviet Union!"

On the 23rd, Wolosiuk, the attaché for the army air force under Susloparov, arrived in Vichy, having left Moscow a few hours before the outbreak of the war. He told me that before his departure, he had been called in to see the Director, who had given him a message for me:

"You can tell Otto"—my code name—"that I have passed on the information on the imminence of the German attack to the big boss. The big boss is amazed that a man like Otto, an old militant and an intelligence man, has allowed himself to be intoxicated by English propaganda. You can tell him again that the big boss is completely convinced that the war with Germany will not start before 1944—"

The "complete conviction" of the big boss, Stalin, was to be expensive. Having decapitated the Red Army in 1937—which was responsible for the first defeats—the inspired strategist then turned over what was left of the army to Hitler's hordes. During the first hours of the German offensive—in defiance of all the evidence, and because he had the idea of a planted rumor so firmly in mind—he refused to allow a counterattack....

The results: the airfields pounded by German bombers; the airplanes smashed to pieces on the grounds; the German fighter planes masters of the sky, transforming the Russian plains into graveyards strewn with demolished tanks. On the evening of the 22nd, the leaders of the army, whom Stalin had forbidden to put their troops on alert, received the order to drive the enemy outside their borders. By this time the armored divisions of the Wehrmacht had already penetrated several hundred kilometers into Soviet territory.

It would take the sacrifices of a whole nation rising up against its invader to reverse the military situation. But meanwhile, Stalin's error would cost Russia millions of lives and prolong the war.

Anita Bryant...

(continued from page 1)

als! You too can help draw the chariot of your oppressor."

Like feminism and black nationalism, the ideology of "gay liberation" is rooted in the New Left polyvanguardist notion that each stratum of the oppressed must "unite" in an "autonomous movement" to fight their special oppression. The commonality of "sexual orientation" is presumed to transcend class differences as workers and their bosses, tenants and their landlords, supposedly discover "unity" around their "common interests."

What "common interests"? The working class and its allies have no stake in the perpetuation of capitalist exploitation and oppression. The bourgeoisie and its professional servants in the Democratic and Republican Parties have a real material interest in the maintenance of the capitalist system of war, racism and oppression, including its ideological and institutional props.

Homosexuality is seen as a threat to bourgeois morality and the institution of the family. Whether homosexuals are marginally and grudgingly tolerated or are persecuted, reviled and ultimately perhaps even slaughtered depends far less on the size of "gay rights" demonstrations than on the immediacy of capitalism's need to frontally assault the working class. In periods of crisis, when fascist irrationality is revealed as capitalism's last resort, leftists, unionists, minorities and social "deviants" will discover just how much "common interest" they have with the "democratic" bourgeoisie! The fundamental tenet of "democracy" under capitalism is the bourgeoisie's "right" to exploit the working class; the rest is ultimately dispensable. Only those who take the liberation of the working masses as their cause can effectively defend the rights of homosexuals.

Fake-Lefts Patronize "Gay Rights"

Political identity is not defined by sexual orientation. Despite its militancy, the "gay movement" will remain a sandbox for Democratic Party cynics and "lifestyle" radicals unless its most thoughtful militants transcend their parochialism and transform themselves into disciplined class-struggle fighters. But this challenging task has been made immeasurably more difficult by the fake-Marxist organizations. The various Stalinists, with their anti-homosexual backwardness, feed the noxious anti-communism pervasive in this petty-bourgeois milieu. Meanwhile the tail-endists exemplified by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) patronizingly enthuse over the classless "lifestyle" radicalism of the "independent gay movement," thereby in effect recruiting for liberal Democratic politicians.

Most notorious among the Stalinists is the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, which labels homosexuality a "sickness" and bars homosexuals from membership. This attitude is common to all "hard Stalinist" formations, whether pro-Russian or pro-Chinese. It owes less to "workerism" (gutless capitulation before the social backwardness of American workers) than to the need to apologize for the regimes of the deformed workers states, which—unable and unwilling to replace the nuclear family—replicate the backwardness of capitalism, persecuting homosexuals and glorifying the family as "a fighting unit of socialism."

The opportunists of the SWP have become the most sophisticated apologists for the "autonomous" organizations of homosexuals. Knowledgeable homosexual radicals are infuriated to find the SWP portraying itself as their champion, for it was only a few years ago that the SWP abandoned (but never publicly acknowledged or repudiated) its practice of barring homosexuals from SWP membership. Irreconcilably opposed to a class-struggle program for democratic rights which can win homosexual activists to the socialist cause, the SWP recently used the "gay rights" issue to serve as a left cover for Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign (see box).

Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), another cheerleader for militant parochialism of the oppressed, has called a national demonstration under the slogan "Demonstrate for Human Rights." The Vietnamese workers and peasants massacred by U.S. imperialism must be turning over in their graves as the American fake-lefts lend credence to the "human rights" pretensions of the number-one imperialist chieftain. YAWF boasts of its "Gay Caucus"; such a structure, which would have no place in a Leninist organization, indicates only that YAWF views the struggle for homosexual rights as the responsibility of its homosexual members rather than of the organization as a whole.

In the Leninist tradition, the Spartacist League has always made the demand for full democratic rights of homosexuals a part of its program and has defended homosexuals against persecution and victimization. The labor movement—and in particular the teachers' unions—must resist the reactionary crusaders' proposals to impose "heterosexuality oaths" as a requirement for employment. The struggle to break the unions from backward capitalist ideology requires the construction of class-struggle caucuses in opposition to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy which prevents the power of the working class from being mobilized against the forces of oppression and reaction.

The SL has entered into a process of discussion and common work with the RFU(BT), with the aim of principled fusion. A key to the convergence of the two organizations has been the understanding that the class axis is primary and that the fight against all special oppression must be led by the proletarian vanguard party.

Refusing to conciliate "lifestyle" radicalism and autonomist illusions, the SL and RFU(BT) seek to pose a class axis in the fight against all special oppression. Our insistence that sexuality is a private and not a political matter may sometimes shock "gay activists" accustomed to opportunist patronizing, but our revolutionary program will attract the most serious elements from the "gay liberation" milieu.

Bryant's reactionary crusade only underlines the urgency of the fight to weld together a disciplined cadre of proletarian fighters to counterpose a socialist solution to capitalist degradation. ■

Letter from the RFU

Comrades,

The article in the June 24 issue of *WV*, "Lifestylers Attack Trotskyism at RFU Conference," while it generally captured the essence of the conference made an error in analyzing the political evolution of the Red Flag Union. The *WV* article states, "Recoiling from Stalinist bigotry against homosexuals, the RFU developed toward Trotskyism through its study of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution...."

In point of fact, it was not primarily Stalinist bigotry that impelled us toward Trotskyism.

The RFU (until recently the Lavender and Red Union) despite its Maoist leanings was ostracized by the vast majority of the Maoist left because we are homosexuals. So while we were sympathetic to this milieu we were never fully a part of it.

The L&RU's anti-Stalinism represented an impressionistic revulsion against the manifold atrocities of the Stalinist regimes, and preceded our anti-Maoism. Specifically, our position centered on the elimination of party democracy in the Bolshevik Party under Stalin, Stalin's claim that socialism had been built in the Soviet Union (though we did not yet believe that socialism could not be built in one country) and the backwardness relative to sexuality and the family.

Our movement from the point of moral outrage against Stalinist atrocities of all kinds to the current impending fusion with the SL was primarily brought about by the intersection of the L&RU/RFU with the SL and our understanding of and commitment to the building of a Leninist vanguard communist party.

In the spring of 1976 the L&RU began being baited as Trotskyist despite the fact that we didn't know much about Trotskyism and (at that time) we didn't care to know much. In addition, the crushing defeats of the NYC workers, the wilting of the Portuguese revolution, the shameless antics of Chinese foreign policy in Angola and elsewhere sent us into a tailspin. We were not sufficiently tainted by Maoism so as to be incapable of seeing a betrayal as a betrayal. Incapable as we were of understanding these phenomena we were headed directly for political disillusionment and inactivity. It was around this time that we began attending an SL class on Trotskyism.

We entitled our pamphlet on Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, "Permanent Revolution: A Vindication of Marxism," because it, along with the Trotskyist understanding of the Russian question, rehabilitated for us the Marxist principles of proletarian internationalism, workers democracy and communist morality.

Given our contradictory status in the Maoist camp and the petty-bourgeois life-stylist gay liberation movement, we were open to investigating Trotskyism. Ultimately it was our understanding of the crisis of revolutionary leadership that has proved decisive in our movement toward the SL, the nucleus of the vanguard communist party.

Fraternally,
Mike Weinstein
(for the) Bolshevik Tendency of the Red Flag Union

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SWP Tails Carter's "Human Rights" Hoax

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has seized on the recent demonstrations protesting the persecution of homosexuals not only to pander to the most backward elements of "gay rights" activism but also to do its bit for Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign.

On June 28 the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights—a thoroughly reformist hodgepodge which includes the SWP, the National Gay Task Force, the Feminist Liberation Front, the Gay Activist Alliance, NOW, the NAACP and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee—held a "mass meeting" (about 100 people showed up) in New York "to build a mass movement in the community to fight for protective legislation for Lesbians and Gays." The main point on the agenda was the planning of a demonstration at the United Nations in August around the slogan "Defend Human Rights for Lesbians and Gays."

A supporter of the Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League who spoke in favor of both the demonstration and the proposed slogan, noted piously that it was important to avoid being used as a left cover for Carter's imperialist campaign. This half-hearted caveat apparently stirred the Committee of Lesbian and Gay Male Socialists—which includes supporters of International Socialists and the Marxist Education Collective—to put forward a motion from the floor "that the tone and content of the demonstration explicitly differentiate ourselves from Carter's Human Rights campaign." The motion passed 55 to 54 *with the SWP voting against!*

Soon after, this meeting of self-appointed spokesmen of various sections of the oppressed degenerated rapidly into screaming and race-baiting. The final confrontation was precipitated when a man in the audience addressed himself to "the lady in the back." The term "lady" was too much for the "brothers and sisters." The chairman, who called for order, found herself the subject of a motion to "condemn the chair for preventing her sisters from fighting a sexist attack!" Other women stormed out of the meeting shouting, "This isn't a coalition to fight for our rights. It's a white, male-supremacist, racist organization!"

Two days later the SWP held a public forum in Los Angeles on the question of homosexual oppression. Represented on the panel were the SWP, NOW and the ACLU. There was also a lesbian feminist and one Morris Knight, who played the role of strikebreaker during a protracted strike of workers at the Gay Community Services Center where he serves on the board of directors.

The SWP chaired the meeting in its usual fashion; i.e., appealing to the most apolitical elements in the audience and refusing to recognize political opponents. When the spokesman for the ACLU said that communists, along with fascists and the church, were the worst enemies of homosexuals, the SWPers did not utter a word of protest. Questioned about this later, they asserted that the comment was "irrelevant."

Terry Moore/New York Times

WV Photo

Left, company-hired gun thugs in position behind barricade face striking Stearns miners, right, across "no man's land."

Company Thugs Wound Striker

Solidarity with Stearns Miners!

Last week a striking coal miner was shot by company gun thugs in Stearns, Kentucky. While on picket duty June 23, the miner, Ray Hamlin, was hit in the leg with a shotgun blast, indicating that the strikebreaking criminals of the Storm Security Service had advanced from behind their mine site fortifications 200 yards from the picket line, crept through a wooded "no man's land" and fired from close range on the pickets.

Tensions have skyrocketed in the wake of the shooting and the miners have called for a mass protest rally July 8. Plans by the Blue Diamond Coal Company to begin bringing security guards into the mine through the picket line, ostensibly out of fear that previously-used helicopters may be shot down, could soon lead to an explosive confrontation. When asked what will happen if Blue Diamond tries to bring in scabs to re-open the mine, United Mine Workers (UMW) spokesman Chuck Shuford told *WV*, "It'd be a holocaust."

The day after the shooting, 125 miners, their wives and children, demonstrated in front of Blue Diamond's Knoxville, Tennessee, headquarters. Though the demonstration was planned some weeks earlier, the pickets were doubly incensed over the shooting the night before. Angry miners marched around the building taunting company officials who peered out of office windows above. A group of miners attempted to enter the building. "We want to see how you live," one striker yelled at a Blue Diamond official, who locked the door as three police cars arrived at the scene. One UMW organizer remarked to a reporter, "It was pretty tough controlling some of these guys when we got here this morning.... A lot of these men were on the picket line last night" (*Louisville Courier-Journal*, 25 June).

Nearly 160 miners have been on strike since last July 17 for a UMW contract at the Stearns Justus mine. Since February, when Blue Diamond hired the security guards to break the picket line and pave the way for scab labor, the miners have been subjected to a hail of gunfire almost every night, and sometimes in broad daylight. The company goons are heavily armed with shotguns, pistols, rifles and even high-powered semi-automatic AR-15's, the "civilian" version of the Army's M-16.

But the coal miners are not about to be run off. They have dug in on a piece of property they bought on their side of the picket line, built their own protective sandbag barriers and have shown militant determination to defend their strike by the means necessary.

The strikers face not only an intransigent anti-union boss and his hired gunmen, but the pro-company cops and courts as well. Kentucky state police regularly escort company officials across the picket line but look the other way when up to 500 rounds a night pour into the miners' picket camp. Until the arrest of the guard charged with shooting Hamlin, the police had not arrested a single one of the trigger-happy thugs. The apprehended guard was immediately released when Storm Security put up his bail.

In contrast, 27 miners plus UMW organizer Lee Potter face up to 60 years each in jail on felony charges based on the trumped-up charges by the gun thugs that miners have "assaulted" them. Circuit Judge J. B. Johnson, who is scheduled to hear the case, has already shown what kind of "justice" the miners can expect. He has forbidden mass picketing, threatened to close down the miners' picket camp, issued blanket contempt citations against the union (which even the Kentucky Supreme Court had to throw out as illegal) and forced the UMW to post a $100,000 bond to cover the possibility of future "damages" to Blue Diamond property.

On the day of the recent shooting, UMW director of organizing John Cox sent a telegram to Kentucky governor Julian Carroll protesting the rampant violence against the miners and the strikebreaking role of the state police, and urgently requesting a meeting. Predictably, the governor has not responded. But that same night 29 state police cars were reported massed at the local courthouse, ready to sweep down on the miners.

The Stearns strike has become the flashpoint of class warfare in the southeastern coalfields. The recent escalation of violence has even caught the attention of the bourgeois media, which up to now have ignored the strike. An NBC television crew was on hand June 25, pinned down with the miners by the murderous, unrelenting gunfire from the mine guards. CBS toured the mine site July 1 and the anti-labor *New York Times* ran an article the same day that struck an obnoxiously neutral posture, commenting on the "irony" of such violence in a strike centered on mine safety and noting the long hours and difficult working conditions of the Storm Security guards!

But the strike has an importance far beyond its media appeal. The attention of coal operators and miners throughout the region, which is still predominantly non-union, is riveted on this bitter test of strength. If the strike is broken, many companies will try to junk the UMW when the current contract expires December 6. A prime target for an employer offensive would clearly be the Brookside mine in nearby Harlan County, organized in a 13-month strike in 1973-74. *Workers Vanguard* was the first left newspaper to publicize the Stearns strike (see "Miners Resist Coal Operators' Gun Thugs," *WV* No. 158, 20 May), and we have repeatedly stressed the importance of winning this crucial strike.

The Stearns strikers face a barrage not only from the mine guards but from the courts. Twenty-seven of the strikers and UMW organizer Lee Potter go on trial in October, charged with three felonies each and facing up to 60 years in jail. These militants require the financial assistance of all friends of the labor movement. The Partisan Defense Committee urges that donations for legal expenses be sent to the Miners Legal Defense Fund, 1521 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

For its part, the employers' Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) has lined up solidly behind Blue Diamond and its owner, Gordon Bonnyman, who has kept the union out of his other two mines at Scotia and Leatherwood. The BCOA, determined to crush the growing militancy and wildcats which disrupt its dictatorial control, is gearing up for a showdown with the UMW and is backed up by the Carter administration, whose energy policy demands "labor peace" in the coal fields.

The BCOA has repeatedly provoked the Mine Workers, taking advantage of the union's divided and spineless leadership to try to batter the union to its knees even before the expected coal strike this winter. In the latest incident, the BCOA refused to transfer available cash to cover the Health and Retirement Fund, causing big benefit cutbacks. This sparked a wildcat, centered in West Virginia, which grew to 35,000 miners but was cut short by the annual two-week vacation period which began June 24. Knowledgeable sources in the UMW expect the strike to mushroom when the vacation period ends.

UMW president Arnold Miller, with no idea how to counter the bosses' attacks or contain the ranks, is also facing challenges of his recent narrow re-election. These have a new impetus since Miller's attempt to enforce the highly unpopular health benefit cuts. Lee Roy Patterson filed motions for a new election July 1 and Miller's other presidential opponent, Harry Patrick, is also pushing for a rerun. Since Miller's foes control the union's International Executive Board, a new election is a definite possibility Miller is expected to appeal to the federal courts to avoid a rerun, a move which will embroil the union in renewed government intervention on the very eve of a national strike.

While Patterson, Miller and Patrick plot how to bring the strikebreaking government into union affairs to feather their own nests and how best to quash the wildcats, none has given more than lip service to the Stearns strikers. Just as the violent strike at Brookside required a nationwide shutdown to win, so the fight at Stearns cries out for solidarity action by the entire UMW. The coal operators cannot be defeated by equivocal compromises and evasive maneuvers. Their escalating provocations must be met by a nationwide strike.

Coal miners must prepare now by electing strike committees from their ranks to take on the BCOA. The miners cannot wait until one of their own is killed on the battle lines at Stearns. Strike the coal fields! Stop the union busters! Victory to the Stearns strike!

Euro-Communism: Joining Carter's "Human Rights" Campaign?

Speaker:
ED CLARKSON
Spartacist League

Saturday, July 9 at 7:30 p.m.
215 W. 23rd Street (between 7th and 8th Avenues)
New York City

CWA...

(continued from page 12)

Taft-Hartley—anyone who plans to cash in on Carter's campaign promises will be unpleasantly surprised.

Oppositions Crumble

AT&T is a capitalist giant which has trampled on its employees' rights and the interests of working people for decades. Its operations are run like a medieval fiefdom: impossible production standards subject phone company workers to arbitrary harassment and discipline; pay raises can be held up at the whim of the foreman; more than three to five days illness per year is considered excessive, and may result in discipline and firing. Women employees—over half the CWA membership—are concentrated in underpaid job classifications and are routinely subjected to the most inhuman, petty company abuse, traditionally with the tolerance of the union leadership.

With the addition of the spectre of massive job losses to this already infuriating pattern of management abuse, there is a felt need among telephone workers for a nationwide CWA strike against the Bell system. Yet the International bureaucracy's long history of defeats, cowardice and active sabotage of strikes has made many union members doubt the chance of waging a successful strike against the all-powerful Ma Bell. Workers in New York Local 1101 well remember how they were left out on a limb in 1971 by Beirne, walking the picket lines alone for more than half a year only to be forced to settle for a $1 per hour increase. This sellout led to the 1974 introduction of "national bargaining," which simply meant that everything was decided at the top through the protection of a rigid news blackout on the negotiations, and abandoning those locals who walked out on the principle of "no contract, no work."

In several recent conventions, such betrayals by the International have sparked protests from local leaderships feeling pressure from their outraged ranks. Thus at the 1975 convention, District 10 officials, among others, protested vehemently against the news blackouts and other backroom maneuvers. Such "militant" talk was cheap when nothing was at stake. But today, with the contract expiration little more than a month away, even these phony bureaucratic "oppositions" have evaporated. At the annual (!) Local 1101 membership meeting last week President Ed Dempsey, one-time critic of the International, announced that his relations with Watts were never better, and that the crucial issue of job security will not even be part of the national bargaining demands (being relegated to local negotiations). As 1101 well knows, not even the most militant local can hold out alone against AT&T. Yet there was not the slightest challenge at the meeting to Dempsey's convention report.

The unanimous re-election of the International Executive Board at Kansas City and the absence of a single challenger was an indication of the crumbling of bureaucratic and reformist oppositions in the CWA. The only floor fight at this year's convention was over the credentials of the Atlanta delegates, with local rank and filers protesting that elections had been held without notifying the membership. The president answered haughtily, "We always hold our elections this way."

The United Action Caucus (UAC), which in the past had sent delegates to the convention, went unrepresented this year, and consequently the International's decision upholding the decision of a Local 1101 trial board suspending four UACers for five years went unchallenged. The UAC, true to its policy of tailing after left-talking "democratic" bureaucrats, had supported Dempsey in

AT&T

Mickey Mouse phone: what Bell System "develops" with rate increases.

1972 only to be shafted by their candidate a few years later. And where a genuine class-struggle opposition would seek to mobilize union members' support against the bureaucracy's attempt to purge oppositionists from the union, the UAC reacted by threatening to take the CWA to court.

Despite the systematic betrayals of the Watts/Beirne bureaucracy and consequent cynicism in the ranks, so intense is the present threat of job losses that there would be a real basis for support for a nationwide CWA strike were there a leadership in the union with the demonstrated capacity and militant determination to bring it off. But only the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Bay Area CWA locals has shown the way forward in the intense crisis facing phone company workers. At the 1973 convention MAC led the fight to defeat the bureaucrats' "19-2-C" clause which would hamstring all oppositionists in the union. And last year MAC successfully waged a year-long fight based on mobilizing the membership to win back the job of fired MAC member Jane Margolis. This struggle—one of the few times in memory where a militant successfully won a job back after being fired by Ma Bell—was significant in proving that the phone company can be defeated.

During the present contract period, the Militant Action Caucus has been fighting for a nationwide strike against all layoffs, downgrades and forced transfers; for a 20-hour week with 40 hours pay; for an across-the-board wage increase to close the gap between traditional male and female job classifications; and for a full cost-of-living allowance. The key to a succesful strike must be the mobilization of militant picket lines which shut down the buildings. No one—not non-unionized operators and clerical workers and especially not management—must be allowed to pass! Since automated phone equipment enables skeleton crews of management scabs to maintain operations, militants must demand that the union occupy key telephone installations to prevent such scabbing. The Watts machine would naturally oppose such militant measures, so strike committees must be elected to prevent bureaucratic sabotage and to ensure that effective picketing protects the workers inside struck buildings.

This is the way forward for phone workers, a road that can only be opened up through ousting the pro-company bureaucracy. As a recent MAC leaflet distributed to Bay Area phone locations said:

> "We will drive the Company back only by determined militant action. The union has considerable power—500,000 members. We *could* control the communications of the entire nation. We must strike in our own defense and we must strike nationally....
>
> "Phone workers must thoughtfully prepare for a struggle. The International has a record that we can remember and it shows determination in keeping us encased in cement. When we, the ranks of the union, break out of their grip, we will forge a leadership that we can trust to fight on our side." ■

OCI Slanders...

(continued from page 4)

obliged to testify once more. Unable to reply to the questions posed by Commission members, Pierre Lambert was repeatedly reduced to enraged mutterings such as:

> "Draw whatever conclusion you like, listen, it's your business. I'm not here for that.... You're not here to ask me questions about my organisation."
>
> —testimony, 16 December 1976

Yet the OCI's utter irresponsibility at the time that Varga joined emerges with perfect clarity from Lambert's testimony. First of all, he admitted that Varga's archives had been accessible to the OCI ever since Varga joined in about 1962: "this was a fellow who kept his archives, at his place everything was well classified, etc." Then Lambert explicitly declared that, prior to Varga's joining, "nobody asked him" for explanations of his political activity and that "if we had asked him, he didn't have to say anything." As for the OCI's attitude toward the Varga archives at that time, Lambert was eloquent: "They were letters in Hungarian mostly, in Russian. Not problems of direct interest to us." As the Spartacist tendency said in our draft conclusions, the OCI had:

> "...a special responsibility to try to examine these archives, given the central importance of a complete and unambiguous break with imperialism on the part of those who claim to have broken with the Stalinist bureaucracies in Eastern Europe and the USSR."

But all these "problems"—including the possibility of agents infiltrating would-be Trotskyists' ranks—did not "interest" the OCI!

Now, there are two possibilities. One, that the OCI is telling the truth: it was not familiar with Varga's past, because "there were no problems of direct interest" to the OCI. In that case, it would seem that the OCI accepted Varga without worrying in the least about possible infiltration by police agents—KGB or CIA—into its organization, without asking him the slightest question about his previous political activity. Or two—and this seems more likely—that the OCI was aware of Varga's character and a good part of his past, but covered it up in order to show off its "Eastern European work." It is certainly no accident that the OCI's noble concern about the character of the main leader of its much-vaunted "Eastern European work" dates from the emergence of political differences with Varga.

For us as Trotskyists, it is essential to verify the total break from any illusions that the Stalinist bureaucracy will reform itself, as well as from Stalinophobia, on the part of militants like Varga who come out of the degenerated and deformed workers states, before accepting them as members.

Still on the defensive, the OCI several months later drew the Commission's attention to an interview with Varga in a Spanish newspaper and, in one final brief, urged the Commission to uphold "at least" the iSt's position:

> "Starting from the documents, Varga cannot be characterized—at the least—differently than did *Spartacist*, as a 'highly dubious' figure; i.e., to the extent that it is not a question of a 'moral' characterization, as an individual who had kept up a certain kind of relations with the imperialist dens."
>
> —letter, 8 March 1977

SWP: OCI's Best Defender

The Commission was also the scene of a factional struggle between the two wings of the USec. In the beginning, the SWP, trying its best to protect the OCI, did not even want testimony taped! More generally, the SWP representative systematically intervened to limit the scope of criticisms against the OCI. In the last analysis, the SWP had to grant that the OCI had proved nothing—and that the OCI employs violence against competing organizations—but still maintained that the main culprit was... Varga! It is the responsibility of the SWP above all that the Commission's conclusions do not state the obvious: the lack of proof of the OCI's accusations against Varga renders them lying and slanderous. It was also the SWP which insisted on weakening the rejection of the accusations, substituting "these accusations have not been proved" for "...have in no way been proved."

As for LO and the LCR, in their common aim of scoring points on the OCI they maintained that Varga's past was of interest only to his own organization and that a condemnation of the OCI would suffice. Thus LO refused to draw the obvious conclusion about Varga, already contained in the draft conclusions submitted by the LTF representative, mandated by the iSt:

> "...although Varga himself publicly admitted having undertaken consciously anti-communist activities in order to 'combat Marxism,' he has never explained—nor has he explicitly renounced—certain formulations found in his letters at that time, which enable us to characterize his attitudes as anti-Semitic and racist. Varga therefore appears as a highly dubious figure."

The LCR and LO wanted to condemn the OCI but refused to characterize Varga's attitude; the SWP, by way of contrast, was more than willing to characterize Varga, but refused to condemn the OCI. Caught in a bind, the Commission rejected the conclusions drafted by the iSt, and called instead on the SWP reformists to write the most innocuous conclusions possible. Though the LCR might have preferred to condemn the OCI, it refused to break with its partner in the USec rotten bloc.

Seizing the pretext that the conclusions did not characterize the OCI's accusations against Varga as false because unproved, LO refused to sign the conclusions. The iSt, on the other hand, agreed to sign the Commission's conclusions on the condition that an appended iSt statement be published with them. While the conclusions represented the absolute minimum of what had been established by the Commission, the iSt signed them in the interest of arriving at clear and authoritative conclusions. LO's refusal to sign—under an obvious pretext—can only undermine the Commission's authority and thus lessen the impact of the very conclusions which LO claims to support.

All these petty and factionally motivated maneuvers stand in complete contradiction with the methods and traditions established by the Dewey Commission. While maintaining a sense of historical proportion, we must recall that Trotsky strongly insisted that—since the Dewey Commission had amassed sufficient proofs to show that Trotsky and Sedov were not guilty—it was both just and necessary to take one step further and accept the moral and political responsibility for drawing the conclusion that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups.

In opposition to all the other organizations participating in the Commission, the iSt assumes this responsibility in drawing a two-sided conclusion: since the OCI has adduced no sufficient proof to back up its accusations against Varga, these accusations must be characterized as false and therefore lying and slanderous. The OCI's practice of violence against the Vargaites is therefore shown to be drawn from the Stalinist arsenal. On the other hand, Varga's refusal to explain himself—his past and the content of his letters—shows him to be a shady character, a "highly dubious" figure. ■

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Soviet Spies...

(continued from page 7)

> Soviet Union against the interests of Stalin's security. That is why they died."
> —"Army Opposed to Stalin,"
> 6 March 1938

Berzin was one of the most important of this group. He had been in Spain acting as military adviser to the anti-Franco forces, then returned to Moscow in 1937 (voluntarily or on recall; the versions vary) to protest the GPU massacres of anarchists and anti-Stalinist communists in the Republican areas. For a time he was back at the head of the Fourth Department, and it was during this period that he commissioned Trepper to set up an anti-Hitler spy network. Later that year Berzin was removed from his position, then shot in December 1938. But Trepper, as he saw it, remained "faithful to our agreement" and carried out the mission entrusted to him. Here was the pitiful tragedy of Reiss and his comrades, who kept hoping for a miracle and kept toiling on.

The Red Orchestra Plays

But in spite of everything, the Reisses, Treppers and Sorges accomplished brilliant work, heroically risking their lives to defend the USSR. Trepper waited for two years, painstakingly building up a legitimate business cover with the aid of Grossvogel, who had entered the rubber trade some years earlier. The import-export companies he set up—Simex in Paris and Simexco and the "Foreign Excellent Trenchcoat Company" (!) in Belgium—also served as direct sources of information, via their black-market dealings with the German Todt Organization, which supervised construction work for the Wehrmacht. By day the network conducted its business, wining and dining German officials in fancy restaurants and luxurious apartments. By night the Orchestra transmitted.

"Between 1940 and 1943, the musicians of the Red Orchestra—that is, the radio operators, also known as 'pianists'—sent the Center about 1500 dispatches," Trepper reports. One category concerned war materiel and weapons development, where the network scored some vital successes. Plans for a new German tank were obtained and transmitted to Moscow in time for Soviet industry to prepare an even better version, the KV tank. Plans for a new Messerschmidt fighter were delivered on microfilm, and within months a superior Soviet version was rolling off production lines. A second category of dispatches concerned information on the military situation and plans. Thus when Hitler met with the German High Command in eastern Prussia in the fall of 1941 and proposals for the encirclement of Moscow were drawn up, the stenographer who took down the remarks of Hitler and the generals was a member of the Orchestra. Trepper can write proudly: "The Soviet chiefs of staff were informed of every detail of the attack, in time to prepare the counteroffensive that succeeded in driving off the Wehrmacht."

The Red Orchestra included groups in Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen and Paris, but by far the most important was the Harnack/Schulze-Boysen group in Berlin. Arvid Harnack was a Marxist scholar from a family of respected intellectuals and government officials and held a responsible position in the ministry of economics, from which he was able to ferret out much information useful for the Soviet war effort. Harro Schulze-Boysen came from a conservative monarchist family with a long tradition of sending its sons into the officer corps. Already a leftist, Schulze-Boysen had his anti-Nazi convictions strengthened by a brief imprisonment and brutal beating by the Gestapo in 1933. As an intelligence officer in Goering's air force ministry he fed vital statistics on military production and plans directly to Moscow.

In 1939 the two joined forces in a broad anti-Nazi underground resistance grouping whose components were listed by Trepper as including:

> "the writer Dr. Adam Kuckhoff and his wife Greta; Dr. Adolf Grimme, the socialist ex-minister of Prussia; Johann Sieg, an old militant and editor of the *Rote Fahne*, the newspaper of the German Communist Party; and Hans Coppi, Heinrich Scheel, Hans Lautenschlager, and Ina Ender, former members of communist youth organizations. When the war broke out, the best members of the group were assigned to intelligence work, but in practice there was no rigid separation between the Red Orchestra network and their resistance activities. Schulze-Boysen ran both of these—and this confusion of tasks was an unpardonable error, which would be paid for very dearly."

Part of the group was busy setting up escape routes for Jews and prisoners, sabotaging war production and putting out underground propaganda. One of its most spectacular efforts was the overnight plastering of Berlin with posters attacking Goebbels' propaganda exhibit on "The Soviet Paradise"; the posters proclaimed, "Nazi Paradise = War, Famine, Lies, Gestapo. How Much Longer?" Meanwhile, the intelligence apparatus was feeding high-level information to Moscow, including: German high command plans for the spring 1942 offensive in the Caucasus; Luftwaffe parachute raid schedules; monthly aircraft production figures; reports of tension within the military high command, etc.

The Orchestra Smashed

The Wehrmacht first stumbled on the Soviet intelligence apparatus headed by Trepper on 26 June 1941, just five days after the German invasion of the USSR, when a radio operator routinely monitoring a Norwegian transmitter picked up a mysterious call signal and coded message. Hundreds of these messages, which the German military counterintelligence (Abwehr) was initially unable to decipher, were picked up over the next few months, as well as unmistakable evidence that another "pianist" was transmitting from the very heart of the Third Reich. The hunt for the network which the Germans called the "Rote Kapelle" was on.

In this stealthy battle the radio transmitters of the Orchestra were vital, and also inevitably its weakest point. As Gilles Perrault points out in his excellent history, *The Red Orchestra* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969):

> "Without a transmitter, a network loses all value; it has been set up for the sole purpose of collecting information and can be effective only if it passes that information on. Yet the very instrument that justifies its existence automatically places the network in jeopardy, for it alerts the other side to its activities. Take the heads of the Abwehr: they had no idea that a Soviet spy ring was operating in Belgium, much less in Germany; it was the pianists who put them on the track."

It was only a matter of time before German technology and the vast resources mobilized by a special commando formed by Heinrich Müller's Gestapo and Admiral Canaris' Abwehr would undo the network. The ability of the German regime to use hundreds of clerks to fit together the tiniest bits of information, to send its agents throughout occupied Europe, made the discovery of at least part of Trepper's apparatus almost inevitable. (However, tactics employed by members of the Red Orchestra within the very radio company supplying the Abwehr with equipment delayed the end for a while.) Thus it took the Sonderkommando only about six months each to destroy all of Trepper's groups: two in Belgium, one in Berlin and the central group in France.

On 12 December 1941, German counterintelligence finally closed in on the Red Orchestra transmitter at 101, rue des Atrébates in Brussels. Sophie Poznanska had been decoding messages but heard the sound of boots on the staircase and threw everything she could into the fireplace. David Kamy had been monitoring a transmission in another room and was caught only after a wild chase. Trepper himself narrowly escaped that first round-up: he rang the doorbell in the midst of the Abwehr raid and only managed to extract himself by indignantly showing his papers from the Todt Organization.

There followed a desperate battle of wits as Trepper sought to salvage his network: the narrow escapes, the search for a transmitter, the activation of a replacement for the Orchestra's second-in-command, Kent, whose nervousness had made him a liability. Inside the prisons there were harrowing scenes of torture, confessions, suicides and the heroism of comrades who refused to talk at the cost of their lives. Hitler's "Nacht und Nebel" (night and fog) decree of December 1941 aimed at spies, traitors and anyone suspected of "crimes against the Third Reich" authorized any and all measures to obtain information, as well as execution without appearing before a tribunal.

Many of those captured in the Belgian group were sent to Breendonk prison. Here many of Trepper's associates heroically met their fates, tortured by thumb screws, red-hot irons and electric needles. Hillel Katz had his fingernails extracted and disappeared a year later. David Kamy was shot in 1942; Sophie Poznanska committed suicide. In Berlin, the Harnack/Schulze-Boysen group was broken up in the summer of 1942 with over 100 arrested and tortured. More than 50 were eventually executed, some by beheading, others (like the two leaders) by hanging on specially constructed hooks. Some succumbed to the unbearable pain and talked, for which no one can condemn them. As Trepper wrote:

> "A person who has not experienced the atrocities of the Gestapo cannot imagine them.... The survivors of the Red Orchestra who have returned from hell carry the memory of ravaged flesh, which to this day jerks them awake in the night."

The "Big Chief" (Trepper) was himself finally caught in November 1942 in Paris. The Germans hoped to use Trepper and his captured radio operators in a great "Funkspiel" (radio game) with Moscow, feeding the center false information on rumors of a separate peace. Trepper agreed to go along, seeing in this risky game his only chance to slip a secret warning to Moscow of the real situation (the *Funkspiel* had already begun some months earlier, and the center was accepting the phony messages as valid despite Trepper's warnings that the "pianists" had been arrested). He managed to smuggle out a message detailing the whole scheme, and ten months later escaped from his German captors by walking into a pharmacy during an outing.

TO BE CONTINUED

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Varga Affair Conclusions...

(continued from page 5)

statements, the OCI was in possession of sufficient information about Varga's past to have warranted suspicion concerning the source of financing for the Imre Nagy Institute. However, Pierre Lambert testified that in 1962 the OCI had no grounds for such suspicion.

• Two OCI leaders, Pierre Broué and Jean-Jacques Marie, collaborated with the journal edited by the Imre Nagy Institute, *Études*, on several occasions prior to 1962. They therefore at least knew of the Institute's existence. But the Commission was unable to hear their testimony concerning the extent of their knowledge of the Institute in this period, due to the OCI's refusal [to allow them to testify]. For the same reason it was unable to hear testimony from Roger Monnier, the OCI member with whom Varga had deposited his archives.

The Commission is therefore not in a position to know whether the OCI learned about the archives only in 1973.

4) *The use of violence.*

The Commission heard testimony indicating that on several occasions the OCI has used violence against LIRQI members in order to prevent them from distributing their press, and not in self-defense. This testimony comes from different individuals and different organizations.

The Commission is therefore convinced that these attacks did indeed take place. It is inadmissible for an organization in the workers movement to act in this fashion, and this must stop.

* * * * *

The Commission of Inquiry's minutes are public in nature, before the entire working-class movement, in order to allow all working-class militants who may so desire to form their own opinion. The Commission makes the entire workers movement judge of the "Varga affair" and of the attitude adopted by its protagonists.

Paris, 29 May 1977

signed by:
Gus Horowitz
(Socialist Workers Party)
Jean Lesueur
(international Spartacist tendency)*
Georges Marion
(Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire)

* The international Spartacist tendency wishes to note that it votes in favor of these conclusions with the following reservations, whose reproduction constitutes a condition to signing the conclusions:

1) The OCI's unproved accusations must be characterized as slanders;

2) Varga's current attitude, namely to refuse to shed light on his past, must lead to characterizing him as a suspicious and highly dubious individual;

3) The OCI's use of violence against Varga's supporters must be characterized as deriving from Stalinist methods.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Economist

Paul Hosefros/New York Times

CWA ranks face company's drive to cut jobs through automation.

Convention Report:

CWA Tops Defend Bell Monopoly Profits, Ignore Job Threat

The nearly 100,000 telephone workers whose jobs have been eliminated by the Bell System during the last few years will get a bitter laugh from U.S. vice president Mondale's remark to the 39th annual convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), held in Kansas City June 19-24, that the CWA is the "best union in America." From the standpoint of Ma Bell and the bosses' government, this may be true, but not for phone workers.

The key issue facing communications workers across the country is jobs. Yet the CWA bureaucracy has done nothing to halt the phone monopoly's assault on working conditions and the livelihoods of its employees. The convention demonstrated that they have no intention of lifting a finger in the future, either. The facts speak for themselves:

- Since 1963 almost 100,000 jobs lost.
- Over half of Western Electric installation locals throughout the U.S. with members on layoff, some with up to ten years seniority.
- Massive automation of central offices, at the rate of one a day, through the introduction of Electronic Switching Systems (ESS) which can replace 400 workers with 35 technicians.
- Opening of "phone stores," where customers purchase their telephones for self-installation.
- Drastic cutbacks in CWA Western Union locals; the 3,600 unionized employees in 1966 now down to below 1,000.

As for "affirmative action" programs, touted by government and management as the answer to past job discrimination by the Bell System, recent figures report an increase of 500 top-salaried women at executive level...and a net loss of 10,000 to 15,000 women workers over the last four years.

It is no secret that American Telephone and Telegraph management is planning a major new wave of layoffs of phone workers. The question is: what is the CWA planning to do about it? The major provisions under the heading "job security" in the report of the union's Bell System Bargaining Council to the recent convention called for eliminating subcontracting; making all overtime voluntary, at a minimum rate of double-time; providing for a shorter work year, through longer vacations, a 32-hour workweek, ten "personal days" off with pay yearly, etc.

Most of these demands are minimal enough. The call for a shorter workweek does not even include a provision for no cut in pay, and CWA International vice president for District 5, Ray Stevens, wrote in the union newsletter "Take Five" that the 32-hour week should be a *legislative* rather than a contractual demand (i.e., phone workers should beg Congress instead of flexing their industrial strength). But the kicker is that even these "demands" have no relationship whatsoever to what the CWA bureaucracy will fight for.

The *CWA Executive Board Report, 1977* puts down in black and white that the labor fakers are prepared to accept continued job cuts in phone. In the section on organizing, the International baldly admits: "Despite an expected increase in business volume annually, employment in the telephone industry will continue to drop because of technological advancements." Instead of fighting for *more* jobs for communications workers, the CWA leadership is seeking to protect its dues base by roping in members "from virtually every kind of industry that exists." A list of organizing projects over the last year included nurses, librarians, furniture movers and even strikebreaking cops in two cities.

What phone workers need is a militant strike against Ma Bell. Such a strike, fought around key demands like a 20-hour workweek at 40 hours' pay, is the only way to bring AT&T to its knees and stave off the decimation of the union. But CWA president Watts has made it clear that he will do everything he can to avoid a confrontation with the company. In February he announced, "For the first time in our 39 years of dealing with Bell, CWA will try this year to get an early settlement."

What's Good for Ma Bell...

The motto of CWA tops is, what's good for Ma Bell is good for the union. In the past, union bureaucrats have repeatedly defended requests for rate increases by AT&T affiliates, and at this convention a resolution was unanimously passed protesting attempts by electronics corporations (RCA, IBM, ITT) to horn in on Bell's profitable "interconnect" (business communications systems) revenues. The convention also went on record against any attempt by the Federal Communications Commission to force divestiture of Western Electric and perhaps the operating companies as well.

But higher profits for AT&T do not mean more jobs for phone workers. An example obvious even to the CWA bureaucracy is the introduction of customer charges for directory assistance in 19 states. This policy, certainly profitable for Bell, is directly responsible for the elimination of thousands of operators' jobs. Meanwhile, increased Bell System profits (third quarter after-tax earnings in 1976 topped $1 billion) are invested in purchasing more automated equipment to replace additional thousands of union members.

Anti-trust schemes to attack the phone company's power by forced divestiture of the highly integrated Bell System are nothing but a backward looking utopia; their inevitable failure is shown by the hoax of the break-up of Standard Oil or U.S. Steel. But the alternative is not to defend the bloated profits of this universally hated monopoly at the expense of CWA members and the masses of consumers gouged by AT&T. The Bell system should be nationalized without compensation, and urban phone service provided free of charge.

The CWA misleaders will never raise such militant class-struggle demands. Watts' predecessor, Joe Beirne, coalesced the CWA out of several of company unions during the late 1940's, establishing a union that has been doggedly company-loyal ever since. It was not surprising, therefore, to see AT&T management present at the convention as invited guests, as they are every year. Just as natural was the appearance of Democrat Mondale, since the CWA was an early and enthusiastic backer of Carter in the last presidential elections. Yet despite its slavish devotion to "friend of labor" Democrats (the CWA even stuck by McGovern in 1972), the phone union and the rest of the labor movement have gotten nothing but a kick in the teeth from the capitalist parties and government.

Among a recent spate of anti-labor court decisions was one in New York state ruling that strikers are not eligible to receive unemployment benefits. This case grew out of the several-month strike by New York CWA locals in 1971-72, and if the decision is upheld on appeal the strikers may be required by the courts to repay seven months of jobless benefits. While forced to recognize that the Carter administration has been somewhat less than wholeheartedly pro-labor, all Watts could do was cry crocodile tears. "To be perfectly blunt," he told the convention, "we must insist that our national leaders have the intestinal fortitude to match their commitment, the commitments that they have made in the past." But as George Meany has already found out—after administration moves led to the rapid-succession defeat of the construction site picketing bill, an AFL-CIO proposal to raise the minimum wage to a measly $3 per hour, and efforts to eliminate the open shop provisions of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 166 15 July 1977

KKK cross burning in Louisiana earlier this year. Laffont/Sygma

Chicago Nazi Führer Frank Collins (left) and stormtroopers. UPI

Labor, Blacks Must Crush Fascist Vermin

Carter's America: Klan Burns Crosses on the Fourth

The Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, is crawling out from its cover of darkness on the slimy underside of American society. After decades of nightriding terrorism against blacks, Catholics, Jews and communists, the "new" Klan has been buoyed by a recent wave of social reaction emanating from the highest levels of government. It was entirely logical, therefore, that these fascistic race-haters should choose Jimmy Carter's home town of Plains, Georgia for a cross burning in broad daylight on the Fourth of July weekend.

About 30 white-sheeted KKKers swarmed around the flag-studded platform for what they called a "patriotic display." The climax was to be the burning of a 20-foot cross wrapped in kerosene-soaked muslin, the dreaded symbol of generations of racist lynchings. But as the cross was about to be ignited, Buddy Cochran, a 30-year-old white truck mechanic who had been parked within earshot of the genocidal filth emanating from the rally, revved up his Jaguar XKE sports car and rammed it into the back of the plywood podium. He crunched another 50 feet into the racist mob, injuring dozens of robed Klansmen and, unfortunately, a CBS reporter in this kamikaze attack.

Cochran has now become the target of the state's efforts to keep Georgia safe for the Klan. The Klan mob yelled "white nigger" and "kill him" as this southern white worker, who reportedly told police that he "had a lot of black friends," was arrested and charged with 19 counts of aggravated assault. The cops are now holding him on $190,000 bail. These are the same enforcers of capitalist "law and order" who in their zeal to protect the Klan rally had earlier threatened to arrest blacks in the vicinity for trespassing upon a "strictly white gathering of a white Christian organization" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 3 July).

Many of these racist cops simply exchange their blue uniforms and badges for white sheets and pointed hats after nightfall. In their hands, Cochran, who is becoming a symbol of militant—if, in this case, Quixotic—anti-Klan action, is in danger of being brutally beaten and possibly killed. Moreover, he is in any case not an apparent threat to anyone except the crossburning fascists. While we do not advocate such individual and impotent methods of fighting the fascist terrorists, we demand that Buddy Cochran be immediately released and the charges against him be dropped.

Another KKK rally in Columbus, Ohio on July 4 was broken up by a demonstration of several hundred anti-Klan protesters. While Ohio "Imperial Wizard" Dale Reusch was playing a tape of the national anthem, a largely black section of the anti-Klan demonstration moved directly to the podium and drowned out the "Star Spangled Banner" with chants of "Ku Klux Klan—Scum of the Land." Thereupon the Klan leaders began wielding flag poles like clubs and the fight was on.

Anti-Klan demonstrators got hold of Reusch, knocked him down, stripped off his purple robes and inflicted injuries that sent this dangerous race-hate monger to the hospital. A battered "wizard" dripping with egg yolk cried out, "Where are you my people?" Immediately he was answered as Ohio State Highway Patrol troopers in full riot gear poured out of the statehouse to protect the KKK and arrest anti-Klan protesters. Four were jailed on charges ranging from "disturbing a lawful meeting" to felonious assault. The workers movement must demand that the charges against these anti-KKK militants be dropped.

The fascists also reared their ugly heads over the July 4 weekend in the Chicago area. For several months, local Nazis have targetted the largely Jewish

continued on page 4

New Deal/Atlanta Constitution

Klansman posing at Plains, Ga. city line before the start of the rally on July 4 weekend.

PART 2 OF 2

Heroic Soviet Spies....6

Spartacist League Holds Fifth Conference

Forging a Black Trotskyist Cadre

The Fifth National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. was held early this month in an East Coast city. Although only the elected delegates were mandated to attend, a total of close to 300 comrades came to participate in this highest body of the SL/U.S. Attending in addition to North American comrades were seven representatives of European and Australasian sections of the international Spartacist tendency, as well as a delegation from the Los Angeles-based Red Flag Union, a group derived from the homosexual left which is engaged in fusion discussions with the SL. Preceding the three-day party conference was a national conference of the SL's youth group, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL).

The survey of SL/SYL members present indicated that 30 percent had joined two years ago or less, while 59 percent had been members for from three to six years. The largest number was concentrated around the five-year mark, testimony to the period of extremely rapid recruitment out of the New Left milieu, including the antiwar, women's and black movements. Some 39 percent were women; 41 percent were union members.

Only 10 percent were non-party SYL members. This figure, taken in conjunction with a substantial rise in the average age of the SL/SYL since the 1974 conference, indicates that the slight membership contraction noted previously in *WV* reflects a certain tailing off of new recruitment by the youth organization reflecting the downturn in campus radicalism, while the party has continued to recruit professional revolutionary cadres out of the youth group. Thus the cohesiveness and maturity which helped make for a comfortable and productive conference reflect not only the revolutionary seriousness of the cadres but also the objective difficulties confronting communist militants in the present period of strangulated labor struggles.

Politically, the Conference was in part a continuation of the work of the Active Workers Conference held in the Midwest some six months previously. Along with supplemental resolutions prepared for the National Conference, the Memorandum presented to the Active Workers Conference constituted the main resolution defining the perspectives and tasks of the organization for the coming period. The documentary basis of the National Conference included the written material preceding the Midwest meeting as well as four more recent internal bulletins produced during the pre-Conference discussion period.

Participants at recent Spartacist League national conference. WV Photo

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

At the Conference, the main National Reports stressed the increasingly aggressive attacks on democratic rights such as Supreme Court decisions undermining previous democratic gains (abortion, school busing, etc.), as well as the vicious anti-homosexual backlash spearheaded by Anita Bryant's reactionary fundamentalist campaign. The reporters underscored the centrality of the slogan, "The Main Enemy Is at Home," in opposition to the liberals and New Leftist residues who refurbish U.S. imperialism's "democratic" pretensions by seeking to associate their sectoralist reform demands with Carter's fundamentally anti-Soviet "human rights" rhetoric. The prospects for substantial revolutionary regroupments were noted as quite bleak as the ostensibly revolutionary organizations overwhelmingly pursue a rightist course.

The international report and the fraternal greetings from the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, Ligue Trotskyste de France, Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand and Trotskyist League of Canada testified to the international Spartacist tendency's continuing consolidation as the programmatically united Trotskyist alternative to the United Secretariat rotten bloc. The greetings from the Red Flag Union delegation were grounds for continued optimism about the prospect of a deep and principled fusion between these comrades and the SL.

One session of the conference agenda was devoted to commission meetings under the auspices of the Trade Union Commission, financial department of the Central Office and the legal defense commission. Virtually every other available time slot, including meal breaks, was also utilized for additional commissions, such as press, archives, RFU fusion and Central Committee slate.

The hyperconcentration of important political work into a few agenda sessions was the result of a decision by the outgoing leadership to focus this National Conference overwhelmingly on one subject: the black question. This discussion had been painstakingly prepared through the circulation of roughly a dozen written documents as well as substantial local discussions during the pre-Conference period. At the Conference, eight reporters were given presentation and summary time. More than sixty comrades spoke from the floor. The lengthy and lively discussion reflected the comrades' recognition of the importance of this question to the continuing transformation of the Spartacist League into the nucleus of the vanguard party.

That such a discussion was able to take place at this Conference reflects the organization's acquisition, for the first time since the rise of black nationalism in the late 1960's, of a significant layer of committed black members, some with several years of experience in the party. The priority accorded to this discussion indicated not only a recognition of the importance of the development of black Trotskyist cadre and leaders, but also the party's determination to concentrate the deliberations of its highest body around areas of unclarity and/or differences within the organization.

Lumpenism vs. Communist Morality

The original precipitant of the discussion was a manifestation of some softness on the part of many of the black comrades toward modes of functioning and attitudes characteristic of a lumpen-proletarian existence. Beneath a debate over whether the term "lumpen" refers only to hardened criminal elements or can be applied to a broader stratum of the chronically unemployed lay differing estimations of the potential revolutionary role of lumpenized black ghetto youth.

A document submitted to the pre-Conference discussion and adopted by the Conference delegates explained:

> "Black criminals are drawn from a broad pool of poor ghetto youth, a social fact which conditions the latter's activities and attitudes. If George Jackson's assertion that all black men over the age of 18 expect to go to prison is an overstatement, it nonetheless expresses a certain reality. Not many black youth living on welfare become professional thieves, but a significant number have robbed stores at one time or another. For most welfare does not provide even a minimal standard of living unless it is supplemented by some form of 'hustle.' Few ghetto youth will become pimps or pushers, but—as the popularity of black exploitation movies attests—many aspire to those roles which seem like an easy way out of poverty and social degradation. Similar social attitudes were common among immigrant ethnic minorities before WWII. Al Capone was a hero figure for many second-generation Italian youth. An important point for this discussion is that it is common for poor black youth to regard pimping, pushing and committing violent crimes as a legitimate way of life, and even as a form of protest against white racist society.
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> "Except for the incorrigible, hardened, anti-social criminals, we are not hostile toward the lumpenized population. On the contrary, to narrow the term 'lumpen' to these hardened criminal types is to deny the brutal effects of racial oppression on a whole section of black youth who have no future in the economic process under capitalism. For them there is no escape from their grinding poverty under capitalism unless they turn to crime, and therefore they are forced to share many of the values of hardened criminals. We, on the other hand, must face this reality squarely if we are to be the best defenders of the rights of the black poor and the best fighters against conditions which are wasting a whole generation of black youth. For example, when the UAW bureaucracy sought to organize vigilantism against street gangs in Detroit, we resolutely opposed this action, and also demanded an immediate end to Mayor Young's curfew (see 'Cops, Mayor Push "Anti-Crime" Hysteria in Detroit,' *WV* No. 127). However, the struggle to forge a communist-led black transitional organization requires an implacable struggle against lumpen activities and attitudes, particularly promiscuous violence. Every organization which has seriously attempted to affect the ghetto—the Communist Party in the 1930's and '40's, the Black Muslims in their way and the Panthers at their best—has resolutely and ruthlessly combated lumpen lifestylism....
>
> "...a communist following in the ghetto (black transitional organization) cannot be built with petty thieves. It can only be built through a ruthless struggle against lumpen lifestylism and lumpen values, by an organized cadre with authority among the black masses who are exemplars of communist morality."

The conference also endorsed the line of the article "Fear and Violence in NYC" (*WV* No. 147, 4 March 1977). The SL's hostility to hustlerist attitudes, inimical to communist consciousness and disciplined functioning, contrasts sharply with the patronizing approach of other avowedly leftist organizations, most notably the Workers League and International Socialists. Unlike these fake-lefts, who orient toward transient recruitment of footloose minority-group youth on a minimum program to provide the appearance of a "mass base," the SL aims at the creation of a hardened cadre of committed black Trotskyists who can become proletarian leaders. These comrades must be prepared to lead white workers as well as blacks, to lead within the party as well as among the masses.

Toward a Black Transitional Organization

Unlike the classic Debsian approach that "Socialism has nothing special to offer the Negroes," the program of the SL recognizes that the special oppression of blacks under capitalism means that black workers will play a vanguard role among the most militant fighters for socialist revolution. "Black and white unite and fight" can be realized only on the basis of a militant, broad attack against capitalism, including a firm commitment to struggle against the special oppression of ghettoized minorities. Our perspective of revolutionary integrationism means the mobilization of the union movement to fight for equality, e.g., the formation of black/labor defense of black schoolchildren against the segregationist anti-busing backlash. The Debsian outlook at bottom reflects the pressure of the "labor aristocracy," whereas the communist

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based upon a proletarian core—seeks to become the "tribune of the people," the champion of all the oppressed.

The special oppression of blacks demands a struggle by the communist vanguard against "labor aristocratic" parochialism, chauvinist attitudes and backward consciousness institutionalized in the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. And it demands special forms of organization as well, a black transitional organization under communist political leadership. While insisting that only the working class organized at the point of production has the social power to effect revolutionary change, the party involves itself in every significant social struggle, posing a class axis to lead partial struggles in a revolutionary direction.

Our program toward the doubly oppressed ghetto masses is not one of social welfare schemes, but rather of working-class struggle against lumpenization of the black population. Our perspective is counterposed to that of the ghetto-oriented black radical groups, such as the Panthers, whose program centers around minimal demands for slightly improving the conditions of the lumpenproletariat and defending them against victimization. While struggles against racist frame-ups and police brutality, around welfare and rent and community health care, are supportable, they are not the main focus of our program, which aims at delumpenizing the lumpenproletariat through jobs and educational opportunities. Struggles for a shorter workweek, for massive government public works at union wages, for free higher education with stipend, for union-controlled training programs cannot be conducted essentially from a ghetto base, but require the mobilization of the social power of the workers movement.

Lumpenization is not only the most vicious oppression to which blacks are subjected. It constitutes also a real danger to the future existence of black masses. Racism is so central to American political reaction that black lumpens—in contrast to the lumpenproletariat in ethnically homogeneous societies—cannot become the shock troops of an American fascist movement. But a black population which is of no economic use to the ruling class stands doubly defenseless against a fascist onslaught. The only defense of these "wretched of the earth" resides in a class-conscious proletariat. The unionized black worker, who frequently has a mother on welfare and a friend in prison, is the living bridge to and necessary leader of the ghetto masses.

Lumpen Radicalism

During the heyday of the New Left, all shades of radical opinion tended to view ghetto youth as the most politically advanced section of American society, as "natural revolutionaries." Derived from that period of left-wing upsurge, a section of the SL membership, including many of the black comrades, has tended to carry over that attitude. The alienation of young blacks from aspects of capitalist ideology will be an important factor in their disproportionate representation in any radical upsurge. But spontaneous ghetto radicalism has sharp ideological limitations as well as material ones. As another document submitted to the pre-Conference discussion and adopted by the Conference delegates explained:

> "Many of the decisive ideological attitudes which bind white workers to the American bourgeois order are necessarily much weaker among blacks of all social classes. Great American chauvinism, closely identified with white Anglo-Saxon supremacy, is certainly weaker in black ghettos than in white working-class suburbs. For obvious reasons, blacks are far more disposed to sympathize with the struggles of colonial peoples against the Western imperialist powers, including the U.S. This attitude can produce among blacks a broad-based tolerance for 'communism' when associated with national liberation struggles (e.g. Cuba, Vietnam). Muhammad Ali's famous remark, 'the Viet Cong never did me any harm,' expressed the attitude of a large fraction of black draft-age youth.
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> "Blacks are naturally less prone to illusions about the democratic, class-neutral character of the state apparatus. Ghetto high school students hate cops in a way few white workers do....
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> "As victims of racist oppression by a white ruling class, black lumpens easily accept some of the *negative* conditions for communist consciousness. They are comparatively freer from chauvinist and bourgeois-democratic illusions in the American state than are white workers at the present time.
>
> "However, lumpenized black youth lack those positive elements of communist consciousness derived from participation in the labor process and organized workers movement....
>
> "...the black lumpenproletariat (like its counterpart in other countries) is alienated from and potentially hostile to the organized working class, which it views as a socially privileged group; this view is strengthened by the fact that the top trade-union leadership (though not the middle-level) is overwhelmingly white. Black lumpen hostility to the working class (black as well as white) can find a *political* expression. If black lumpens cannot be won to fascist bonapartism, they can be won to bourgeois *liberal* union-busting on a populist-leveling program. Sonny Carson's actions on behalf of Lindsay in the 1968 NYC teachers' strike and Baraka's on behalf of Gibson in the 1971 Newark teachers' strike conform to one of the central elements of classic fascism—the mobilization of lumpen violence against the workers movement in the name of plebeian-nationalist ideology.
>
> "The political aspirations of the lumpenproletariat can express themselves in forms other than fascism. Lumpen radicalism can also take an ostensibly revolutionary form, posing as a left-wing alternative to Marxian proletarian socialism. In *The ABC of Communism*, Bukharin and Preobrazhensky characterize anarchism, with its hostility to all social authority and emphasis on the leveling redistribution of consumption, as 'lumpenproletarian socialism'...."

"You Can't Lead a Party You Don't Trust"

The deforming effects of lumpen existence are far from solely ideological. The observation that "being determines consciousness" is true not only in the mass but among subjectively revolutionary elements. The communist vanguard, defined by its commonality of program, must exert its conscious will to transform its lumpen-derived members into disciplined Leninist cadres. Subjectively revolutionary militants recruited out of a lumpen background must break from a lumpen proletarian economic existence and reject all vestiges of lumpen lifestylism. Only on the basis of a rough equality between comrades—in living standards, educational skills, etc.—can a truly communist cadre be forged, free from servility, patronizing and pretense.

A break from lumpen existence requires a change in being and in consciousness. A disciplined black communist cadre is forged by transcending a previous experience characterized by degradation and manipulation. The

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Solidarity with Strike in L.A. Port

Bay Area Dockers: Don't Handle Diverted Cargo!

SAN FRANCISCO, July 9—In response to a walkout by the office workers division of Los Angeles ships clerk Local 63, the leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has isolated the strike and ordered longshoremen to scab on their own union by handling cargo diverted from L.A. to the San Francisco port. Thus the hand-picked successors to the recently retired Bridges/Goldblatt regime—International president Jimmy Herman and secretary-treasurer Curtis McClain—have made clear their intention to continue the most despicable aspects of Harry Bridges' disastrous policies of class collaboration.

Demanding a $2.01-an-hour wage increase over two years and resisting the employers' demand to eliminate supplemental unemployment benefits, 98 office workers, mostly women, struck five targeted terminals on July 1. But the ILWU tops began undermining the walkout from the start. Pickets were pulled down and sent back to work at one firm, Standard Food, because it deals in perishable fruits! The ILWU has also made no move to stop members of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (MEBA), who have been crossing the picket lines with impunity since the second day of the strike.

To effectively back up the small office workers division, the L.A. port should have been shut down tight. But the leaders of San Pedro longshore Local 13, backed by the International, barred a port-wide strike and agreed to allow all companies to be worked except those directly involved in the dispute.

As the struck companies moved to divert cargo to the Bay Area, the ILWU bureaucracy moved in tandem to undermine coast-wide unity and isolate the L.A. strike. San Francisco longshoremen have been ordered to handle the diverted cargo, and S.F. clerks Local 34—president Herman's home local—suspended working rules to provide *extra* clerks to at least four of the struck shipping lines. The failure of Local 63 leaders to even issue an appeal to boycott the scab cargo has facilitated the scabbing.

The treacherous leadership sabotage was exposed in the latest issue of "Longshore Militant" (8 July), a class-struggle opposition paper published by Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, members of the S.F. longshore Local 10 executive board. Gow and Keylor blew the whistle on the leadership's attempt to black out news of the strike:

> "...last Saturday when weekend B.A. [business agent] Watkins was informed that more than half the cargo aboard the President McKinley was diverted, he ordered the men to work it! George Kekai, who had been informed of the strike by the Local 63 leadership, deliberately suppressed any news of it. Meanwhile, B.A. Herb Mills is claiming that he doesn't know of any agreement between L.A. and S.F. not to handle diverted cargo. Yet Local 13 president Almeida stated at our June 9 meeting that there is such an agreement and Local 10 president Williams has been bragging about it for months!"

Clearly the longshore ranks must demand that their leadership live up to the elementary solidarity agreement not to handle scab cargo.

But recent events have made it clear that the Local 10 leadership, including the Mills/Wing clique and Communist Party supporters, are so committed to class peace that they consciously sabotage all attempts at working-class unity. All wings of the bureaucracy lined up to help the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) declare S.F. a "low work opportunity port" (LWOP), thereby preparing the way for forced transfers and massive deregistrations of longshoremen. PMA's attack on Local 63 is part of the shipping companies'

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WV Photo

Striking office workers at American President Lines last week try to keep engineer out of L.A. Terminal yard.

Klan...

(continued from page 1)

suburb of Skokie, whose population includes an estimated 7,000 survivors of Hitler's death camps. So far, local officials have been successful in staving off a threatened Nazi march by obtaining successive court orders (which have been overturned on appeal). While this stopped the Hitler-lovers from staging a provocation on July 4 as they had threatened to do, in the Southside area of Marquette Park, a hotbed of racist agitation last year, a National Socialist convention was held over the weekend.

Fascists Rear Their Heads in the Land of "Human Rights"

Despite the welcome fact that some of the recent fascist marches and rallies were broken up, the Klan and Nazis have been surfacing across the country. While the Nazis peddle their savage doctrine of "Aryan superiority" and defend Hitler's death camps and ovens, the KKK fills the air with the stench of burning crosses and "white power" rhetoric. Not only revolutionaries but also trade unionists, blacks, Jews and all defenders of democratic rights must fervently desire to see these fledgling fascist bands crushed completely, which can only be accomplished through the revolutionary mobilization of the working class.

There is an ominous pattern to the recent emergence of the Klan and Nazis on the streets of American cities with their swastikas and hoods, cross burnings and jackboots. Fascist terror gangs have grown increasingly brazen in Jimmy Carter's land of "human rights." They are marching and rallying, opening up storefronts and seeking publicity for the first time in years. It is clear that the anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade going hand-in-hand with a broad reactionary offensive against racial minorities, women, immigrants, homosexuals and workers has created a fetid political climate which spawns such fascist scum.

The Klan and Nazis have watched the Supreme Court, the president and Congress line up on their side of some of their favorite issues: rolling back limited civil rights victories such as busing for school desegregation, cutting off Medicaid funds for poor women to receive abortions, denying unemployment benefits to striking workers and restoring capital punishment. The Supreme Court, Anita Bryant's fundamentalist bigotry crusade and deadly "right-to-lifers" have joined hands with missionary zeal in a drive to "save the family" from homosexuals, abortion and pornography.

The fascists feel that this increasingly reactionary climate offers them a chance to take center stage by basking in the "respectability" conferred by government backing of their causes. The KKK rally in Georgia was given a permit on the grounds that it was merely a "patriotic display." When the Plains town council, uncomfortable over the national attention focused on "Carterville," claimed it had been duped, "Imperial Wizard" Wilkinson pointed out that the police knew perfectly well who he was.

In the north the Klan had sought, largely unsuccessfully, to capitalize on the racist anti-busing mobilization which gripped Boston in 1974-75, and managed to play a role in mounting segregationist demonstrations in Louisville. This year the KKK hopes to place itself at the head of anti-busing protests in Ohio. The Columbus rally was called under the slogans of "majority (white) rule" and stopping "forced busing." "Imperial Wizard" Reusch said, "I'm ready to fight. I'm ready to drive the enemy right off of this land." And who is this enemy? "The groups who favor busing. And there are a lot of communists involved" (*Cleveland Press*, 5 July).

But the fascists are not the only ones trying to latch onto the anti-busing backlash. A despicable Maoist tendency, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), capitulates to racism among the backward sections of the working class and has become notorious for its Jim Crow "socialist" opposition to busing. At the Columbus anti-Klan rally, the RCP-dominated "United Workers Organization" carried a banner proclaiming: "We are Black and White Together Against the Busing Plan!" So while the Klan calls for whites to oppose busing on the basis of "race purity," the RCP takes the disgusting position of calling for "people's unity" in support of this attack on the democratic rights of blacks! But what else can one expect from the group which hailed anti-busing riots in Louisville as a "tremendous fightback" which the Klan was trying to "divide"?

UPI UPI

Ohio Klan "Imperial Wizard" gets angry response during race-hate rally.

Liberals, Reformists Push "Rights" for Fascists

As the Klan attempts to expand its terrorist organization it has found support from an assortment of liberals and reformists who argue for "free speech" for fascists. Seeking to enlist the cops and courts more actively in their cause, the KKK talks a lot these days about being "law-abiding." In Plains, Georgia, "Grand Dragon" David Powers said that "we try to do anything we can to get along with law enforcement." In Chicago, the Nazis loudly announced they would not march on Skokie on July 4 because the Illinois Supreme Court had not yet reversed its earlier verdict upholding a city injunction on Nazi rallies. But no one is fooled by these stormtroopers and night riders—no one, that is, except the civil libertarians and their reformist hangers-on.

Commenting on the Columbus rally, the executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) bemoaned the fact that the cops didn't intervene soon enough to protect the KKK. "For me, this is a sad Fourth of July," he said. "I'm distressed that the Klan did not get their First Amendment rights" (*Plain Dealer* [Cleveland], 5 July). From Camp Pendleton, California to Far Rockaway, New York, the ACLU has become the active legal defenders of the Klan and the Nazis' "right" to organize racist terror, whether in the form of beatings of black Marines, burning of crosses or staging provocative marches in a community of victims of Hitler's holocaust. Fighting in the name of classless "democracy," the ACLU aids the fascists' attempts to obtain the protection of the state.

Of two anti-Nazi rallies held in Skokie on July 4, the largest was organized and dominated by the Jewish Defense League (JDL). The virulently anti-communist JDL organizes around its brand of right-wing Zionism while posing as the best defenders of the Jewish community against anti-Semitic attacks. Yet its paramilitary ethnic chauvinism and reactionary anti-working-class politics seek to divide Jews from the best and most powerful defenders of democratic rights. The marginal presence of JDLers at an earlier anti-Nazi Skokie rally did not deter participation by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League in defense of the Jewish population and against the fascist provocation. But the July 4 rally was little more than a propaganda vehicle for the JDL, thus excluding participation by revolutionaries.

A smaller march the same day in Skokie was dominated by the legalist/pacifist politics of the Communist Party (CP). The main thrust of the CP's organizing was to call on the government to ban fascist organizations. This "ban the Klan" strategy not only creates illusions in the capitalist state, it is also certain to backfire on the left, which is invariably a victim of political prohibitions of "extremist" organizations by the bourgeois government. Moreover, the Stalinists push this treacherous program in the name of the reactionary campaign that has emboldened the fascists: Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. A statement of the Illinois CP "demanded from President Carter" and his government, "the outlawing of racist and anti-semitic organizations," concluding: "The right to be free from racist insult and violence is a human right!" (*Daily World*, 30 June).

The Communist Party, however, at least criticizes the ACLU for the latter's efforts to gain "free speech for fascists." The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), in contrast, makes this civil libertarian approach its hallmark. Whereas the ACLU takes on court cases for the Klan and Nazis, the SWP takes its defense of fascists' "rights" directly into the left and labor movement, and occasionally physically protects the Nazis from angry militants or provides a platform to "debate" the racist terrorists.

Recently in Detroit, a July 1 pro-abortion rally called by the National Organization of Women (NOW) was repeatedly disrupted by a local fascist group under the name of Breakthrough. The SWP, whose reformism leads it to build NOW as the best proponents of bourgeois feminism, showed that it is also the left's best defender of fascists. When a handful of Breakthrough supporters brought their banner into the middle of the rally, some of the infuriated feminists wanted to remove them, which could have been easily done except for the SWP marshals who restrained them.

The banners, which read "Pro Christo, Pro Patria" and showed a fist smashing a hammer and sickle, were not the only outrage tolerated and protected by the SWP that day. When the fascist band of four grabbed the microphone and repeated the chant, "Abortion is murder," over and over, angry women attempted to remove them. Again SWP marshals tried to protect the "free speech" of fascists against the outraged feminists, who at last removed this raving provocateur from the mike.

Crush the Nazis and the Klan!

Despite the increased visibility and modest growth of the Nazis and the KKK, they remain isolated and despised gangs on the lunatic fringe of the ultra-right. As such, they attract criminally insane sadists and a variety of sociopaths. This has been underscored by several recent atrocious murders. Last February national attention was caught by a grotesque killing spree by a mentally defective gun fetishist and member of the National States Rights Party who went on a ten-hour bloody rampage in New Rochelle, New York, killing three black men and a dark-skinned Indian. In Chicago recently, Sidney Cohen was killed by an avowed Nazi who forced him to ingest hydrogen cyanide, a poison used in Hitler's gas chambers. In searching the Nazi's home, police discovered anti-Semitic literature, other poisonous chemicals and a death list containing the names of Cohen and two other Jews.

Vile as these crimes are, they do not represent the real historical danger of fascism. While they are today isolated, the fascists' growing aggressiveness represents a real, if embryonic, danger to the labor movement and oppressed racial/ethnic minorities. Their present growth is as the far-right wing of a general conservative-reactionary trend, but their real flourishing will come when the bourgeoisie can no longer rule by parliamentary means. Then a mass fascist movement will be fostered whose primary purpose will be to smash the organized workers movement through mob violence. Therefore, it is necessary to stamp these racist, anti-communist, anti-labor terrorist bands into the ground *now*, when they are still weak.

The fascist groups which are beginning to raise their loathsome heads will not be defeated by groups like the SWP which preach "free speech" for genocidal terrorists while seeking to lure them into debates in order to "expose" them. Nor will liberal and Stalinist reformists succeed in stopping fascism through the courts and state houses. And however satisfying it may be to adventurists to fantasize about driving a sports car into a Klan rally, it is obvious that such expressions of individual outrage can solve nothing. Only the mobilization of the working class, particularly the formation of disciplined labor defense guards and a revolutionary struggle for state power, can crush the fascists in the egg. ■

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE FORUM

Euro-Communism

Speaker: *Ed Clarkson*
Spartacist League
Central Committee

Place: University of Toronto
Hart House
Debates Room

Date: Saturday, July 23

Time: 8:00 p.m.

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TORONTO

For A Militant L.A. County Workers Strike!

LOS ANGELES—Some 70,000 Los Angeles County employees should have been on strike as of midnight, June 30. But when the contract covering job titles ranging from clerks and welfare workers to nurses and engineers expired, union "leaders" told the workers to stay on the job as they greased the works for a massive sellout to the hardlining county board of supervisors.

L.A. county workers are primarily represented by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). A smaller number are covered by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) and the California Association of Professional Employees (CAPE). The workers are further divided by being broken up into 55 separate bargaining units.

The unions had previously agreed that all county workers would walk out if any one bargaining unit failed to reach a satisfactory agreement. But there is every indication that this bloc was purely rhetorical. In line with SEIU International president George Hardy's statement that, "The best strikes are those which never have to be called" (*Service Employee*, May 1977), local union leaders have already settled in most of the bargaining units on the most pitiful terms. They are now trying to force a similar agreement down the throats of clerical and welfare eligibility workers, who constitute the bulk of the unionized workers and among whom strike sentiment is strongest.

The terms agreed to in most of the bargaining units are an outrageous insult to the workers: 5.25 percent wage increases with no cost-of-living protection, cuts in pensions and workmen's compensation, provisions limiting automatic "step" pay increases and tying them to arbitrary management evaluations of "merit," and a two-year rather than a one-year contract. In addition to these obvious setbacks, the contract says nothing about the workers' job security, the hiring freeze imposed in 1974 or ever-mounting speedup. Binding arbitration is formalized as the "solution" to all grievances. The terms are so favorable to the county that board of supervisors member James Hays boasts that the agreement "will be the best [lowest] settlement of any governmental unit—state or federal—this year."

July 11—Militant workers from SEIU Local 535, representing 3,800 welfare eligibility workers of Los Angeles County, voted at a meeting today by 373 to 177 to reject the county's offer and strike the next day. However, using the pretext that only 10 percent of the membership was present at the meeting, the bargaining committee highhandedly overruled the vote, unilaterally declaring there would be no strike.

The meeting, attended by several thousand people, was marked by repeated outbursts of anger from the floor against the Coalition of County Unions and their no-win policy. Although contracts expired a week and a half ago, the bureaucrats conspired to put a strike off until July 12 in order to wear down and isolate pockets of militancy like Local 535. Another militant sector, Local 660 (clerical workers), was prevented from voting until *after* tonight's midnight strike deadline.

The bureaucrats' stalling tactics sparked demands that SEIU attorney Harry Gluck explain the delays. He refused to do so and instead sent a representative who was shouted down. With the bargaining committee straining to control the seething membership, they received some timely aid from supposed radicals in the union, like Kathleen O'Nan, who, at the height of the uproar rushed up to the podium to support the leadership's position of no strike.

As it became clear that the SEIU tops were determined to frustrate every attempt by the 70,000-strong L.A. County workforce to strike in defense of their job conditions and living standards, the meeting dissolved into chaos as droves of workers stalked out in disgust.

Meeting in all-night session June 30, the clerical (SEIU Local 660) and eligibility workers (SEIU Local 535) bargaining teams rejected management's final offer, which approximated these terms. But rather than immediately calling the workers out on strike, the union leaders set a July 12 strike deadline, arguing the effectiveness of waiting until after payday, July 11. But this sham excuse was quickly exposed when the union set a membership vote on management's last offer for 5 p.m., July 12, even though the strike is scheduled to begin at 12:01 a.m. that same day! The labor skates of the Coalition of County Unions, headed by Local 660 president Jack Thomas, hope that they can use the additional time to wear down all resistance to the rotten agreement.

Management Offensive

By their cowardly behavior, the union tops are only fueling the anti-labor appetites of the county supervisors. Like their cohorts around the country, the supervisors seek to resolve their budget woes by slashing the wages and conditions of public employees and decimating the already minimal services provided to the working people, poor and heavily black and Latin ghetto populations.

Similar attacks have provoked recent strikes in Atlanta, where Mayor Maynard Jackson exploded the myth of "progressive" black capitalist politicians by crushing the city workers union; in Detroit, where 10,000 municipal workers struck for one day last week to beat back Mayor Coleman Young's takeaway demands; and in Wisconsin, where state employees are currently on strike.

In Los Angeles these attacks have an insidiously racist character, as demagogic politicians whip up support for their cutbacks among white taxpayers, irate over skyrocketing property tax rates and alarmed at the prospect of busing for school integration, while aiming their attacks at the predominantly black and Mexican-American county workforce as well as the ever-popular target of "welfare chiselers."

L.A. county management has learned a thing or two from the San Francisco board of supervisors, who have been on an anti-labor rampage, winning voter approval for anti-union initiatives and crushing city workers strikes. They have also been heartened by Abe Beame and the New York City financier union-busters, who have administered blow after blow to municipal labor with only pathetic whimpers of protest from cowering union bureaucrats. The Los Angeles County administrators figure if such campaigns can succeed in labor strongholds like New York and San Francisco, they should be a cinch in a non-union town like L.A.

The board of supervisors' offensive has the added encouragement of California governor Jerry Brown, best known for his "limits of growth" preachings. Though the state budget promises a $2.5 billion surplus this year, Brown recently cut legislature-approved allocations for state employee salary increases and more than a quarter of the amount for the handicapped, despite well-publicized sit-ins by disabled benefit recipients in his Sacramento office.

The current contract negotiations also take place in the midst of a campaign to repeal the "prevailing wage clause" in the L.A. county charter, another weapon borrowed from San Francisco's arsenal. This provision requires that the county pay wages "at least equal" to those of private industry for similar job classifications. Los Angeles County regularly undercuts the clause by surveying non-union private corporations, especially those with notoriously low pay scales for clerical positions, like banks and insurance companies. Even so, the SEIU reports that this year's survey showed that county workers were, on the average, earning seven percent less than those surveyed.

In addition to offering puny wage increases, which as a result of inflation in fact amount to wage cuts, the county has been steadily whittling away at jobs. In 1974, a hiring freeze was instituted in most departments. The freeze has meant more work for fewer employees and has hit particularly hard at eligibility workers, who deal with mushrooming welfare rolls, swelled by continuing high levels of unemployment. In many instances, departing employees are replaced by "temporaries" who have no job security and few benefits. Despite the fact that more than 10,000 "temporaries" have worked for years in this second-class status, the unions have not even raised this issue in the negotiations.

The union leaderships' response to the county's escalating attacks is one of retreat and rotten compromise. Thomas & Co. are unwilling to lead a militant strike for a job-expanding shorter workweek with a big pay boost, an unlimited cost-of-living escalator, full status for "temporaries," the right to strike over all grievances and an end to all cutbacks in desperately needed social services. Fearful of a confrontation with the county, the union tops prefer to docilely collect dues while the ranks suffer scandalously inadequate and deteriorating conditions.

This tired business unionism progressively saps the strength of the unions. Seeing bureaucrats manifestly unwilling to lead a fight, only a third of the county workers have joined the unions, even though they gained collective bargaining rights in 1970. In most departments, there are only a handful of appointed shop stewards. In many areas, even higher union officers are appointed rather than elected.

In a desire to boost their dues base while avoiding militant organizing campaigns, the bureaucrats have resort-

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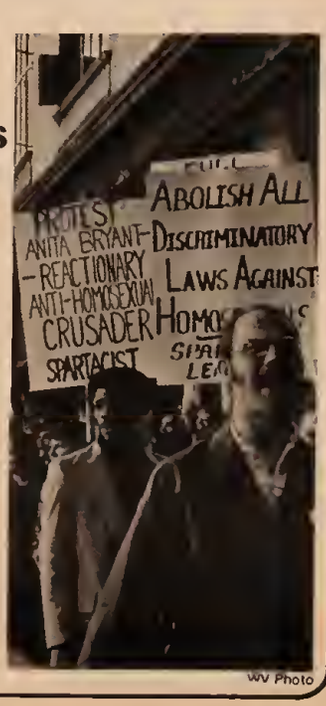

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Heroic Soviet Spies

As the Red Orchestra was being hounded by the Sonderkommando, other Soviet networks assumed correspondingly greater importance. The most significant of these was the Swiss network which the Gestapo referred to as the "Red Troika" for its three transmitters. Soviet intelligence had maintained an independent operation in Switzerland since the late 1930's, but its vital work took place in 1942-43 as Trepper's Belgian and French groups were smashed. In December 1942 German counterintelligence learned from an arrested member of the Red Orchestra the code of the Swiss network and the scope of its information. But because of Swiss neutrality it was unable to wipe out the group directly, only managing to cripple it in 1944.

Under the cover of the "Geopress Map Publishing Company," Sandor

A review of: *The Great Game*, by Leopold Trepper; *The Red Orchestra*, by Gilles Perrault; *Our Own People*, by Elisabeth Poretsky; *Codename Dora: Memoirs of a Russian Spy*, by Sandor Rado.

PART 2 OF 2

Rado, a Hungarian communist who had been trained as a cartographer, had established the network for the Fourth Department. Rado had served as a political commissar in the army of Bela Kun's Hungarian Soviet Republic at the age of 19. His wife, Helen Jansen, had taken part in the 1919 Spartacus uprising in Berlin, providing fire cover for her comrades as they left the Communist Party headquarters, and later fought with the Red Army in putting down the Kronstadt mutiny. In 1935 Rado was approached by the Fourth Department and began his career as an officer in the Soviet intelligence service.

Rado's memoirs (*Codename Dora: Memoirs of a Russian Spy*, London: Abelard, 1977) detail the work of the "Red Troika" in providing the Red Army with information which proved crucial in the battles of Stalingrad and Kursk, the turning points of the war on the eastern front. The book points out that the Troika's information was of such high quality because it obtained the cooperation of highly placed elements in the German bourgeoisie, just as in the case of the Harnack/Schulze-Boysen group in Berlin. The Swiss network's most important coup was its connection with Rudolf Rössler (codenamed "Lucy"), formerly a left-liberal German theater critic who fled to Switzerland after the Nazis came to power. He joined Swiss intelligence and developed a web of informants in the Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe commands and the foreign office, while feeding his information to the USSR via Rado. To this day the exact sources of "Lucy's" information are unknown.

As massive battles raged on the Don and Volga steppes from July 1942 to February 1943, Moscow was receiving a steady stream of data from the Swiss network on the strategy and state of the German forces. "Lucy" told the center that the Wehrmacht's flank was unprotected on the "Black Fields" southeast of Stalingrad and it expected no attack from this quarter. That was then chosen as the very area from which the Red Army launched its November 1942 counteroffensive. Marshal Zhukov cites the former German chief of operational staff, General Jodl, as saying: "We had no idea of the strength of the Russian troops in this region. Previously there had been no troops at all there, and then suddenly they attacked in such strength that they made a decisive difference."

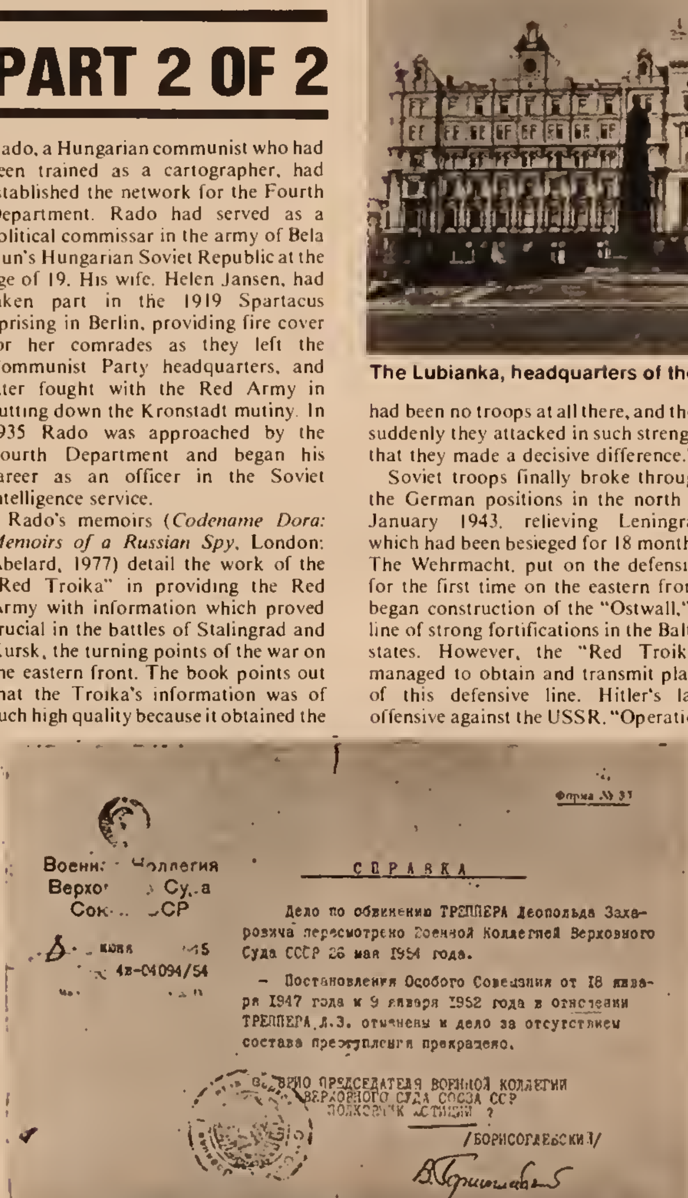
Roberta Gerson

The Lubianka, headquarters of the GPU.

Soviet troops finally broke through the German positions in the north in January 1943, relieving Leningrad which had been besieged for 18 months. The Wehrmacht, put on the defensive for the first time on the eastern front, began construction of the "Ostwall," a line of strong fortifications in the Baltic states. However, the "Red Troika" managed to obtain and transmit plans of this defensive line. Hitler's last offensive against the USSR, "Operation Citadel," whose aim was to take Kursk, was reported on by "Lucy" in great detail. When it was finally launched after much delay in July 1943, the Red Army already had a precisely worked out counterplan:

> "In the spring of 1943 we got hold of thanks to the brilliant work of Soviet intelligence - a quantity of important data about the grouping of German troops preparatory to the summer offensive.... On the basis of these conclusions we worked out our plan for the battle of Kursk.... First the Soviet troops wore down the enemy in defensive engagements; then, switching to the offensive, they smashed the enemy army groups in pieces."
>
> —Grigory Zhukov, *Memoirs and Reflections*

While the German army fell back before the Soviet offensive, the Gestapo intensified pressure against Rado, who was forced into hiding. His second in command, Alexander Foote, was raided by the Swiss police during a transmission—as they broke in the door he managed to smash the radio with a hammer, while burning telegrams with a candle's flame. But with the Nazis now clearly losing the war and due to Swiss neutrality, the fate of the members of the "Red Troika" was not the same as those of the Orchestra. Foote and others were eventually released and Rado made it safely to France (where he learned that his entire family had perished in the death camp of Auschwitz).



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— Постановления Особого Совещания от 18 января 1947 года и 9 января 1952 года в отношении ТРЕППЕРА Л.З. отменены и дело за отсутствием состава преступления прекращено.

ВРИО ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЯ ВОЕННОЙ КОЛЛЕГИИ ВЕРХОВНОГО СУДА СОЮЗА ССР ПОЛКОВНИК ЮСТИЦИИ

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Soviet court document issued in 1955 reversing 1947 and 1952 decisions against Trepper "for absence of basic elements of crime."

Richard Sorge

One of the strengths of the Red Orchestra was the fact that its key components were dedicated revolutionary militants with long common personal ties and work. This gave the members a sense of each other's style, extremely valuable in clandestine conditions where maintaining contact was the first and most difficult task, but it was also a weakness. Once the first arrests were made, because of their intimate relations (i.e., the lack of rigid compartmentalization) some of those who broke under torture—an inevitable occurrence—knew too much and opened the whole network to exposure. This failing was even more pronounced in the Orchestra's vital Berlin group where there was a total confusion of functions.

In this respect the "Red Troika" was a more professional espionage apparatus and also more successful in withstanding the enemy's pressure. But the most effective Soviet spy operation of the World War II period was that headed by Richard Sorge in Japan, which operated from 1934 to 1941. Sorge's brilliant analyses and carefully cultivated circle of friends at the highest levels of the German embassy and Japanese government not only produced precisely accurate information about "Operation Barbarossa," but also led to the conclusion that Japan would not attack the USSR in 1942—a vital factor permitting the Red Army to transfer large units from the Far East to be thrown into the battle of Stalingrad. The operations of this truly brilliant "masterspy" were so effective that the German embassy and foreign office vehemently protested his arrest in 1941, and continued to pressure Japanese authorities on his behalf for months, even after receiving his confession!

Sorge was a man of great daring and intelligence. Arriving in Japan with impeccable credentials as a correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, he had taken the somewhat dangerous precaution of joining the Nazi Party (luckily his police record, revealing a host of clandestine activities for the German Communist Party in the early 1920's, was not thoroughly checked until after his arrest). His service record in World War I (he received an Iron Cross) and reputation as an expert on Japanese affairs (partly due to reports from his extensive espionage network) recommended him to the German official community. He became particularly close with Major-General Eugen Ott, who was eventually appointed ambassador. Sorge was given a room at the embassy and trusted with highly confidential information, on which his opinion was often sought.

Sorge's reputation was that of a highly respected, if somewhat eccentric, member of the diplomatic community. His sociability and occasionally obstreperous behavior were seen as the attributes of a typical Berliner: shrewd, uproarious, fond of drink and women. He was quoted as commenting admiringly on the famous Japanese 17th century rebellion of the 47 *ronin* (unemployed samurai), who killed their lord's murderer after putting him off guard. "They knew how to cover up their aims with drinking and restless wandering," commented Sorge, perhaps reflecting on his own habit of roaring around Tokyo on a motorcycle after nights of heavy drinking. Even his Japanese mistress was totally in the dark about his espionage activities. The self-assurance with which he was able to play out his role was no doubt partly a result of Berzin's insistence that a "cover" must be as little artificial as possible—that is why the head of the Fourth Department insisted on Sorge using his own name.

Sorge's one recorded moment of deep depression came when the Germans invaded the USSR. According to his mistress, he spent the day crying and answered her concerned questions with the reply, "I am lonely. I have no real friends." It is not hard to imagine his fury at Stalin's refusal to use the vital information his Japanese network had been supplying the center for months about preparations for the attack. He also provided an in-depth analysis about the February 1936 insurrection of young Japanese army officers, reports of the German-Japanese negotiations around the formation of the "Anti-Comintern Pact," extensive information on the Japanese invasion of China, and in the last months before his arrest reports that Japan would attack the United States in December 1941, or in any case no later than January 1942. Sorge admitted his spy activities, hoping that the Soviet government would come to his rescue; his hopes were dashed and he was finally executed in November 1944.

Ignace Reiss

Like Trepper, Rado and Sorge, Ignace Reiss had been a communist militant before joining the Soviet intelligence apparatus. But although he worked for a longer period in the various espionage services, he alone had the courage and political vision to break with Stalin while remaining true to his

New Park

Ignace Reiss

Leninist convictions. After 18 months in Pilsudski's prisons for his military information gathering in 1920, he made his way to Germany where he participated in military preparations for the abortive 1923 uprising. Following that failure he spent several years in Vienna, Prague and Amsterdam, returning to Moscow in 1927 to receive the Order of the Red Banner for his work.

In 1929, as the Stalinist bureaucracy was continuing to consolidate its hold on the Soviet state apparatus, Berzin, sensing that despite his credentials as an Old Bolshevik his own position was threatened, began to shift some of his trusted associates out of the line of fire. Reiss, for example, spent the next three years in the archives section of the Fourth Department. During this time, he could not help but notice the degeneration of the revolution and the straitjacketing of the party and Soviet society. When Berzin suggested he consider taking a Comintern assignment, Reiss responded to his wife's reminder that he had always wanted to return to party work: "What party work? What party? There are no parties any more, there is not even a Comintern." In *Our Own People*, Elisabeth Poretsky, Reiss's widow, described those grim years from 1929 to 1932, when friends began to disappear, stories of arrests and executions came closer and closer to home and Reiss and his circle sought to escape from the vicious corruption of everything Bolshevism had stood for. Explaining why her husband refused to work for the Comintern, Poretsky explained:

> "He knew it would mean involvement in the inner party struggles that were then tearing the international Communist movement apart. Ludwik [Reiss's professional name] was not a Trotskyite, on many points he disagreed with Trotsky, but like all old party members he could not conceive of a Communist movement without Trotsky...since the vicious anti-Trotsky campaign, which had continued after his expulsion from the party and the country, Ludwik would no longer feel at home either in the Soviet Union or in the party."

Eventually Reiss decided to join the NKVD's foreign department, the INO, since it appeared to be the only way to leave the USSR and stay out of the party purges. It was not an easy decision, for he not only shared the disdain of the Fourth Department for the crude methods and personnel of the NKVD, but also the fear and hatred widespread among veteran communists toward this bastion of Stalinist terror. The attitude of Reiss's circle was revealed by his wife's comments on one of the NKVD thugs:

> "Lisa Zarubin was another of those whom we called 'theirs'—people Moscow entrusted with tasks their European Communist agents, most of them recruited from the Fourth, would never have performed. These were the people in the NKVD whom Moscow relied on for burglaries, kidnappings, and murders.... But the particular reason everyone avoided Lisa Zarubin was because of the role she had played in the betrayal and eventual death of Jacob Blumkin."

Simon and Schuster

As Soviet intelligence officer, Kim Philby worked inside Britain's Secret Intelligence Service.

Harper and Row

Richard Sorge headed Red Army intelligence in Japan.

Blumkin had been a young Social Revolutionary implicated in the assassination of German ambassador Count Mirbach in 1918, who later joined the Communist Party and GPU. On one of his trips he had visited Trotsky at Prinkipo, no doubt out of sentimental impulse. Zarubin was assigned to lure him back to Moscow, playing on a former love affair. He was shot upon his return.

But despite Reiss's return to western Europe, there was no escape from Stalinist betrayal. The first Moscow Trial of August 1936—where Zinoviev, Kamenev, I.N. Smirnov, Mrachkovsky and 12 other defendents were sentenced to death and shot—forced Reiss to face political reality. He and Krivitsky, another of the top NKVD residents in Europe, met repeatedly for agonized private discussions. Krivitsky equivocated, alternating between despair and hope, and several times talked Reiss out of an open break. His main argument aside from technical difficulties was the hope that the Spanish revolution would triumph and break Stalin's stranglehold over what had become the "Stalintern."

Reiss considered his work during this period, supplying arms to Republican Spain from private and governmental sources in Europe, a vital task. But by 1937 it had become obvious that Stalin also viewed a revolutionary victory in Spain as a threat. Reiss determined then to refuse to return to Moscow and to disobey orders to spy on anti-Stalinist leftists in Spain. In July 1937 he wrote his letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU denouncing Stalin and openly allying himself with the Fourth International (see box in this issue).

While he sent off his letter, returning with it his Order of the Red Banner, Reiss refused to make his break public until he felt he had a secure hiding place. But it was not possible to hide from Stalin's assassins—it would have been far better, as Trotsky wrote later, to seek maximum publicity so as to make it too costly for the NKVD gangsters to assassinate him. For this error Reiss paid with his life, and his bloody corpse was discovered beside a country road near Lausanne, Switzerland in September. During the following months his friends in Moscow disappeared one by one. Krivitsky finally bolted to the West, but became linked up with anti-Communist circles and died in a Washington, D.C. hotel room.

The "Reiss Faction"

In his courageous break from the bureaucracy, Reiss stands out as an exception to those like Trepper who tried to evade the essential political question of Stalinism. As Stalin's sabotage of Soviet defense which made possible the initial successes of the German invasion in June 1941 so graphically underlined, the real defense of the Soviet Union was a relentless struggle to oust the parasitic clique which had usurped power. But in his dilemma, his inner struggle, Reiss was symptomatic of a broader layer. Trotsky wrote, "We may assume with certainty that in the ranks of the bureaucracy there are quite a number who feel as Reiss did. They have contempt for their milieu. They hate Stalin. And, at the same time, they endlessly toil on and on" ("A Tragic Lesson," September 1937).

In the *Transitional Program*, Trotsky generalized this further, noting that in addition to a right-wing, ultimately counterrevolutionary and fascist wing of the bureaucracy (the "Butenko faction"), there was also a left wing (the "Reiss faction") that would break from the bureaucracy under the impact of tremendous social struggles.

> "If tomorrow the bourgeois-fascist grouping, the 'faction of Butenko,' so to speak, should attempt the conquest of power, the 'faction of Reiss' inevitably would align itself on the opposite side of the barricades. Although it would find itself temporarily the ally of Stalin, it would nevertheless defend not the Bonapartist clique but the social base of the USSR, i.e., the property wrenched away from the capitalists and transformed into state property."

At the time of Reiss's assassination, Trotsky projected the existence of a "Reiss faction" essentially on theoretical grounds. This understanding armed the Trotskyists, so that when the workers rose up against the bureaucratic rule—as in Hungary in 1956 and Poland in 1970—it was no surprise that large sections of the state apparatus and the Communist Party simply disintegrated, with many going over to the workers' cause, including highly placed state officials (e.g., Colonel Pal Maleter in Hungary).

Beyond providing an understanding of the Soviet World War II intelligence operations, perhaps the chief virtue of the books here being reviewed is the revelation of the actual existence of a "Reiss faction" and vivid portrayals of its private life. The very existence of such a layer, at the very heart of the Soviet state apparatus, not only refutes bourgeois rantings about Stalinism being the necessary result of Leninism. It also sharply contradicts social-democratic claims that the USSR is "state capitalist." For in no capitalist society does it occur that a whole layer of the state apparatus is prepared to go over to the workers' side. The existence of a "Reiss faction" of the bureaucracy, located as well in the military and intelligence apparatus, is a result of the essentially "conservative" (in a positive sense) nature of those organs...and of the fact that there is still something of the conquests of the October Revolution left to preserve.

Soviet Spies in Stalin's Prisons

With the end of World War II, the survivors among these revolutionary-militants-turned-Soviet-spies, their job accomplished, wanted to come in from the cold. Even in "peacetime" they were hunted men: Rado had been forced to escape from neutral Switzerland and enter "liberated" France clandestinely; Trepper, in turn, was still hiding from French gangsters who had collaborated with the Gestapo. Finally, in January 1945 both men climbed aboard a Soviet military plane headed for Moscow. With them was Shlyapnikov, the former leader of the Workers Opposition, who had left the USSR (with Lenin's aid) in the early 1920's and was now returning voluntarily on the basis of a warm invitation from Molotov.

While Shlyapnikov was filled with naive enthusiasm, Rado well knew what was in store and managed to escape during a stopover in Egypt. Trepper admits:

> "While we were flying toward Moscow, Rado's disappearance obsessed me. I knew he had performed his mission beyond all expectations, that he had nothing to reproach himself for.... But precisely because of his profound understanding of the facts, his realism as a man of learning, he felt that in spite of the victory, nothing had changed in the kingdom of the OGPU....
>
> "The truth Rado perceived did not strike me with its blinding truth until later. I was too naive. I believed that now that the fighting was over, the terror would cease, and the regime would evolve."

The "Big Chief," who had outwitted the combined resources of the Third Reich, walked into a trap. Instead of relatives, friends and former associates on hand to greet him in Moscow there were only officials of the NKVD. When it became clear that Shlyapnikov had been arrested, Trepper was filled with disgust at the

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Soviet Spies...

(continued from page 7)

shabby trick played on the Old Bolshevik trade unionist: "He had been expecting Molotov's car; instead, he was met by a police car, which drove him straight to Lubianka."

The "Big Chief" told his NKVD "colleagues" that he wished to return to Poland, but only after talking with the directors about the terrible mistakes made by the center which led to the demise of the Red Orchestra. These certainly warranted a thorough review: the Belgian group had fallen because Moscow insisted on broadcasts of *five to six hours* a day, allowing the Sonderkommando plenty of time to locate the transmitter with its tracking vehicles; and the key Harnack/Schulze-Boysen network was smashed as a result of a telegram from Moscow to Kent *containing the names and addresses* of the three main leaders of the Berlin group! But Trepper was never allowed to make his indictment before the directors.

Instead, he was sent to Lubianka for being "so interested in the past." There Trepper was subjected to grueling interrogation, threats against himself and his family (which knew nothing of his whereabouts) and endless demands that he confess his "crimes against the Soviet Union." It was not even because he could prove how Stalin nearly wrecked the USSR's defenses that he was being held, but because he had been part of Berzin's Fourth Department and had escaped the purges by being abroad. Trepper and his associates were threatened with the same fate which met returning Communist veterans of the Spanish civil war, who were jailed and shot because they knew too much and might have been infected with anti-Stalinist ideas. This was a mopping-up operation of the Great Purge.

Any possible doubts as to the reason for his imprisonment were removed during a brief interview with General Ahakumov, Stalin's minister of security. Attacked for the large number of Jews in the Red Orchestra, Trepper proudly replied that there were fighters from 13 nationalities in the network and the only criterion for selection was "the desire to fight Nazism to the end." Abakumov did not reply, but instead went to the heart of the subject. "You see," he said, "there are only two ways to thank an agent in the Intelligence Service: either cover his chest with medals, or cut off his head. If you hadn't worked with that gang of counterrevolutionaries—Tukhachevski, Berzin, and so on—you would be a man laden with honors today; but you went about it in such a way that you're good for nothing but a prison cell." Jail, Abakumov claimed cynically, was a protection against the imperialist secret services which would try to seize the head of the Red Orchestra.

Trepper spent almost ten years in Stalin's prisons. There he met Klausen, Richard Sorge's radio operator, who after long years in Japanese prisons was arrested immediately after returning to the Soviet Union. He also encountered a Japanese general, captured in Manchuria, who had been vice-minister of defense at the time Sorge was arrested. To the obvious question of why Sorge was not exchanged (Japan and Russia were not officially at war until 1945), the general replied that the Japanese government had proposed this on three occasions to the Soviet embassy in Tokyo. Each time it was told that the prisoner was "unknown to us." Trepper's outraged comment in his memoirs was :

> "Unknown. Richard Sorge? When the Japanese papers were full of stories about his contacts with the soviet military attache? Unknown, the man who had warned Russia of the German attack, and who had announced in the middle of the battle of Moscow that Japan would not attack the Soviet Union, thus enabling the Soviet chiefs of staff to bring fresh divisions from Siberia? They preferred to let Richard Sorge be executed rather than have another troublesome witness on their hands after the war.
>
> "The decision had not come from the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo, but directly from Moscow. Richard Sorge paid for his intimacy with General Berzin. After Berzin was eliminated, Sorge, in the eyes of Moscow, was nothing but a double agent, and a Trotskyite in the bargain! For months his dispatches were not decoded, until the Center finally realized the inestimable military value of the information he had provided. After his arrest in Japan, the directors at the Center abandoned him like a cumbersome piece of luggage; such was the policy of the new team.
>
> "Moscow allowed the 'unknown' Richard Sorge to be executed on November 7, 1944. Since then, Moscow has proclaimed, proudly, the history of Sorge's work. I am particularly happy to expose this imposture today, and to make this accusation before the world: *Richard Sorge was one of us.* Those who allowed him to be murdered have no right to claim him as theirs."

Also during his time in prison, Trepper met Szulgin, the head of the Black Hundreds, tsarist gangs who had specialized in anti-Semitic pogroms. His patriotism fired by the Russian victory in World War II, Szulgin returned from Yugoslavia praising Stalin and lamenting only that the "general secretary" wasn't a real tsar. Szulgin was released well before the surviving communist militants.

Most remarkable of all, during the time Trepper was held at Lubianka, Heinz Pannwitz, a top SS leader and head of the Sonderkommando Rote Kapelle was held in a nearby cell. Pannwitz had continued the *Funkspiel* ["radio game"] after Trepper's escape and finally surrendered to the Russians as Allied troops tightened their nets. Even though Pannwitz was the "butcher of Prague," responsible for the massacre of thousands of innocent Czechs following the 1942 assassination of Heydrich; even though his version of the Great Game was exploded by Trepper's reports; and despite Pannwitz' systematic murder of the captured Red Orchestra members, in order to cover his tracks by eliminating witnesses to his barbaric activities as head of the Sonderkommando, this important Nazi war criminal was freed in 1955 as a result of an agreement signed with West German chancellor Adenauer. At the time *The Great Game* was written Pannwitz was managing director of a bank in Ludwigsburg, West Germany, and receiving a state pension for his SS service!

The Next Generation

"It's too bad you left the USSR. If you'd stayed, you would have been taken care of long since," one of his

IGNACE REISS:

"Free Humanity of Capitalism and the USSR of Stalinism!"

—from Elisabeth Poretsky, Our Own People (Ann Arbor, 1970)

I should have written the letter I am writing you today a long time ago, on that day when the Sixteen[1] were massacred in the cellars of the Lubianka on the orders of the 'Father of the People.'

I kept quiet then and I did not raise my voice at the murders that followed, and as a result I bear a heavy responsibility. My guilt is grave, but I will try to repair it, to repair it promptly and thus ease my conscience.

Up to this moment I marched alongside you. Now I will not take another step. Our paths diverge! He who now keeps quiet becomes Stalin's accomplice, betrays the working class, betrays socialism.

I have been fighting for socialism since my twentieth year. Now on the threshold of my fortieth I do not want to live off the favours of a Yezhov.[2] I have sixteen years of illegal work behind me. That is not little, but I have enough strength left to begin all over again. For it will indeed be necessary to begin everything all over again to save socialism. That fight began a long time ago and I want to take my part in it.

The noise that is made about the deeds of pilots flying over the Pole is supposed to drown out the moans and the cries of the victims tortured in the cellars of the Lubianka, in Svobodnaia, in Minsk, in Kiev, in Leningrad, in Tiflis. It will not succeed. The voice of truth is stronger than the noise of the most powerful engines.

It is quite true that the records of the pilots will affect the hearts of American ladies and of the youth of two continents intoxicated by sports, much more easily than we will succeed in conquering international opinion and affecting the conscience of the world. But make no mistake, truth will find a way and the day of judgement is much nearer than those in the Kremlin think. The day when international socialism will judge the crimes committed in the past ten years is not far off. Nothing will be forgotten and nothing will be forgiven. History is harsh. 'The leader of genius,' 'the Father of the People,' 'the Sun of Socialism' will have to account for what he has done. He will have to account for the defeated Chinese revolution, for the red plebiscite in Germany, for the defeat of the German proletariat, for social fascism, for the things told to Mr. Howard[3], for his flattery of M. Laval[4]—all acts of genius.

This trial will take place in the open and many a living and dead witness will attend it. All will speak and this time will tell the truth, all the truth. All will testify—those who were slandered and those who were shot though innocent—and the international workers' movement will rehabilitate them, the Kamenevs, the Mrachkovskys, the Smirnovs and the Muralovs, the Drobnis, Serebriakovs, Mdivanis, and Okudzhavas, Rakovskys, and Andreas Nins[5]—'the spies and enemy agents, the saboteurs and Gestapo agents'!

The working class must defeat Stalin and Stalinism so that the U.S.S.R. and the international workers' movement do not succumb to fascism and counter-revolution. This mixture of the worst of opportunism, devoid of principles, and of lies and blood threatens to poison the world and the last forces of the working class.

What is needed today is a fight without mercy against Stalinism! The class struggle and not the popular front, workers' intervention in the Spanish revolution as opposed to the action of committees.

Down with the lie of socialism in one country! Return to Lenin's international!

Neither the Second nor the Third International can carry out this historical mission. Corrupt and dislocated, all they can do is to prevent the working class from fighting. They can only be the policemen at the service of the bourgeoisie. The irony of history! In the past the bourgeoisie provided its own Cavaignacs and Gallifets, its Trepovs and Wrangels[6]. Today, under the glorious leadership of the two Internationals, it is the proletarians themselves who have become the executioners of their comrades. The bourgeoisie can attend quietly to its own business: order and peace rule. There are still Noskes and Yezhovs, Negrins and Diazs[7]. Stalin is their leader and Feuchtwanger[8] their Homer.

No. I cannot stand it any longer. I take my freedom of action. I return to Lenin, to his doctrine, to his acts.

I intend to devote my feeble forces to the cause of Lenin. I want to continue the fight, for only our victory—that of the proletarian revolution—will free humanity of capitalism and the U.S.S.R. of Stalinism.

Forward to new struggles! For the Fourth International!

Ludwik
17 July 1937

P.S. In 1928 I was awarded the Order of the Red Banner for services to the proletarian revolution. I am enclosing the decoration. It would be beneath my dignity to wear an order also worn by the executioners of the best men of the working class in Russia. (In the last two weeks *Izvestiia* has published the names of those who have received the award. Their achievements have been discreetly kept quiet: they are the men who have carried out the death sentences on the old Bolsheviks.)

---

1 The 16 Old Bolsheviks tried in Moscow in August 1936 and subsequently executed
2 Nikolai I. Yezhov, appointed head of the NKVD by Stalin in 1936 to carry out the first wave of purges, then purged himself in 1938 and shot
3 The American press correspondent Roy Howard, who interviewed Stalin in 1935
4 Pierre Laval was the French foreign minister who negotiated the Franco-Soviet Pact of 1935 and later served as head of the pro-Nazi Vichy government in World War II
5 Kamenev, Mrachkovsky and Smirnov were tried and executed in August 1936. Muralov, Drobnis and Serebriakov in January 1937, and Mdivani and Okudzhava in July 1937. Rakovsky, arrested at the end of 1936, was not tried until 1938. Andreas Nin, political secretary of the Spanish POUM was arrested in Spain in June 1937, tortured and murdered by the Stalinists
6 Cavaignac was the French general responsible for suppression of the Parisian workers during the June Days of the 1848 Revolution. Gallifet was responsible for the massacre following the defeat of the Paris Commune. Trepov, governor-general of St. Petersburg, led counterrevolutionary forces in the 1905 Revolution, while Baron Wrangel was a leading White general in the Russian Civil War of 1918-21
7 Juan Negrin was a right-wing Socialist who headed the Spanish Popular Front after the May Days of 1937. José Diez was head of the Spanish CP. Both men were responsible for the bloody suppression of the left from 1937 on
8 German novelist Leon Feuchtwenger, whose book *Moscow 1937* slavishly glorified the Stalin regime and justified the Moscow trials

interrogators tuld Leopold Trepper. And when the "Big Chief" refers to "us," he was speaking of that layer uf veteran militants from the 1920's who, because of the importance of their work, were passed over by the Stalin purges. By the end of World War II, this layer had been largely expunged from the Suviet state apparatus. Another of Trepper's examiners, who was thoroughly familiar with the history of the Red Orchestra, had extreme difficulty comprehending how a network could be built with so few professional intelligence personnel. The new generation of Soviet spies was made up of decidedly different human material. This was particularly true of the Russian agents, now the overwhelming majority, who were essentially policemen and bureaucrats.

But even among those who joined the Soviet intelligence service of the 1930's when Stalin's domination was solidly established, the spark of ideological commitment was not altogether absent. This can be seen in the case of the man who was described by longtime CIA director Allen Dulles as "the best spy the Russians ever had": Kim Philby. In the introduction to his memoirs (*My Silent War*, New York: Grove Press, 1968), Philby justifies his decision to continue his Soviet spy career "when some of the worst features of Stalinism became apparent":

> "It seemed to me, when it became clear that much was going badly wrong in the Soviet Union, that I had three possible courses of action. First, I could give up politics altogether. This I knew to be quite impossible.... Second, I could continue political activity on a totally different basis. But where was I to go?... I saw the road leading me into the political position of the querulous outcast... railing at the movement that had let *me* down, at the God that had failed *me*....
>
> "The third course of action open to me was to stick it out, in the confident faith that the principles of the Revolution would outlive the aberration of individuals, however enormous. It was the course I chose...."

Philby, the son of an eccentric British diplomat-explorer, was recruited to what he took to be communism while an undergraduate at Cambridge, an experience common to many left-wing British intellectuals in the 1930's. Instead of joining the Communist Party, he came into contact with the Soviet intelligence service and soon after became a military correspondent for the prestigious London *Times* with Franco's forces in Spain. Managing to get himself invited to join Britain's Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), Philby rose meteorically in its ranks while fulfilling his duties as a Soviet intelligence officer. There was no question as to his qualifications: he was a charming drinking companion, a loyal and sentimental friend, a careful and conscientious intelligence analyst and a man of civilized liberal convictions who stayed out of intra-hureaucratic squabbling—except once, in 1945, when he skillfully enginecred the removal of the director of the SIS counterintelligence department and gained as his prize the directorship of section IX, whose target was Soviet and Communist intelligence activities!

Pursuing his promising career in British intelligence, Philby was posted for a period to Washington, where he served as liaison officer to the FBI and CIA. There he obtained information about British-American air drops of agents into Albania and the Ukraine, and doubtless much more. But it was a threatening period of witchhunts, as Philby was well aware. "It was the era of McCarthy in full evil blast," he writes. "It was the era of Hiss, Coplon, Fuchs, Gold, Greenglass, and the brave Rosenbergs—not to mention others who are still nameless." J. Edgar Hoover expressed to Philby his disdain for McCarthy, but Philby's evaluation of the FBI director was equally negative:

> "Hoover did not catch Maclean and Burgess, he did not catch Fuchs, and he would not have caught the rest if the British had not caught Fuchs and worked brilliantly on his tangled emotions; he did not catch Lansdale; he did not catch Abel for years, and only then because Hayhanen delivered him up on a platter; he did not even catch me. If ever there was a bubble reputation, it is Hoover's."

Despite his brilliant work, Philby came near to being caught when two of his circle, Burgess and Maclean, bolted together from the Foreign Office and suspicions as to a "Third Man" pointed at him. He was forced to resign from the SIS for several years, but the British could pin nothing on him, and in due course he became a correspondent for the London *Observer* in Beirut, from which position he continued to work with the SIS. Then in 1963, when the net finally began to close around him, he escaped to Moscow, where he re-emerged as a senior officer of the KGB.

Soviet Spies and Stalinist Terror Against the Workers Movement

While the Soviet intelligence apparatus has successfully combatted its imperialist counterparts, from the Nazi Abwehr to the SIS and CIA, this was by no means the sum total of its work. The internal contradictions could be seen, for example, in the conflict between the Fourth Department and the GPU. Thus, far from contributing to the cause of proletarian revolution, the activities of many Soviet agents have consisted of forcing the counterrevolutionary policies of the Kremlin down the throats of the workers movement internationally. Where they have encountered resistance, the GPU/NKVD/KGB have resorted to disrupting anti-Stalinist communist movements through provocation and physical violence. During the middle and late 1930's, the NKVD's foreign operations centered on this employment of gangster methods against the Trotskyists and those who could be amalgamated with them, culminating in the assassination of Leon Trotsky himself in August 1940.

Among the Stalinist agents targeted against the Trotskyist movement was one Mark Zborowski, alias "Étienne," whose job it was to disrupt anything he could. Worming his way into the international secretariat of the Fourth Internationalist movement he obtained access to confidential correspondence, addresses and meetings, passing this information on to his Kremlin masters. He was implicated in the 1936 theft by the GPU of part of Trotsky's archives. Having become the closest collaborator of Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, when Sedov became mysteriously and violently ill in February 1938, "Étienne" had him taken to a Paris clinic run by Russian emigrés known to have ties to the GPU. Several days later Sedov died under extremely suspicious circumstances suggesting poisoning. Twenty years later, when Zhorowski was examined before a U.S. Senate committee he admitted informing the GPU of Sedov's presence at the clinic, thus confirming his hideous role in this Stalinist murder. There is also reason to helieve that he was involved in the murder of Rudolf Klement, the international secretary of the Trotskyist movement, on the eve of the founding conference of the Fourth International in July 1938.

In contrast, Ramón Mercader, alias Frank Jacson, alias Jacques Mornard, had a single assignment: kill Trotsky. Befriending the American Trotskyist Sylvia Ageloff, he used this relationship to strike up an acquaintance with the French syndicalist leader Rosmer who was visiting Trotsky in Mexico, and through the Rosmers gained access to the Trotsky household. Meanwhile, a Stalinist assassination squad led by the celebrated Mexican painter Siqueiros had attempted to murder the leader of the Fourth International in a May 1940 machine gun raid on his house. Allowing a few months for things to calm down after this failure, Mercader struck on August 20 and finished his grisly assignment for Stalin and the Kremlin bureaucracy.

In contrast to selfless revolutionary militants such as Reiss, Sorge and the members of the Red Orchestra, the Mercaders and Zborowskis were the most consummately cynical hired assassins. (In fact, there is considerable evidence suggesting that it was "Étienne" who tipped off the NKVD concerning Reiss's movements and whercabouts, and thus played a key role in his murder.) With the minds of mercenaries, they were utterly unconcerned about the world-historical magnitude of their crimes. The fact that the security organs of the Soviet state had come to rely on such murderous robots, filthy scum who could have served equally well as agents provocateurs for any capitalist secret police, is an index of the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

But how can it be that within one and the same government apparatus, at the very heart of the military and security organs of state power, there can be such mortal enemies: the Zhukovs and Tukhachevskys, the Abakumovs and Treppers, the Zborowskis and Reiss's—the jailers and those who tomorrow will be their prisoners, the assassins and those who will be their victims, all loyally working in the interests of the Kremlin? The answer is to be found in the fundamentally contradictory character of the Soviet deformed workers state.

Stalin's capture of political power in the USSR marked the imposition of iron rule by a parasitic stratum that had escaped the control of the working class. This bureaucracy sought above all to defend its own privileges. At times this would force it to resist encroachments or direct attack by one of the imperialist camps, as in World War II. Then the Stalinist ruling clique would be forced to defend—albeit in a partial and deformed manner—the proletarian property base on which its power rests. It was because of this face of the hureaucracy that dedicated Soviet intelligence officers could accomplish the outstanding work that they did against the Axis imperialists, although it was constantly sabotaged by their superiors.

But there is another face of the Kremlin as well, that of the state prosecutor who demands "confessions" for imagined "crimes against the Soviet Union," and of the prison camp guard who executes jailed oppositionists while they sing the Internationale and vow to defend the USSR against imperialist attack. In the service of counterrevolution, this gangsterism against communist opponents extended to every level of the Stalinist movement. Thus Trepper was assigned to break up Trotskyist meetings in the Paris left Jewish milieu in the early 1930's, and Reiss's widow reports he was ordered to direct his activities toward repressing a "Trotskyite Fifth Column" in Spain in 1937.

"The Trotskyites Can Lay Claim to This Honor"

Running through the several books reviewed in this essay is a strong element of tragedy. "I belong to a generation that has been sacrificed by history," wrote Trepper in the epilogue to his autobiography. Elisabeth Poretsky's account of her husband and his comrades takes its title from the warning given her by an old friend in Moscow in 1929: "Either the enemy will hang us or our own people will shoot us." And, in fact their lives *were* tragic, they *were* sacrificed by history, their own people *were* their worst enemies. This is what Trepper refused to face until he was locked up in the Lubianka.

Perhaps the most poignant expression of the dilemma of this layer of the Soviet bureaucracy, what we have referred to in political shorthand as the "Reiss faction," was a fictional account by Victor Serge in his novel *The Case of Comrade Tulayev:*

> "Nothing remains for us, then, but to go on serving nevertheless, and, if we are murdered, to submit. Would our resistance do anything but make bad worse? If—as they could have done at any instant a Bukharin, a Piatakov had suddenly risen in the dock to unmask their poor comrade lying through their last hours by command, the fraudulent prosecutor, the abetting judges, the double-dealing inquisition, the gagged Party, the stupid and terrorized Central Committee, the devastated Political Bureau, the Chief ridden by his nightmare—what demoralization there would have been in the country, what jubilation in the capitalist world, what headlines in the fascist press! 'Read all about it—the Moscow Scandal, The Bolshevik Sink, The Chief Denounced by his Victims.' No, no—better the end, any end."

Was there no alternative? Trepper's memoirs contain an insightful passage which goes to the nub of the issue. To the question "Who did protest at that time?" he writes:

> "The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor. Following the example of their leader, who was rewarded for his obstinacy with the end of an ice-axe, they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did. By the time of the great purges, they could only shout their rebellion in the freezing wastelands where they had been dragged in order to be exterminated. In the camps, their conduct was admirable. But their voices were lost in the tundra.
>
> "Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."

"But their voices were lost in the tundra." In Trepper's view, then, the Trotskyists were just as tragic as his comrades. This, also, is the view of Isaac Deutscher whose three-volume biography of Trotsky could have been entitled "The Prophet Doomed." (Not surprisingly, in the post-Stalin "thaw" Deutscher developed illusions that Stalinism could be overcome by forces within the bureaucracy—which was exactly the hope which guided Trepper and his comrades. Everything in the history of the Red Orchestra demonstrates over and over that this hope was in vain.)

Trotsky wrote repeatedly in his last years that it was not possible to assure the defense of the Soviet Union by continuing to follow orders:

> "The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle. To teach the workers correctly to understand the class character of the state...enables the workers to draw correct practical conclusions in every given situation. While waging a tireless struggle against the Moscow oligarchy, the Fourth International decisively rejects any policy that would aid imperialism against the USSR.
>
> "...Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.
>
> "The Kremlin has once again revealed itself as the central nest of defeatism. Only by destroying this nest can the security of the USSR be safeguarded."
>
> —"Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution," May 1940

This is the fundamental truth which the "critical Stalinists" and capitulators failed to grasp. As the Left Oppositionists proclaimed this in front of Stalin's firing squads, it was not just the tundra that listened. A new generation of Trotskyists will be and is being forged through learning the lessons which those courageous revolutionaries defended with their lives. That is why the Trotskyists were not tragic figures, and those who remained silent or "howled with the wolves" were. But when the Soviet working class rises up to expel the Stalinist bureaucracy, they will remember the vital work done by the heroic Soviet spies, the martyrs of the Red Orchestra and their comrades. Nor will they forget the infamy of the Zborowskis and Mercaders and their masters. To each his due. ■

Kent State...

(continued from page 12)

violence the state itself had perpetrated!

Thus on July 6 the *Akron Beacon Journal* came out with an article about the protest which said:

> "SYL [Spartacus Youth League] members said they are committed to the same cause as the peaceful protesters but preferred to use force to make their opinions known. Students who have lived peacefully on the site for weeks verbally berated the SYL in debates which nearly came to blows. SYL members left within about two hours vowing to return daily.
>
> "Coalition members said the SYL attempts to provoke confrontation could be handled by their own trained marshalls.... However, university officials have expressed doubt that coalition members can handle a large demonstration including outsiders and have warned against bringing large numbers of supporters to join the protest when removal begins."

In a leaflet distributed on the campus July 10 the SYL denounced the incredible hypocrisy of Kent State president Olds and the *Akron Beacon Journal* who attempt to scapegoat the SYL while themselves preparing at that very moment to mount an attack against the students. The SYL leaflet said:

> "The real provocateurs are those conspiring to mount an attack (what they call 'removal') against Kent State students protesting the adminstration's attempts to bury the memory of the 1970 shootings. It is the police and the National Guard who are the perpetrators of violence; the armed force of the bourgeois state which slaughtered the Vietnamese workers and peasants, aided and abetted Pinochet's seizure of power in Chile and murdered Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds....
>
> "But the attempt to smear the SYL by raising the spectre of indiscriminate terror and violence will not work. The SYL and the SL have a long and documented history of opposing provocation and self-defeating adventurism."

Initially a number of the more naive students were taken in by the *Akron Beacon Journal* slanders which were, moreover, picked up by Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) members in the Coalition who were looking to fuel their own campaign of cop-baiting the SYL. But by the very next day the entire May 4th Coalition (the RSB grudgingly included) had been won to the need to defend the SYL when a second *Akron Beacon Journal* article July 7 accused the whole Coalition of "violence" because it had shouted down president Olds earlier in the day when he tried to co-opt a demonstration in front of his office.

By late last week the University was rapidly escalating its tactics. On Thursday, July 7, three Coalition members were first savagely beaten, then arrested for "trespassing" by the campus cops. On Saturday the Administration issued its first warning on the tent city and prepared to seek an injunction against it. On Monday, July 11, the injunction for an 8 a.m. July 12 deadline was issued.

At a mass meeting Monday evening, the protesters debated whether or not to get busted. While the RSB claimed that courting arrest was a continuation of its "offensive" tactics, the SYL insisted that this gesture was instead the culmination of the defeatist overall strategy of Tent City. While the SYL has been among the hardest fighters in the campaign to stop construction of the gym, it has insisted that the masses of Kent State students, teachers and campus workers be mobilized to force the ROTC and military recruiters off campus.

But the protesters voted overwhelmingly to get arrested and by 8 a.m. Tuesday there were 200 people waiting on the site to be arrested. Nearby 400 others including the SYL, members of other groups, independents, faculty members and clergymen protested the impending round-up. The police meticulously moved in, arresting first the parents of the martyred students (who have been active in the campaign to stop the gym), then 35 individual protesters, then the bulk of the group who stood with arms interlocked in a passive-resistance stance. As they were carried out they chanted, "The People United Will Never be Defeated," "Long Live the Spirit of Kent and Jackson State," and "Four People Dead, Rhoades Goes Free, That's What the Rich Call Democracy." The SYL started up the chants "Cops Off Campus" and "Jail the Killers of Jackson and Kent"—two slogans which were soon widely picked up.

After the arrests, mounted police came up in a show of force and ordered the group of protesters to leave. The crowd initially refused until one of the Coalition lawyers got them to leave by the incredible argument that if they stayed he would also have to stay and defend them, which would prevent him from getting the arrested out of jail!

Much of the crowd then left, but later about 60 people, including the SYL, went down to the Court House where a picket line was set up. Here the SYL chanted "Free the 194, Drop All Charges Now," and "Cops Off Campus, Move the Gym." At press time a mass meeting has being held to decide upon further action. ■

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Dockers...

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attack on the whole union, as the "Longshore Militant" notes:

> "PMA provoked this strike as part of its divide and conquer strategy. It aims to rip the ILWU apart piece by piece. Encouraged by the union leadership's *active* collaboration in slipping supplement 3 [which invokes LWOP and the forced transfer provisions] through, PMA is now *extending* its attacks on the Longshore Division beyond S.F. to L.A. (and to Portland). By diverting L.A. cargo to S.F., the employers are testing the solidarity between the ports in hopes of splitting the coast. We can't let the bosses break coast-wide unity!"

Furthermore, Local 63 has been singled out because it has managed to bring new workers into the union at a time when most Locals are suffering from PMA's job-slashing attacks.

The "Longshore Militant" has correctly urged the formation of strike solidarity committees to enforce the ban on handling diverted cargo. In the event that company maneuvers make it impossible to identify the diverted cargo, then a coast-wide shutdown must be declared to defend the isolated strike. Such a strike must necessarily take up the issues facing the union as a whole: the struggle to smash LWOP-type schemes and the fight for jobs. Central to this is the demand for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay, along with the abolition of the steady man category—which is killing the ILWU's dispatching halls, a key union gain—and improved manning scales. These are demands which the "Longshore Militant" alone has been consistently championing. ■

SL Conference

(continued from page 3)

fake-left organizations and their front groups (e.g., the International Socialists' "Red Ride") recruit politically raw minority-group youth who sit on the sidelines of the party, passively accepting the dictates of the leadership or suspiciously sniping at the program with guerrilla-warfare methods which can only becloud the issues and corrode the debates. We want to cohere a black cadre component, fully integrated into the leadership of our party as into the ranks. The National Conference, where many black comrades took an active role in the documentary preparation and in the debates, evidenced an increased understanding on the part of the black comrades of their political responsibility to their party.

Especially in this period of relative "labor peace," a program based on the insistence that the center of gravity of social struggle must reside in the racially integrated workers movement may be seen as abstract. Impulses to elevate work among black ghetto youth to a strategic substitute for a labor orientation, fueled by impatience, can reinforce young black militants' subjective identification with the sufferings of their "brothers" outside the organization. But trans-class black solidarity, understandable as the spontaneous response of the black masses to their most palpable oppression, can have no place inside the ranks of an authentic communist vanguard. The sectoralist consciousness induced by capitalist society's divisive inequities is directly counterposed to communist consciousness, which from a core of intransigent programmatic unity seeks to extend its tendrils into every layer of the exploited and oppressed.

The discussion on the black question at the Spartacist League's Fifth National Conference marked an important step in the still incomplete and reversible process of cohering a black cadre component of the Trotskyist vanguard nucleus. Upon this vital process hinges the SL's ability to root itself among the advanced layers of the proletariat, particularly the black workers, a key future motor force for socialist revolution. ■

L.A. County Workers...

(continued from page 5)

ed to bringing labor's enemies into the unions. County probation officers, for example, are members of the SEIU. No less than judges and cops, probation officers are directly part of the repressive state apparatus which seeks to preserve the draconian "law and order" of a decaying capitalist system and must be expelled from the labor movement.

Only a vigorously fought strike can parry the blows being inflicted on the county workers and bring thousands of new members into the unions. But several would-be militants active in the county unions, including some supported by the reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Progressive Labor Party, have focused on the single demand for a county-wide mass meeting to vote on a strike. As in their motivation for support to Steelworkers out-bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski, the SWP substitutes vague talk of "democracy" for the class-struggle program necessary to fight the bosses. In this case, the SWP avoids the elementary and critical necessity of demanding a strike to defend the interests of the county workers.

Militants must certainly fight for the most democratic measures necessary to wage their struggle, including authoritative mass meetings and elected strike committees. But the only way to win the struggle for union democracy is to forge a class-struggle leadership capable of ousting the current pro-capitalist bureaucracy. This necessary leadership cannot be built by limiting appeals to "democracy" or bread-and-butter issues, but must also fight *politically*, by calling for a workers party to defeat the bosses' Democrats and Republicans and establish a workers government.

Without such a leadership, the county workers, like public employees throughout the country, will continue to be the victimized scapegoats of the capitalists' fiscal crisis. The unrelenting cutbacks in social services and benefits, meanwhile, will continue to plunge the nation's cities into festering rot. ■

CORRECTIONS

In the article "James Earl Ray: The Unanswered Questions" (*WV* No. 162, 17 June), we incorrectly reported that Ray pleaded guilty to the murder of Martin Luther King at the advice of his lawyer Arthur Hanes. While Hanes was Ray's original lawyer, he subsequently obtained a new lawyer, Percy Foreman, and it was at Foreman's advice that Ray entered a guilty plea.

In *WV* No. 161 (10 June), there was an omission due to faulty telephone transmission in the "Longshore Militant" leaflet printed under the title "Shut Down West Coast Longshore!" The last paragraph should begin "The International *and Local* leadership have constantly tried to trick us into 'voluntarily' invoking Sup. 3 and cannot be relied on to run an effective strike. To insure effective membership direction and control, *and a solid coastwide action* there must be elected strike committees in every port representing boards, gangs, etc., and linked up coastwide." The italicized words were omitted in the article as printed.

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WV Photo

Stearns miners in trench outside union hall at Justus Mine.

Stearns Strike...

(continued from page 12)

bolster the men on duty. Miners discussed both the terrible conditions which led them to strike and the vicious tactics Blue Diamond has employed to crush their walkout.

Chief among the demands of the Stearns strikers, and a norm for UMWA mines, is the establishment of an elected union safety committee with the power to pull workers out of dangerous areas. Grim testimony to the importance of this demand was given the day before, when four miners were killed a mile underground in St. Charles, Virginia. The rally observed a moment of silence for the dead and their families, and, no doubt, miners thought of the two Stearns miners who have been killed in "accidents" since 1969.

UMWA officials told *WV* that the St. Charles deaths were caused by an explosion of methane gas. The Stearns miners have good reason to fear similar catastrophes in the gassy tunnels of the Justus Mine. In March 1976, 26 miners were killed in Blue Diamond's Scotia mine in a methane explosion.

Court suits filed by widows of the Scotia miners have forced Blue Diamond's owner, Gordon Bonnyman, to testify on safety conditions in his mines. Indicative of the powerful forces lined up against the miners, Blue Diamond's lawyer is the former governor of Kentucky. Bonnyman baldly stated: "The general organizational structure and manner of conducting operations is the same for each of the coal mining operations. The Scotia mine operation is typical of Blue Diamond's other coal mining operations..." (quoted in *Mountain Life and Work*, July 1977). Indeed, the Stearns mine superintendent has conceded that methane detectors on mine equipment are often disconnected so that production can continue regardless of the danger.

Miners working for the callous Blue Diamond Co. who are not ripped apart in explosions face other deadly hazards. Strikers described having to jump on and off improperly grounded, electrically powered mine equipment, being careful to keep both feet together. One foot on the ground and one on the machine can result in instant electrocution. Cables with 41,600 volts often sag beneath the ceilings of the tunnels. The seven-ton vehicles which carry personnel and equipment are frequently without brakes.

Several Stearns miners told of being present when a federal safety inspector asked to see the notoriously dangerous one-west section of the Justus pit. The mine superintendent, without blinking an eye, denied knowing its location! A number of workers agreed that a UMWA member could tell that the Justus Mine was non-union with just a glance at mine conditions.

Gun Thugs, Cops and Provocations

Since last February, when Blue Diamond began importing gun-toting goons from the Storm Security Service, the picketers have faced a hail of pistol, shotgun, rifle and semi-automatic gunfire every night, and sometimes in broad daylight. The small cabin which the miners erected on property they bought adjacent to the picket line is riddled with hundreds of bullet holes. On June 23, a striker was shot as he walked to his car near the picket line.

But the strikers are not about to be intimidated, and they know how to defend themselves. They dug trenches, built sandbag fortifications and expanded the defenses in recent weeks. To date, four mine guards have been shot. The night before the Whitley City rally, mine guard Stanley Moore caught a slug in the chest. Miners said that just prior to the shooting they overheard Moore on a radio telephone call (phone lines into the mine site are severed and the miners monitor the thugs' calls on their own radio), instigating his fellow guards to "Shoot the dog shit out of them." Shortly afterwards, Moore was flat on the ground and his friends were calling for an ambulance.

The miners are also prepared to stand up to the state police, who have regularly escorted company officials across the picket lines while refusing to "notice" the hundreds of rounds pouring down on the picket line. "They're not going to run us off from here," one worker at the site vowed, "There's not enough troopers in the state of Kentucky."

The strikers have also had to put up with innumerable instances of petty company harassment. Miners have had their home phones called by company provocateurs every half hour all night long. A member of the Stearns Women's Club, which is patterned on the Brookside Women's Club and which has played a prominent role in demonstrations at Blue Diamond's headquarters in Knoxville, Tennessee, also told *WV* that the company has sent prostitutes to the picket line in an effort to cause dissension in the miners' homes.

For a National Coal Strike!

For a year, the Stearns miners have stood their ground. But the leaders of the UMWA have left this fight isolated. At the rally, Harry Patrick pledged that "The United Mine Workers does commit all of its resources to this strike." Patrick's words were patent hogwash. The most powerful resource of the UMWA is the combativity and solidarity of the ranks. But Patrick, no less than Miller or Patterson, opposes striking the coalfields, even when the miners' backs are to the wall.

Two weeks ago, 35,000 indignant miners walked out over cutbacks in the Health and Retirement Fund, caused by the refusal of the employers' Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) to transfer available cash and Miller's willing compliance. In an attempt to head off a renewal and expansion of the wildcat when the annual two-week vacation shutdown ended, Miller has declared the issue "national in scope" and called for re-opening the contract to discuss the issue.

But Patrick exposed the real desire of all the UMWA tops when he told *WV*, "I would urge the coal miners to work...."

WV Photo

Harry Patrick (left) being interviewed by Workers Vanguard reporter.

Instead of striking, Patrick vaguely suggested, "There are other ways to handle this." Incredibly, Patrick even opposes a strike, which is universally predicted, when the contract expires in December: "The union doesn't need a strike." Faced with mounting BCOA attacks on mine safety, the right to strike over grievances and the right to organize, the miners need a militant national strike more now than ever. But none of the UMWA's bureaucratic contenders are willing or prepared to lead it.

When the vacation period ended, nearly 13,000 West Virginia miners resumed the strike against the benefit cutbacks. But all the UMWA leadership could think of was how to vilify the strikers. Eighty out of 104 local presidents in District 17 met in Madison, West Virginia, on July 11 and condemned the Right to Strike Committee (RSC), which they charged had a hand in instigating the renewed walkouts, as "agitators" and "communists." The local officers, worked up into a fury of red-baiting, mandated the IEB representative from District 17 to go to Washington to get the International to expel the leaders of the RSC from the union. Two RSC spokesmen, Skip Delano and Bruce Miller, just came off a one-year suspension for previous wildcat activity last May.

Miners must oppose this vicious witchhunt attempt. The politics of the RSC are only a slightly spiced-up version of the business-unionist reformism of the now-defunct Miners for Democracy, whose leaders included Miller and Patrick. The Committee's undeserved "radical" reputation is being used as a scapegoat by the fractured UMWA leadership lashing out at what it really fears and has been unable to control: the militancy which refuses to die down in the coal fields.

Failure to confront the BCOA's escalating provocations only fuels the coal operators' appetites to destroy the UMWA and saps the union's strength. John Cox, the union's director of organizing, told *WV* that the cutback of medical benefits will further cripple the union's attempt to organize non-UMWA mines, which account for nearly half the coal produced in the U.S. Three days after the cutbacks were announced, the union lost a representation vote in a District 30 mine which organizers had expected to win. If the cutbacks are not reversed, more organizing defeats can be expected.

The companies' eyes are now on the Stearns strike. If the UMWA is beaten back, it will encourage other non-union coal companies to hardline it against the union and reinforce sentiment in the BCOA to dissolve the national contract and bargain on a company-by-company basis. The break-up of industry-wide bargaining and the UMWA's single contract for bituminous coal would be a historic defeat, threatening the very backbone of the union.

UMWA organizers have raised the possibility of expanding picketing to Blue Diamond's other two mines in southeast Kentucky. Harry Patrick suggested bringing 5,000 miners to Stearns for a mass march. But these pressure tactics, even if implemented, are qualitatively insufficient to halt the BCOA offensive behind Blue Diamond's union-busting attempts. A national strike is needed. The miners, repeatedly betrayed by their own "leaders," must elect strike committees from their own ranks to wage this fight. Failure to forge a class-struggle leadership will squander the miners' willingness to fight and means the continuing deterioration, and possible destruction, of the UMWA. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Militant Coal Miners Rally for Stearns Strike

WHITLEY CITY, Kentucky—Five hundred coal miners, their families and union supporters rallied here July 8 in solidarity with miners who have been on strike for nearly a year at the Justus Mine in nearby Stearns, Kentucky. After twelve months of company provocations, court fines and trumped-up indictments, as well as nightly barrages of high-powered gunfire from the hired thugs of the Blue Diamond Coal Company, the spirited rally reinforced the 160 striking miners in their determination to win a United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract.

Gathered at a wooded campground in 100-degree weather, the unionists applauded solidarity messages and mountain music, sang traditional miners' songs updated to blast Blue Diamond and its officials and dined on an enormous pot-luck dinner. The first speaker was 73-year-old Minnie Lunsford, a leader of the Brookside Women's Club which faced down the Kentucky state police during the bitter 1973-74, 13-month strike in Harlan County. Recalling the history of violent class warfare in this region, Lunsford said, "I remember bloody Harlan of the '30's, and Stearns is just like it."

A miner from the Tackett Creek local in eastern Kentucky promised money and militants for the Stearns struggle: "If you people here, you brothers, need men, we got them at District 19. I think for every state trooper they throw in there, we can throw 25 union men in there behind them." The International Executive Board (IEB) representative from District 6 in Ohio, Bill Lamb, brought a $5,000 check for the Stearns Relief Fund, which has helped financially sustain the strikers.

WV Photo

Stearns strikers at sandbags, their protection from company gun thugs at the picket site.

The rally also featured UMWA secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick, who was recently defeated in a bid for the union presidency by incumbent Arnold Miller in a three-way race which also included IEB member Lee Roy Patterson. The possibility of an election rerun as a result of a Patterson protest to the anti-Miller IEB undoubtedly encouraged Patrick's presence.

During the five-hour rally, hundreds of issues of *Workers Vanguard* and Spartacist League solidarity leaflets were distributed and eagerly read by the miners and their families. The SL was the first left tendency to publicize the Stearns strike; we have consistently supported the miners' fight and exposed the bureaucratic squabbling at the union's top that blocks effective, nationwide solidarity strike action with the Stearns miners. Miller, Patterson and Patrick—who are all equally anti-strike—have busied themselves with clawing and scratching for electoral position, while the battle in Stearns raged. Many miners came back for more *WV*'s and some took small bundles to distribute themselves.

After the rally SL supporters accompanied about 40 strikers and UMWA backers to the picket line to

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194 Dragged Off at Kent State

Drop the Charges!

KENT, Ohio, July 12—At 8 a.m. this morning 200 Kent State cops backed up with a squadron of mounted police from the sheriff's office systematically began to arrest the protesters at Kent State University's "Tent City." As approximately 400 supporters and observers looked on, the protesters were carried off one-by-one to buses waiting nearby.

In the space of two hours 194 people had been arrested in this manner and driven to the Portage County Court House in Ravenna where many were kept in the buses for hours until each had been individually taken into the court, charged with contempt, and had bail set at $250 apiece. At press time 125 had refused to post bail and are still in jail.

The round-up had been cynically prepared ever since the tent city took shape two months ago. The camp was an effort by the May 4th Coalition to stop the university from building a gymnasium on the grassy hill where in 1970 four students were gunned down in cold blood by the National Guard during a protest against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

Throughout recent weeks the university administration adamantly refused to stop the construction of the $6-million gym which was clearly intended to obliterate the memory of the martyred dead. Even while the administration was offering its phony "compromises," such as state "mediators" and "double" injunctions, all of which were voted down by the protesters, it has been systematically building for the assault which came today.

On July 7 the campus cops attacked, beat up and arrested three Coalition members including Ron Kovic, a paraplegic Vietnam veteran who was in a wheelchair at the time! And even while it was preparing once again to set upon the protesters, just as it had shot down the four students before, the bourgeoisie was attempting to smear the left for the

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WV Photo

Spartacus Youth League contingent at June demonstration on Kent State campus.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 167

22 July 1977

Free the 4,000!

Get Con Ed, Not the Ghettos!

Con Edison pulled the switch on eight million people, cutting off their lights and air conditioners, trapping hundreds in the subways and elevators, in the midst of a scorching heat wave, the worst in over a decade. Con Ed chairman Charles Luce tried to evade the massive, criminal corporate responsibility for the disaster by claiming it was an "act of god." What happened? Murdoch's *Post* ran screaming headlines about "24 HOURS OF TERROR," the *News* talked about the "Night of the Animals" and New York police rounded up more than 4,000 "suspects," throwing them into dungeons that had been ruled unfit for human habitation.

The media and politicians have latched onto the night of looting in order to divert attention from the real criminals. With all these people sitting in jail, why haven't they arrested the glorious leaders of Con Ed, we want to know? They're the ones who did it, obviously guilty of criminal negligence and far worse. Even Mayor Beame, not known for his brilliance or audacity, figured out that heavenly forces were not responsible. But within a day this was forgotten as everyone tried to shift the issue to the looting.

When New York City was plunged into darkness Wednesday evening, capitalist social reality came into sharp focus. It was palpably there: the blind irrationality, the oppressive and desperate poverty and racism, the organized state terror, the fear and violence, and not least the official moralizing hypocrisy and mendacity. The proof of the cancerous disintegration of America's cities could not have been more dramatic.

For 24 hours New York was turned off by the criminal Con Ed, from above the Bronx to below the Battery. On the posh East Side of Manhattan there were those who tried to recreate the bonhomie of the 1965 blackout, partying outside their high-rise apartments with champagne. But in the heart of the slums, tens of thousands of ghetto residents—some looting, some watching, some simply trying to get home—fought with the cops through the heat of the night and into the next day.

New York Post photograph by DeMaria © 1977, New York Post Corporation

Cop (left) transferring prisoners from station house to paddy wagon during power blackout.

While the looting is clearly being used as a cover-up, it was this social phenomenon that marked Blackout '77 as something more than a dangerous inconvenience on a grand scale. There can be no discussion of this social disaster that ignores or tries to deny such a fundamental fact. For when the lights came on again, Brooklyn's Broadway was reduced to rubble; Bedford Stuyvesant, Harlem, Williamsburg and the South Bronx looked like targets of World War II firebombing. And thousands of prisoners, some of them undoubtedly looters and many picked up randomly in police dragnets, were packed into hot-box cells, chained together in unspeakably barbaric conditions.

An intense spotlight was cast on the social conditions of this rotting imperialism. The capitalist class responds to such illumination with a political response that resembles the pupil of the human eye: the more light shed upon its grim reality, the more it contracts around the defense of its private property and the ideological values needed for its defense.

Who Are the Looters?

New Yorkers had plenty to be angry about over the blackout. After a day of record-breaking 98-degree heat and air thick with humidity, they found themselves completely immobilized in the dark for the second time in twelve years. Traffic lights went out and many were forced to spend the night wherever they were at the time. Others stumbled along with flashlights and candles on the meanest streets in the country. They climbed up dark stairwells to apartments without water and seemingly without air. The sick lined the corridors of hospitals, and when generators failed, nurses pumped air-bag respirators by hand. Doctors performed emergency operations by flashlight and car headlight in parking lots. Fires raged, food rotted. Who knows how many have died as a result: the newspapers are admitting to only three, a patent absurdity in a city of millions.

Who had really looted the city? Every New Yorker knows perfectly well that it is Con Ed, a rapacious legal monopoly that is the object of near-universal hatred. The power company is so despised that it doesn't even bother with the usual kind of image-building "public-service" advertising. It's hopeless and unnecessary. But Con Ed was not alone in its looting. This is only the latest and most dramatic assault upon a population that has been the victim of a long string of attacks. In a single 24-hour period it was subjected to a concentrated blast of what has been the policy of the capitalist class toward New York City ever since Gerald Ford told it to "Drop Dead."

The total denial of a vital social service symbolized in an instant the war

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Wide World

Clean-up crew on burned out block in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

"Far Left" in the Spanish Elections/6

While State Police Scabherd

Company Guards Shoot Up Indiana UAW Picket Line

After over three months of striking and countless incidents of brutal company violence, a small United Auto Workers (UAW) local near Elwood, Indiana, is fighting for its life. The 220 strikers have withstood gunfire from professional strikebreakers, nearly 80 arrests, cop scabherding and picket-limiting court injunctions. The workers, four-fifths of them women, now face an attempt by Essex Incorporated to decertify the union with the votes of scabs escorted into the plant under the protection of Indiana state troopers. The small factory, 40 miles northwest of Indianapolis, lies deep in the corn belt, but it is the site of the UAW's sharpest battle this summer. And the strikers have plenty to be angry about with wages at a scandalous *$2.76* an hour, an outrage for a powerful union like the Auto Workers.

Essex Inc. has hired gunmen to break the strike, which began April 6. At 2 a.m. on July 11, one of these guards shot 25-year-old picket Carol Frye in the back. She remains hospitalized in an intensive care ward, with no feeling in her upper legs and with the bullet still lodged in her back. Though Frye's uniformed assailants were seen running into company buildings, no arrests were made.

To prevent the strikers from responding in force to this cowardly shooting, Indiana governor Otis R. Bowen rushed in 60 riot-trained state troopers that same day to disperse over 200 outraged union supporters who had gathered on the picket lines and to strictly enforce a court injunction limiting the union to five pickets. UAW Region 3 representative James Johnson remarked to reporters: "I think Essex without question wanted to see this thing blow up so they could get the Indiana State Police in and they were successful in doing that" (*Detroit News*, 13 June).

The company is expected to start bringing in scabs again any day and the state troopers are on round-the-clock duty to make sure they are not "bothered." Union spokesmen say Essex' strategy is to get enough scabs hired to attempt to decertify the UAW at Elwood. It is following an identical strategy at a plant near Toronto, where there is also a strikebreaking injunction against mass picketing.

Essex was well-prepared for the strike. Even before the walkout began, the company erected an eight-foot wire fence topped with barbed wire around company property. Armed guards circulated in the parking lot harassing workers. Two professional strikebreaking outfits were brought in to terrorize the strikers and protect the scabs. First, the All States Security Patrol was retained from Detroit. All States advertises "uniformed armed and un-armed guards for any occasion." Their motto: "To help you keep your company straight...don't debate." Currently a gang from Toledo, the A.J. Investigative Bureau, is being used. When Essex resumed production five weeks ago with scabs, the goons, backed up by county police, met the strikers' resistance with savage force.

For weeks the guards fired on pickets and Local 1663's leased property near the plant's main gate, perforating the bus and trailers which serve as strike headquarters and where the strikers often gather. Shots came from holes cut into Essex' sandbagged building and from vents on the roof. A woman told *WV* of diving behind a wall for cover during these attacks. Pickets have been slugged with clubs and lashed with rubber hoses by the arrogant strikebreakers. One striker was hit in the face with a log thrown by the guards. Many pickets have been hit with ball bearings fired from highly accurate "wrist rockets"—high-powered slingshots. Several pickets have been struck by gate-crashing cars driven by the management, guards and scabs. Company snipers have even launched flares to light the night sky for their shooting.

When one militant attempted to photograph a helicopter used to fly in food and supplies for strikebreakers, a riot shotgun was aimed straight at her. In addition to the .38 caliber revolvers which the guards flaunt on their hips, a perfunctory police "search" of the guards' quarters turned up several rifles and shotguns which were "catalogued" but not confiscated. Instead, FBI agents, who have been brought in to help the strikebreaking, interrogated strikers concerning charges that they had fired on the scabs' helicopter.

No UAW members have scabbed and no Teamsters have driven past picket lines, but non-union truck drivers have passed the lines throughout the strike. When workers heard rumors that these trucks were taking molds from the factory to continue operations elsewhere, militants attempted to stop them and a striker was pinned to a fence by a semi-trailer truck.

The workers at Essex were not about to stand by and watch their strike broken. Together with husbands, sons and boyfriends, they armed themselves with baseball bats and clubs and fought it out with scabs, cops and company goons. Though the number of scabs grew from an initial 30 up to 88, they were made to pay for their union-busting work. Some scabs did not return after a trip through the picket line; others entered with shattered car windows.

Grey/New York Times

State troopers deployed against striking UAW pickets.

A local cop described the Elwood situation as a "little Vietnam" and one worker likened the struggle to the Harlan County miners' strike in 1974. The conflict in Elwood bears a striking resemblance, both in the viciousness of the bosses and the grim determination of the workers, to the bitter miners' strike currently going on in Stearns, Kentucky, where hired gun thugs and militant miners have been squared off for months.

When on Thursday, July 7, county sheriff John Gunter claimed his exhausted 13-man force could no longer handle the situation and pulled them out of the dispute, the strikers proved more than a match for their armed assailants. The workers succeeded in shutting off the flow of scabs, leaving 34 foremen and guards in the factory. The company claims that for the next four days, the guards were pinned down by hundreds of rounds of gunfire. Only with the arrival of two squadrons of state troopers Monday night, and after the cowardly thugs had gunned down Carol Frye, did the guards manage to get out of the plant under police protection. Though Essex has only brought a handful of scabs back into the plant since this confrontation, the company has announced its intention to resume production again soon with scabs. The state troopers are at the plant gates, ready to escort them in. The sudden appearance of the state cops, ostensibly to maintain law and order after weeks in which company thugs were firing indiscriminately at the picketers, demonstrates convincingly their role as armed strikebreakers for the bosses.

A racial factor was introduced into the strike by Essex' use of some blacks as scabs. On a sign constructed by the strikers listing various scabs' names, one of them clearly says "Nigger." Moreover, Indiana is historically a center for the violently racist, anti-labor Ku Klux Klan. While keeping out all scabs, black or white, the strikers must not let themselves be duped into poisonous race-baiting. Neither Essex nor the Klan must be allowed to divert the Elwood workers from their clear-cut class fight.

The workers were provoked into the strike by the below poverty-level wages and benefits at Essex. Base pay is $2.76 per hour, which equals about $80 per week take-home. Essex has offered to increase this by only 62 cents over three years. Sickness and accident benefits are $35 per week up to a maximum of 13 weeks. Hospitalization, accidental death and dismemberment coverage amounts to $3,000 under Essex' new offer, which as one worker remarked to *WV* is not enough for a decent funeral. Essex provides neither cost-of-living pay nor pensions.

Although the union's bargainers reduced the number of their demands from 77 to 16, Local president Paul Couch told *WV* that the company would review only half of the old contract and simply proposes to delete the rest. Essex also wants to eliminate the job bidding procedure in the plant and demanded that the union pay its committeemen for "excessive" union business on the shop floor.

The union seeks a "substantial" pay increase, which Region 3 spokesman Johnson told *WV* should be about $1.20 per hour over three years. This raise would still leave Essex workers in 1980 making *less than half* the amount most auto workers receive! UAW negotiators also seek a modest pension plan, improved sickness and accident benefits and a $5,000 insurance package. But the Local president indicated the willingness of the UAW bargainers to give in on even these minimal demands: "We could settle in between anywhere."

Workers bitterly complain of Essex' "take it or leave it" bargaining stance, which forced rotten contracts on the local in 1970 and 1973. The 1973 contract was extended 12 months, with a 25-cent wage increase. This year, in the face of company intransigence, the workers decided to fight. *WV* asked Johnson how the union leadership could tolerate such wages in a UAW plant. Johnson lamely answered: "We've only had the plant seven years."

Essex' Elwood plant is not some barely-making-it, small-time operation. The company owns or leases some 155 plants. Half are non-union and the remainder are organized separately by the UAW, Teamsters, IBEW and other unions. There is no national contract, and so Essex can bring the full force of the corporation to bear on the separate plants one at a time. Essex Incorporated is fully owned by the conglomerate United Technology (UT), which bought the company in 1974. In 1976 UT was the 35th-largest corporation in the U.S., with over $5.1 billion in sales. Between a quarter and a third of Essex' sales are to Ford and Chrysler. The Elwood factory itself sells 80 percent of its plastic auto-wiring connectors to Ford, Chrysler and General Motors.

To win this strike, militants in the auto plants must demand that the union

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Islamic Army Coup in Pakistan

After four months of seething turmoil and bloody confrontations, the Pakistani military filled the "vacuum created by politicians" by clapping the feuding politicians behind bars. On July 5 army chief of staff Zia ul-Haq proclaimed on nationwide radio: "The Bhutto regime is ended." He announced that the prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, members of his cabinet and leaders of the opposition coalition—the Muslim-conservative Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)—had been placed under "preventive detention." With a four-man Martial Law Council promising to hold "free and fair elections" in the fall, the crisis which left 350 dead and thousands injured has been temporarily frozen.

Bhutto's "Islamic Socialism" demagogy had proved incapable of stemming massive outrage over widespread vote-rigging in the March 7 general elections. Ambitious PNA leaders sought to drive him from office and recoup their ballot-box losses through street protests and a parliamentary boycott. They capitalized on mass grievances over the regime's blatant corruption, the failure of land reform, Bhutto's ties to the landed aristocracy and discrimination against the people of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier province. While keeping one or two PNA leaders available for backroom bargaining and offering limited concessions, the prime minister had imposed martial law on several cities, arrested an estimated 20-30,000 protestors and unleashed savage police repression (see "Riots in Pakistan Shake Bhutto Government," *WV* No. 159, 29 April).

In mid-June, under pressure from Saudi Arabia and Pakistan's other oil-rich benefactors, Bhutto struck a deal with the opposition for new elections in October. The experienced horsetrader salvaged everything he could. He turned back demands for his resignation which had galvanized the mass anti-government marches in April and May. He blocked an interim PNA role in the regime and, by scheduling a new election rather than a re-run, evaded an official admission that the March 7 polls were fraudulent. The agreement evidently stuck in the craw of some of the more intransigent opposition leaders, and on July 4 the negotiations deadlocked over the mechanisms for supervising the October ballot. The army took over the next day.

The bloodless coup, consummated in about five hours with no apparent opposition, had the cooperation of high officials in the state bureaucracy. General Zia replaced the four Bhutto-loyal provincial governors with chief justices of the high courts, created a post of senior federal secretary to act as liaison between the junta and the nearly two dozen government ministries and announced that president Fazle Elahi Chaudhury had agreed to continue in office. Prior to the takeover the Punjab high court had ruled against the imposition of martial law in Lahore.

The military had shown signs of mounting discontent with Bhutto's inability to contain the unrest with anything short of brute force. In late April the foreign minister met informally with a large number of military officers at the Fleet Club in Karachi. Several of them denounced the political gag on the PNA and demanded to know if martial law would lead to a "repetition of 1971" when the army was ordered to slaughter civilians in East Pakistan, now Bangladesh (*New York Times*, 16 May).

Bhutto relied heavily on the paramilitary Federal Security Police to do his dirty work, but on May 6 soldiers in Lahore were ordered to open fire on a crowd of demonstrators. Use of the predominantly Punjabi soldiers in the Punjab's principal city brought immediate indications of dissent within the army. Rumors that three brigadiers commanding sectors of the city had offered their resignations were not denied by the Defense Ministry (*Guardian* [London], 13 May).

The opposition stepped up its appeals to the armed forces to "save Pakistan" by ousting the government and organizing new elections. A key PNA spokesman, former air marshal Asghar Khan, particularly played on the military's long-standing links with U.S. imperialism. He blamed Bhutto's "stupid and disgraceful statement" accusing the U.S. of conspiring with the opposition because of Washington's refusal to sell 100 A-7 fighter-bombers to Pakistan. Khan also praised Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade as "a breath of fresh air" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 June).

The bourgeois press, both in Pakistan and the West, has generally endorsed the military's self-proclaimed role as a "neutral" mediator standing above politics. In a lead editorial on 6 July, the *New York Times* wrote of the generals' decision to take power:

> "Their action, it should be noted, was not accompanied by ringing manifestoes or by any of the self-justifying rhetoric about 'historic mission' or 'national purification' that so often...are the first words of military dictatorships. For thirteen years, from 1958 to 1971, Pakistan's armed forces had ample time to learn just how difficult the job of governing can be. Now, General Zia says, they seek only a civilian government with a legitimate popular base.... "The friends of Pakistan must hope that General Zia will...prove to have the courage of his apparently admirable convictions."

To a degree, the military in Pakistan stands somewhat apart from the factious rivalries of the tribal and regional organizations, religious and personality cults that pass for political parties. Along with the state bureaucracy, it is the most cohesive bourgeois institution in the country. While the Muslim traders and upper petty bourgeoisie who created the state of Pakistan (with the connivance of British imperialism and the Indian National Congress) were a weak and atomized stratum in pre-partition India, Muslim soldiers, trained at Sandhurst and Dehra Dun, were an integral part of the British colonial army. Thus, Zia and his cohorts see themselves as representing the stability and general interests of the Pakistan ruling class as a whole against the venal ambitions of individual politicians.

Der Spiegel

Ousted prime minister Bhutto.

Lallont/Sygma

Right-wing oppositionists of the Pakistan National Alliance are arrested under martial law in May.

Lachon/Liaison

Demonstrators face police in Lahore after Bhutto proclaimed martial law.

Even when not exercising power directly, the military has held the balance of power in various "guided" civilian governments. In 1958 a senior civil servant, Iskander Mirza, asked the army to help him end the chaos of competitive politics. Three weeks later army chief Ayub Khan kicked Mirza out and made himself president. Bhutto, the exponent of so-called "people's power," held numerous cabinet posts in the military/bureaucratic regime. A turbulent strike wave and mass student protests in late 1968-early 1969 drove Ayub from office, but the armed forces' ruling circle simply substituted another military despot, Yahya Khan. After December 1971 the military was so tarnished by the massacres in East Pakistan and its defeat by the Indian army that it required the facelift of a "civilian" regime and simply handed the reins of government over to Bhutto.

But the demagogic Bhutto overplayed his hand in the elections this year, providing a focus for the pent-up resentments of the undernourished, illiterate and disease-ridden populace, and creating a dilema for the army. On the one hand, no figure in the ruling Pakistan People's Party could be credibly proposed as an alternative to the domineering prime minister. (Zia took the wily politician at his word: "I am the People's Party and they are all my creatures" [*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 May].) On the other, the nine-party PNA is a marriage of convenience, tenuously held together only by mutual ambitions and resentment of the arrogant Bhutto. Since this conglomeration will hardly be able to govern it may well be that, elections or no elections, the "Army [is] there to stay in Pakistan," as the London *Financial Times* (7 July) headlined an editorial. This prospect holds ominous consequences for the

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Australian Secret Police Target Spartacists

Reprinted from AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST Special Supplement, 24 June 1977

Since its establishment by the Labor government of Prime Minister Ben Chifley in 1949, the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) has devoted the overwhelming bulk of its resources to surveillance, infiltration and harassment of radical and labour organisations. In the last two years, three ASIO agents have been uncovered in the ostensibly Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP): Max Wechsler, Lisa Walter and Ian Gordon.

On Friday, 10 June, the shroud surrounding ASIO's nefarious campaign against the left was pierced again when Janet Langridge, a candidate member of the Spartacist League (SL) since April, voluntarily confessed that she had been a paid agent of ASIO for almost a year. Langridge, 21, was a first-year student at Sydney University and had been a member of the campus Spartacist Club. Together with her boyfriend and accomplice, Mark Tiernan, who was never a member of the SL, Langridge had been submitting reports to ASIO on the Spartacist League since last November. Langridge was expelled by the Spartacist League the same night as she made her confession. The following day Langridge provided further details of her ASIO connections in a taped interview with a solicitor [attorney], Tom Kelly, and a Spartacist spokesman.

Since her confession and subsequent expulsion, Langridge has returned all her internal documents to the SL. She has also co-operated in documenting her ASIO activities by signing the transcript of the interview, providing a statutory declaration confirming her work for ASIO, and revealing further information. After the first interview on 11 June, Langridge was subsequently interviewed by Senator Arthur Gietzelt, George Petersen, New South Wales MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly], and John Edwards, a journalist for the *National Times*. A week later her exposures of ASIO received widespread coverage in the bourgeois press, television and radio. But her co-operation has been inconsistent and vacillating; her break with ASIO has been shown to be incomplete and untrustworthy. After agreeing to break off all relations with both ASIO and Tiernan, Langridge continued seeing Tiernan, who in turn fed information to ASIO, and even allowed herself to be visited by ASIO agents twice.

In the initial interview Langridge recounted that she first applied to ASIO two years ago when Tiernan dared her to do it as a lark. ASIO acknowledged her application with two letters, noting only that it had been considered but that there was no "suitable vacancy" to which she could be appointed. As later became clear, this was a cover for ASIO's covert recruitment methods.

Almost a year after the letters arrived, Langridge was visited at her flat by two ASIO agents several times and offered a part-time job spying on "targeted" left-wing organisations. They drove Langridge around town, pointing out the headquarters of the SWP, the Communist Party of Australia and the pro-Moscow Socialist Party (SPA). According to Langridge, the agents told her that her first target "would be very soft just to give me background." She would start on a part-time basis, with relatively meagre pay. She accepted. She was given a declaration to sign committing her not to divulge any information about her connection with ASIO.

Of the two agents who initially visited Langridge, one, known to her only as Ken, stopped coming after the first few visits. The other, named Terry Poulus, was to be her ASIO "contact." Langridge was given a special direct phone number, 92-7920, to reach Poulus at ASIO headquarters without having to go through a receptionist, as well as Poulus' home phone number, 625-5660. Poulus would generally pick her up in an unmarked car after she left work at the Council of Auctioneers and Agents in St. Leonards to receive her written reports and pay her $50 per month in cash, tax free. She signed receipts for the money under a pseudonym supplied by ASIO, Jan Thomson.

In October 1976, Poulus directed Langridge to visit the SPA bookshop and make contact with the Young Socialist League (YSL), youth group of the SPA. On her first visit Langridge was invited to an SPA barbecue and shortly thereafter started attending YSL meetings and other events.

It was over a month later, in late November, that Langridge bought a paper from an *Australasian Spartacist* seller. ASIO was pleased; they told her the SL was an important "target," having never before been infiltrated. She was encouraged to contact the SL through the phone number listed in the paper. Following the initial contact Langridge was invited to attend an SL public class series on Marxism which lasted from December until mid-January, during which time she also came to several personal contact sessions and social events. Poulus had warned her that the Trotskyist groups were generally harder to infiltrate than other organisations, and that the SL was an "extremely hard target." According to ASIO's "expert" on left-wing organisations, Poulus said, the SL was politically the hardest of the left-wing groups in Australia.

Australasian Spartacist

Janet Langridge, self-confessed cop agent.

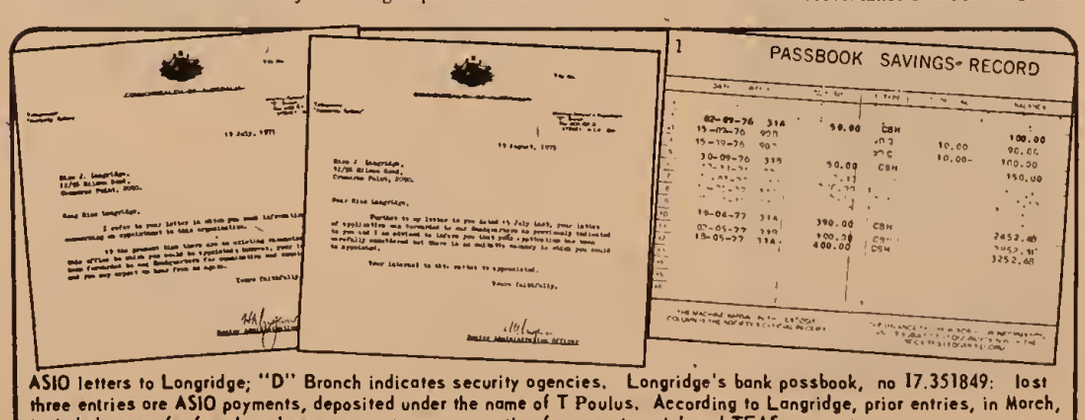
When, in January, Langridge was accepted to go to university and the SL began making increasingly heavy demands on her time, she began to express doubts to ASIO about continuing her involvement with either ASIO or the SL. Poulos offered her a twelve-month contract at $600 per month, again tax free, and arranged a meeting at the Artarmon Motor Inn for her and the head of the Sydney office and a special agent flown up from the head office, who were introduced to Langridge as Bill and Laurie. Laurie's surname was subsequently given as Pollard. (Another unconfirmed report indicates Pollard may actually be the head of ASIO in Sydney.) Langridge again accepted.

In addition to the sort of information she had gathered on the SPA/YSL—names, addresses and car license numbers, reports on meetings and activities—there were particular questions ASIO had for Langridge with regard to the SL. Poulus wanted her to determine the method of elections to and the composition of the SL's leading bodies, detailed information on floor plans and locks in the SL offices, what relations the SL had with international co-thinkers—particularly from a financial aspect. ASIO wanted to know about the personal lives of individual members and any personal tensions that might exist; they could use such information, Poulus told her. Curiously, ASIO's interest showed a distinct sexist bias, focusing overwhelmingly on information concerning *male* comrades.

Indicating the high level of routine ASIO surveillance of the left and in this case the SL, ASIO told Langridge that they already had the names and addresses of numerous Spartacist members and supporters even before her infiltration. They also had at least one photograph of an SL supporter, which was shown to her for identification.

ASIO took measures to cover up Langridge's income, augmenting it indirectly in the process. They encouraged her to accept her TEAS allowance and not reveal her ASIO salary. To make sure she didn't appear to be living beyond her means and draw suspicion, most of the money would be banked in her account at St. George's Building Society in Crows Nest and ASIO would keep the passbook, showing it to her regularly to verify that deposits were being made.

ASIO also began paying Tiernan up to $75 per month in cash for giving Langridge "moral support." Tiernan, an apprentice electrical fitter at Delairco, 90 Sussex Street, Sydney (he attends courses one day a week at North Sydney Technical College), was fully aware of Langridge's spying activities from the start. Though he accompanied her to SL classes and social events and for a time expressed interest in joining the SL, Tiernan did not have the fibre necessary to infiltrate the SL, with the rigorous



ASIO letters to Longridge; "D" Bronch indicates security agencies. Longridge's bank possbook, no 17.351849: lost three entries are ASIO payments, deposited under the name of T Poulus. According to Langridge, prior entries, in March, included a transfer from her cheque account, superannuation from previous job and TEAS payment.

Letter to Attorney General

19 June 1977

Hon R J Ellicott, QC, MP,
Attorney General, Parliament House,
Canberra, ACT.

An individual by the name of Janet Langridge has recently admitted to having been paid up to $600 a month by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) to spy on our organisation. Documentation of her admissions is being made available to the public. These spying activities, carried out over a period of eight months, constitute an intolerable violation of our democratic rights. We are a fully legal political organisation, entitlad to carry on our activitias, openly propagating our political views, without subversive infiltration by government bodies. The government has no right whatsoever to pry into our internal affairs, seeking information the only conceivabla purpose of which is to facilitate harassmant and repressiva action against us.

This is tha fourth exposure of ASIO spying on left-wing groups in Australia in a little over two years. Left-wing groups are singled out for spacial treatment and "surveillance" solely on the basis of their political views. This systematic, politically discriminatory activity is clearly intended to intimidate the left and attack the labour movement as a whole.

At a time when your government is demanding workers give up their rights and submit to "austerity," at a time when your govarnment brutally slashes social sarvica provisions for working paople, ASIO lavishes money on its hired informers and snooping operations, to harass critics of these anti-labour policies.

We damand an immediate stop to all government spying on, infiltration and harassment of the socialist and labour movements. We demand the opening of all ASIO's files to the victims of its outrageous prying, and a complete revelation of ASIO's activities against the left and labour movement. We demand that you release full details of ASIO's surveillance and infiltration of the Spartacist League at once. We demand the abolition of ASIO and all political police agencies

David Scott, for the Spartacist League

copy: Hon Malcolm Fraser, MP,
Prime Minister

demands of bolshevik professionalism SL membership would impose. But this lackey remained loyal to ASIO to the end. When Langridge phoned him to say that she was about to turn herself in to the SL on the Friday evening, Tiernan warned ASIO, thereby making further exposure difficult. On Sunday, 12 June, he met with Poulus to report on Langridge's confession, and then accompanied Poulus on a visit to Langridge's home.

On the second visit on Wednesday, 15 June, Poulus and Pollard attempted to persuade Langridge to repudiate the confession she made in the taped interview. Assuring her there were no hard feelings, Pollard (who did most of the talking) sneered that all the left groups jump on the bandwagon of popular issues. (Evidently he was thinking of the SWP.) He affected an attitude of social concern: some of these popular issues were very fine. During the Vietnam Moratorium day, he whined, it was difficult to get anyone to infiltrate left groups because everyone supported the Moratorium—even he did. Consider how the revelations would affect ASIO's public image and the work of its field agents and the embarrassment they would cause "poor" Poulus, he pleaded. This time she refused.

Langridge revealed her spy role to the SL, she claims, because she came to "respect them and... what they stand for and I don't respect myself for what I've been doing." This may well be true. The truth of the class struggle and the honesty, dedication and commitment of those fighting for the cause of proletarian revolution have often proved more attractive than the bourgeoisie's blood money. ASIO's "major fear," according to Langridge, was that she might follow in the steps of ex-ASIO agent Lisa Walter, who exposed her ASIO connections after infiltrating the SWP in Adelaide and then "turning."

But the social democrats of the SWP, instead of expelling this self-confessed former police spy, trumpeted her conversion to socialism and kept her in the organisation. In fact when Ian Gordon, a long-time SWP member, last month confessed to the SWP leadership to having been bought off by ASIO money, even he was not expelled—his resignation was "demanded" (*Direct Action*, 2 June). Unlike the SWP, there is no place in our organisation for "turned" agent Langridge. For a fistful of dollars and a few kicks Langridge and Tiernan were prepared to hand working-class militants over to the ruling class's apparatus of repression. They cannot be trusted. Principled socialist militants will not want to have anything to do with these people—yesterday's or today's police pimps. Tiernan's co-workers should want to purge their workplace of infection by this unrepentant ASIO accomplice. The Electrical Trades Union should keep him out of its ranks. He is a conscious enemy of the workers movement.

What broke Langridge was the SL's bolshevik discipline and programmatic integrity. Langridge noted that ASIO considered the SL a "hard target" because our politics "went into a lot more depth and there's a lot more expected of a person." But apparently basing their observations of Trotskyist organisations on the menshevik SWP, ASIO hardly comprehended what that meant. When Langridge complained of overwork they suggested that she stop attending an internal SL class series. She replied that she could not do that—that wasn't how the SL functioned.

Despite the utmost vigilance on the part of revolutionists, it must be assumed that the bourgeoisie's secret police agencies can penetrate our ranks. But the promiscuous slander mongering and paranoid cop-baiting of renegades like the Healyite Socialist Labour League create an atmosphere of apolitical mistrust within the entire workers movement which only facilitates the work of the secret police. The best defence against police infiltration into the workers movement is to maintain a high level of political debate unmarred by slander and violence. Genuine revolutionists respond to police infiltration not by coddling inherently untrustworthy "turned" agents, nor by spreading vicious, unsubstantiated rumours, but by exposing actual, known agents to the entire left and workers movement.

Symptomatic of ASIO's cynical disdain for the bourgeois legality it claims to defend is its non-payment of taxes on its hirelings' wages. Nor does ASIO's charter, as defined by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation Act of 1956 (quoted in *National Times*, 16-21 May), "to obtain, correlate and evaluate intelligence relevant to security..." on any rational interpretation encompass investigations of the personal habits of left-wing activists or infiltration of socialist organisations. Social democrats and liberals will raise a hue and cry over such "excesses" and demand that the secret police be reformed. For Gough Whitlam it is sufficient for ASIO to be run by a judge to guarantee its propriety. The liberal Committee for the Abolition of

continued on page 11

Press Covered Spy Case

2,000 Pickets Shut Down General Dynamics

Evening Globe [Boston]

Cops try unsuccessfully to take General Dynamics management past mass picket line at struck Quincy shipyards.

BOSTON, July 18—Twenty-five strikers were arrested this morning following a confrontation between police and a 2,000-strong mass picket line at the General Dynamics (GD) Fore River shipyard in Quincy, Massachusetts. The shipyard, just outside Boston, was struck at midnight last night by two locals of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipyard Workers of America (IUMSWA) and by morning 2,000 strikers were on the line when police tried to pass management through. But despite the mobilization of over 100 cops, the local authorities failed to clear a path for the scabs and one cop was hospitalized while six others received minor injuries for their strikebreaking activities.

However, the mass picket line was dissolved shortly after by IUMSWA Local 5 president Stanley Kyller under threat of a court injunction from an NLRB attorney summoned up by the company on a few hours' notice. According to the evening *Boston Globe*, Kyller's bullhorn-amplified announcement limiting the lines to 100 picketers "could barely be heard over the loud boos from the strikers." Thus the stage has been set for a replay of the bitterly fought 17-week strike at the Quincy yards in the summer of 1974.

The Quincy shipyard is one of only three major industrial establishments in the greater Boston area. It is currently the world's largest builder of liquefied natural gas (LNG) tankers, and one of the state's ten largest industrial employers. Riding the crest of the oil-company orchestrated energy pseudo-crisis, the Quincy shipyard has acquired $1.4 billion worth of LNG tanker contracts, and is seeking more.

However, under the current IUMSWA contract, mechanics at Quincy continue to earn considerably less than at competing LNG-tanker shipyards, and fully a dollar an hour less than workers at the nearby Bethlehem Steel Shipyard in East Boston! Adding importance to the strike is the integrated character of the union in the racially-polarized Boston area, where racist violence continues to rule the streets in large sections of Boston's white ethnic communities. A decisive victory for the strong shipyard workforce, which has tripled its size in the last three years, could infuse militancy into Boston's weak and battered labor movement.

But the policies of the business-unionist IUMSWA leadership do not bode well for a strike victory. Whereas three years ago, at least a court injunction was needed to halt mass picketing, this time one picket-line chat with a solitary NLRB attorney did the trick. (Subsequently, GD management has petitioned for a court injunction against stopping scabs.) Already this year, several small strikes in the Boston area have been smashed by police-protected scabherding. Only mass picket lines and mobilization of broad support can protect the Quincy shipbuilders from a similar fate. However, the anti-communism and goon-squad tactics of the Kyller leadership, who threatened to have cops remove a few Spartacist League supporters from the picket lines, is just the kind of self-defeating bureaucratism that will ensure the isolation of the embattled Quincy strikers.

Victory to the Quincy Shipbuilders!
Rebuild the Mass Picket Lines! ■

FORUM

Carter's "Human Rights" Crusade—Imperialist Chief Exploits Stalinist Crimes

Defend the Gains of the October Revolution!

Speaker: Paul Collins
SL Central Committee

Date:	Friday, July 29, 1977	Date:	Friday, August 5, 1977
Time:	7:30 p.m.	Time:	7:30 p.m.
Place:	Jane Addams House, 3212 North Broadway, Room 201	Place:	Red Rose Bookstore, 1774 West Greenleaf

CHICAGO For more information call (312) 427-0003

MCE election rally. Sygma

PCE and PSOE election posters in Madrid. M. Lopez Rodriguez

"Far Left" in the Spanish Elections

The Spanish parliamentary elections of June 15 marked a large step toward the realization of Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez' plans to reform the Francoist dictatorship into a semi-bonapartist regime, euphemistically termed "Spanish democracy." This must be recognized as a victory for a previously discredited regime which has balanced for months on the brink of mass proletarian upheavals which could have toppled it in a matter of hours. The Iberian bourgeoisie breathed a collective sigh of relief when the polls closed without major incidents and vote counts gave the largest totals to Suárez' Democratic Center (CD) and the Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) of Felipe González.

That these tightly orchestrated elections were brought off successfully was above all the work of the mass reformist workers parties, the social-democratic PSOE and the Communist Party (PCE), who systematically frustrated mass demonstrations and general strike actions in order not to endanger the shaky Juan Carlos monarchy. Although their own legalization was due precisely to these illegal mobilizations of the combative Spanish proletariat, they were called off as soon as they threatened to go beyond the bounds of token protests.

But the election of the first post-Franco Cortes (parliament) by no means spelled the end of the Juan Carlos/Suárez regime's problems, as could be seen in the 20 percent devaluation of the peseta on July 12. This action, which will cause a drastic increase in the cost of living for the working masses, is only one of a series of austerity measures which powerful banking houses are clamoring for and which the government must implement if it is to avoid a massive flight of capital.

In the wake of the elections, Felipe González had proclaimed that the Socialists would not support a classic austerity policy. But when consulted by Suárez about the devaluation, the PSOE leader played the role of "his majesty's loyal opposition," declaring that his reaction was "positive" (*Le Monde*, 13 July). However, this acceptance is no guarantee at all that the unionized workers will not seek to recoup their losses through massive wage demands in the fall.

González' opportunist shillyshallying on the government's austerity policies was typical of the behavior of both the PSOE and PCE during the campaign. The PSOE took on somewhat leftist airs, accusing the CD of being virtually interchangeable with the Francoist hardliners of the Alianza Popular (AP), and accusing the Communist Party of being pro-monarchist. The PCE, in turn, tried to appear "moderate" by aggressively proclaiming its "Eurocommunism" and concentrating its attacks on the AP "bunker." However, after the electioneering was over both the mass reformist parties made clear their intention to cooperate with the government.

The Popular Front Axis

In the last several years, as the dictatorship began to totter and a pre-revolutionary situation opened up, the axis of political developments in the opposition has been the popular front. By linking and subordinating the workers parties to liberal/"progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie, the Carrillos and González could dampen the militancy of the proletariat "in order not to frighten our allies and thus break the democratic front." Beginning in 1971 with regional groupings (the Assemblea de Catalunya) and prominent politicians (the Pact for Liberty), two separate popular fronts (dominated by the PCE and PSOE respectively) emerged, which united early last year in the Coordinación Democrática. During this time most of the large demonstrations were called in the name of the various popular fronts rather than by the workers parties.

But after this period of broadening and unifying of the popular front formations, beginning late last year they suddenly became "marginalized." Thus in the June elections the PSOE and PCE ran independently of each other and their erstwhile Christian Democratic allies. Does this indicate a shift to the left? Not at all. Rather, matters had become so delicate that *any* mobilization of the left could bring down the isolated Suárez cabinet, and González/Carrillo preferred to limit themselves to bargaining directly with the government.

In the December 20 referendum on a vague program for "democratization," the parties of the Coordinación Democrática called for abstention. However, instead of fighting for an active boycott—calling for a political general strike against the sham referendum, holding mass demonstrations demanding the immediate granting of democratic rights, etc.—the reformists and their bourgeois coalition partners did nothing at all. As a result, since the issue then appeared to the masses as a choice between Francoism and "reform," and there was no revolutionary alternative, Suárez was able to successfully execute his referendum maneuver.

In early February, after the cold-blooded assassinations of five lawyers associated with the CC.OO., the Communist Party called off further protests after two days, alleging the threat of a coup d'état. Its answer was the traditional policy of all reformists: if you don't resist, the class enemy won't attack. Justifying later this treacherous order, which cut short the developing momentum toward a nationwide general strike, PCE leader Simón Sánchez Montero said: "What would have happened if the PCE had reacted violently after the assassination of the lawyers in Atocha? It is obvious that if we had taken to the streets we wouldn't have legal status today" (quoted in *Combate* [LCR], 26 May).

Since the objective was now to "negotiate" with the government, a more propitious form was found in the selection of a "commission of ten" which supposedly represented the Coordinación Democrática, but actually made it amenable to Suárez by cutting out the smaller groups to the left of the PCE. When the government refused to negotiate a minimum program—not even legalization of all parties or norms for a democratic election—the commission, too, fell apart as each group sought separate audiences with the prime minister to obtain legal status for itself.

But having achieved legalization—due to the regime's fear of a mass explosion in the streets if it did not give in—why didn't the PCE and PSOE renew their previous class-collaborationist alliance? "First, to avoid awakening memories of the popular front of 1936, which led to the civil war; second, to avoid provoking a bipolarisation of Spanish political life. A front of the left would doubtless have produced in response a front of the right, and the country would be once again divided in two" (*Le Monde*, 19-20 June). It was necessary to avoid frightening not only the "democratic bourgeoisie" but the army and Francoist ultras as well! Consequently, the Christian Democrats—competing for the same political space as Suárez' Democratic Center—lost their role as guarantors for the bourgeoisie within the popular front, and all but disappeared as a viable political force.

Thus the absence of a formal popular front in the June elections in no way suggested a move toward class independence by the dominant reformist parties. On the contrary, a popular front was judged to be "too advanced" and a threat to Suárez' reform plans. (Certainly it would have sharply cut into the CD vote.) So during this campaign the main axis of the PCE/PSOE class collaboration was an implicit deal with the government not to heat up the elections. However, the fundamental framework of the reformists' policy remains the popular front, and we will doubtless soon see its formal reappearance. Especially given the 40 percent share of the popular vote won by the PCE/PSOE, the Communist and Socialist bureaucrats need the cover of the popular front to mask their refusal to fight for their supposed aims of socialism.

Because of the reformist workers parties' popular-front policy and support to the Suárez government, the Spartacist tendency called for *conditional opposition* to the PCE and PSOE candidates in the June 15 elections. We called on the working-class ranks of these parties to force their leaders to break from their bourgeois allies as a condition to any electoral support. The popular front was key.

Boycott the Elections?

Although the entire Spanish "far left" remains illegal, in the two months before the elections it became clear that they would be able to field candidates under electoral fronts, although it would require considerable work and expenditure to obtain the thousands of signatures necessary to place them on the ballot. This new situation deeply divided the groups to the left of the PCE over the question of whether or not to participate in the elections, and if so under what program.

Several organizations of the so-called "far left" responded by calling for a boycott of the Cortes elections. These included the Vargaite Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España (PORE), the "Maoist" Partido Comunista de España-Reconstituido (PCE-R), the shell of the anarchist CNT labor federation, one wing of the fractured Partido Obrero de Unificacion Marxista (POUM), the Lambertist Organización Cuarta Internacionalista (OCI), and the Liga Comunista de España (LCE, a sympathizing section of the

Pabloist "United Secretariat" [USec]).

The CNT's boycott position was based on anarchist traditions of electoral abstentionism, and the PCE-R (which supports the mysterious terrorist group GRAPO) bases theirs on the adventurist assertion that "Now is not the hour of votes but of barricades" (*Bandera Roja*, May 1977). The POUM, PORE, OCI and LCE, however, all argue for boycott on the grounds that the elections were manifestly undemocratic, and an integral part of Suárez' plans for "Francoist reform." Thus a joint statement by the LCE and Spanish OCI declares:

> "...these elections are the ultimate desperate attempt of the Spanish bourgeoisie, of the imperialist bourgeoisies which back it, of the Kremlin bureaucracy and its satellite bureaucracies to uphold the continuity of the Francoist state and lend a shameful legitimacy to Juan Carlos."
>
> *Informations Ouvrières*, 2 June 1977

The premise that these elections are a key element of Suárez' plans to consolidate a strong-state regime rooted in the Franco dictatorship is correct. That is why we wrote in "No to 'Reformed' Francoism!" (*WV* No. 161, 10 June 1977) that "A mass revolutionary party would seek to do away with this abomination of a pseudo-parliament by fighting for a fully democratic constituent assembly." We added that "if the mood of the masses was such that it could have a major impact, the communists would call for an active boycott of elections such as those of June 15."

However, it was clear well before the voting that the reformist leaderships had ensured that, with the possible exception of the Basque country, the workers would vote in the Suárez elections. If there were a mass boycott of the vote in Euskadi, we said, Trotskyists would join with the workers in protesting the reign of police terror in those provinces. However, we insisted that "There is no point to calling for a boycott unless there is a real chance of success." For a small revolutionary nucleus to do so alone would be sectarian self-isolation. As it turned out, participation in the Basque provinces was high and boycott calls by some of the nationalists were largely ignored.

The boycott position of a section of the Spanish "far left" ignored the central question of whether the June 15 elections could actually be sidetracked and/or discredited. Since the workers were going to vote anyway, this meant that an important opportunity was lost to bring their program before the masses by running candidates. They also refused to appeal to the Communist and Socialist ranks to force their leaders to break with their bourgeois allies as a condition for critical support. Thus the call for boycotting these elections raised by a small propaganda group in practice amounted to the same thing as the "boycott on principle" posture of ultra-left currents such as the Bordiguists.

In contrast, the Leninist position on participation in bourgeois parliaments and elections is based fundamentally on an analysis of the possibility of going beyond these institutions. As Lenin wrote of the Bolsheviks' tactics toward the 1905 tsarist Duma, "The boycott proved correct at the time, not because non-participation in reactionary parliaments is correct in general, but because we accurately appraised the objective situation, which was leading to the rapid development of the mass strikes first into a political strike, then into a revolutionary strike, and finally into an uprising" ("'Left-Wing' Communism —An Infantile Disorder," April-May 1920).

This was not the case, however, in 1906 and particularly 1907 and 1908. Lenin considered the Bolsheviks' boycott of the Duma in the latter years "a most serious error." As he wrote in 1907:

> "...to be successful the boycott requires a direct struggle against the old regime, an uprising against it and mass disobedience to it in a large number of cases (such mass disobedience is one of the conditions for preparing an uprising). Boycott is a refusal to recognize the old regime, a refusal, of course, not in words, but in deeds, i.e., it is something that finds expression not only in cries or the slogans of organisations, but in a definite movement of the *mass of the people*, who systematically defy the laws of the old regime, systematically set up new institutions, which, though unlawful, actually exist, and so on and so forth.... Unless there is a broad revolutionary upswing, unless there is mass unrest which overflows, as it were, the bounds of the old legality, there can be no question of the boycott succeeding."
>
> —"Against Boycott"

Popular Frontism, Maoist Style

The continuing rightward trajectory of the PCE (acceptance of the monarchy, support for American bases in Spain, praise of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, etc.) and the unbridled demagogy of the PSOE present an opportunity for a revolutionary nucleus to use the elections to address themselves to the worker-militants of these parties. Where Trotskyists are unable to run in these elections, they would seek opportunities to give critical support to groupings in the workers movement which on key issues line up against the class collaboration of the reformists.

Socialist Workers Party leader Felipe González

Jonquires/Kappa

The largest organizations to the left of the Communist Party all took advantage of the electoral regulations to present candidates in electoral fronts. The large "Maoist"-syndicalist groups—the Partido del Trabajo de España (PTE), the Organización Revolucionaria de los Trahajadores (ORT) and the Movimiento Comunista de España (MCE)—each initiated an electoral front, respectively the Front of the Democratic Left (FDI), the Workers Electoral Slate (AET) and the People's Unity Candidacy (CUP). However, while all were strongly anti-Suárez, none of these candidacies in any way broke with the popular frontism of the PCE/PSOE.

The most important fact in evaluating their campaigns is that the PTE, ORT and MCE belong(ed) to the Coordinación Democrática. While generally advocating greater militancy and occasionally leading important strike actions, all three groups call for an alliance with the bourgeoisie. Thus, for example, the PTE condemned Carrillo for abandoning the Platform of Democratic Organizations (POD), a reincarnation of earlier popular fronts, and the "commission of ten." The POD, it wrote, "because of the broad range of forces it contains, its democratic political program and its offers to negotiate with the government represented an alternative and a serious danger to the reform policy of the Suárez government" (*Correo del Pueblo*, 3 March). The ORT has had a similar line of servile class collaboration, and for many weeks this spring its main demand was "the POD must meet"!

With the PCE and PSOE both capitulating before the Juan Carlos monarchy, the CUP and the AET centered their electoral programs on the demand for a "democratic republic." The FDI, led by the somewhat more aggressively opportunist PTE, called for a plebiscite to decide between monarchy and republic. At best, this is simply the classic Stalinist formula for a "two-stage" revolution in which the "first" (read, "only") stage is a bourgeois republic. Consequently, these soft-Maoists are actively searching for bourgeois allies for their mini- and maxi-popular fronts. Despite sometime militancy in labor battles, they are necessarily hostile to the perspective of generalizing the workers' struggles into a proletarian revolution against the regime. Although presently small in size (their combined membership is estimated at 30,000), these "far leftists" could only repeat the tragedy of the Spanish civil war or Allende's Chile, where the working class suffered bloody defeats because it was tied to the class enemy by the popular front.

All three groupings did poorly in the voting, despite considerable election propaganda, averaging about half a percentage point each. Furthermore, their opportunism got the better of them so that they lost to their allies the few parliamentary seats they won. Thus in Catalonia the PTE ran under the title Esquerra de Catalunya together with the Esquerra Republicana and Estat Català, two bourgeois nationalist parties that are today only a shell of their former selves. This coalition won a single seat, which went to the head of the Esquerra Republicana. The MCE, in turn, ran in the Basque provinces (its home base, where it plays a leading role in the workers commissions) in the Euskadiko Ezquaerra alliance together with the EIA, a recently formed political group associated with the nationalist-terrorist ETA-V. Winning 9.3 percent of the vote in the province of Guipúzcoa, the coalition elected a deputy and a senator, the first close to the EIA and the second an independent lawyer. The ORT-led AET did poorly everywhere.

Capitulation to Popular Frontism, "Trotskyist" Style

The only electoral grouping which was not involved, either directly or through its leading party, in the diverse popular-front coalitions in Spain was the Front for Workers Unity (FUT), headed by the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—a sympathizing section of the centrist majority of the USec). The FUT is to the left of the three other "far left" electoral slates. Its program calls for a workers government and puts forward a perspective of "the conquest of socialism in a new state based on workers councils." It also calls for dissolution of the present Cortes and free elections of a constitutent assembly, and for nationalization of the banks and large companies.

But the program of the FUT is by no means revolutionary. It includes a call on the state to disband the fascist gangs (a demand which Trotsky opposed as sowing the worst democratic illusions), and the demand "For the Republic!" (*Combate*, special edition in French, undated [May 1977]). While Trotskyists are prepared to defend a bourgeois republic against monarchist, militarist or fascist attempts to seize power (as in the Spanish civil war), to raise the slogan of the (bourgeois) republic independently is to sanction state power in the hands of the capitalist class.

In addition to the LCR, the FUT contains three distinctly smaller "far left" groups: Acción Comunista, a tendency which arose from "new working class" theories in the 1960's; the Organización de la Izquierda Comunista (OIC), which describes itself as "council communist" and holds that the USSR is "state capitalist"; and the main surviving wing of the POUM, which still hails its "glorious" role during the Barcelona May Days of 1937. The maneuvers among these rather different groups turned the FUT into a chaotic mess, particularly in Barcelona where the LCR was weak and its "irresponsible" bedfellows dominated.

Thus, on the day before the elections Acción Comunista withdrew (as it said it had planned to do all along!), thereby invalidating the FUT lists in several provinces! During the last week of the campaign, the OIC launched a project for turning the FUT into an "anti-capitalist people's movement," the guiding conception behind the MCE's CUP (modelled, in turn, on last year's presidential campaign of Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho in Portugal). At the same time, the OIC cut off communications with the LCR, and on the morrow of the voting quit the FUT in order to take up discussions with the MCE! According to an article in the organ of the French LCR, *Rouge* (24 June), "The development and public appearance of these differences and the elements of political confusion which they engendered have led the comrades of the [Spanish] LCR to consider that the negative aspects of the FUT outweigh its positive aspects."

The unseriousness of the FUT enterprise, the result of a vain attempt to unite quite disparate groups under a common program, was enough reason for Marxists to refuse to support its candidates. In almost every way it resembled the ill-starred attempt at a joint presidential candidate by the LCI and PRT in Portugal last year, which had to be withdrawn when it was discovered that their choice was a convicted thief of household appliances. But the more fundamental problem with the FUT from the point of view of Trotskyism was its failure to center on the struggle against popular frontism. In fact, in the edition of the FUT program published in French, it does not even mention class collaboration in any way! It merely amounts to a more militant program for democratic rights than the PCE would support, with a few words about socialism in the future; in short, it could have been signed by a Spanish Allende.

A subsequent Catalan version of the FUT program does include a denunciation of "organic accords with bourgeois forces...such as the Coordinación Democrática, the POD, the Commission of Nine, etc." However, it does not

continued on page 10

Con Ed...

(continued from page 1)

of attrition against the population of New York City: the slashing of jobs and services in health, education and transportation. With the willing collusion of the labor fakers—Gotbaum, Shanker, Davis, et al.—the capitalists were able to cripple the unions and bleed the city dry under Big MAC. Not so long ago, the NYC populace saw the bankers and corporations as their enemies, and could have been united behind a labor offensive against the capitalist dictators.

No wonder, then, that the politicians have grasped the looting issue with a vengeance. With the aid of the media they have launched a wide-open racist campaign against "animals" who live in what they call the "jungle habitat." Not Con Ed, nor the banks, nor the bourgeois politicians are the criminals, they cry, but rather the looters. And the solution is familiar: more cops, stiffer sentences. Those who bear the responsibility for the joblessness proclaim the guilt of the ghetto youth whose unemployment rate exceeds 40 percent.

Drop Charges Against the 4,000! Shut Down the Tombs!

Nearly 4,000 alleged looters were rounded up and stuffed into cells that were suddenly "found" for the racist dragnet. The judicial order which closed the Tombs in 1974 was "interpreted" to allow their reopening in the present "emergency" situation. Many of the prisoners have not yet seen a judge, as the city DA's prepare to railroad as many as they can on felony charges. Since it has no evidence, the government's tactic is to put them before a grand jury, whip up a racist hysteria and see if it can get convictions on the basis of a cop's "memory." For the same reason, the papers are now publishing statistics about how many of the arrested have previous criminal records—for the obvious reason that everyone knows the police have no proof. Meanwhile, constitutional procedures were thrown out the window as the "suspects" were booked without opportunity to post bail.

And what prisons they were thrown into! In the arraignment "pens" and the Tombs, thousands who had been indiscriminately swept up stripped to their shorts for a trial by heat. They were brought in shackled wrist to wrist in long lines and dumped into dark, dank holes where the heat exceeded 115 degrees. Often cells as small as ten feet by ten feet contained as many as 40 men or women. Bodies glistened with sweat; they slept one upon another with no bunks or mattresses. They cried for soap, food, mops and medical attention. They got rats, stench and more heat.

It all resembled nothing so much as the "middle passage" of the slave trade. And the liberals who a few months ago wept tears for the cruelty exacted on the fictional young slave Kunta Kinte in *Roots*, while heaping praise on their "humane" society where such things could not occur, joined in a ferocious attack upon the ghetto residents who didn't "pitch in" at this moment of crisis. Mayor Beame, who proclaimed "*Roots* Week" earlier this year, declared he had "no sympathy" for the prison conditions of "looters," and didn't want to hear from "bleeding hearts." Meanwhile, a man died in the "pen" at the Brooklyn House of Detention, and hundreds are being illegally held in this racist roundup. Left, black and labor organizations as well as all defenders of democratic rights must demand their immediate release.

As for the looting itself, it was a straightforward ripoff of property. There were no major reported racial incidents. The lights went out and they just took what they could get. They took groceries and shoes, liquor and furniture. Cars were driven up to stores and loaded up; iron gratings were pulled down with crowbars. In one spectacular haul, 50 Pontiacs were hot-wired and driven away. Interviewed on the streets, the comments of the looters were frank and to the point. One young girl explained to a reporter that sneakers were $24 and she could use a pair.

While the mayor and the politicians bemoaned the fact that all New Yorkers did not "pull together," the media compared the looting to the ghetto upheavals in 1964 and 1968. This is to view social life through the eyes of a ghetto pawn shop owner or police desk sergeant to whom all mass upheavals in the community may look alike. The 1964 Harlem "riot" was a response by ghetto residents to an actual police riot. In 1968 there was mass anger at the assassination of Martin Luther King. Both instances were far more politically motivated outbursts than the scavenging during last week's blackout. Nevertheless, New Leftists and the Stalinoid "Third World" tailists of Youth Against War and Fascism see in this a "full-scale rebellion."

Rebbot/Sygma

McElroy/Newsweek

Brooklyn factory in flames.

In fact, the looting was an anti-social act that will only hurt the ghetto communities in both the short and long run. *Newsweek* magazine reported that one of the participants commented, "tomorrow they won't be able to go to the stores—there won't be any. They'll have to build this same hole all over again." But as is obvious from the miles of boarded-up stores in American inner-city slums, the "same hole" is not rebuilt. And life in the ghettos, already unrelieved misery, just gets worse. The day after the blackout it was almost impossible to get a loaf of bread, much less fresh milk, in Bushwick.

But the fact that looting is a self-defeating, anti-social act does not give the bourgeoisie—which created the ghettos in the first place—a license to declare open season on looters. This was not the San Francisco earthquake, where marauding looters preyed upon the homeless poor in the midst of their desperation. Even less was it a revolutionary situation, where the looters represent a threat to the establishment of a new society. It was not a political act, but a massive enactment of the individualistic rule of survival in the devastated slums of America.

The values and "respect for property" that Mayor Beame claims to expect from his citizenry are nothing but self-serving piety. The lumpenproletarian population created by capitalism in its death agony in fact *has* the values of capitalism. But it lacks the organized firepower and remains limited to small-time hustlers while the capitalists run a far greater operation that is immensely more remunerative. This fact is often grasped by the poorest of the poor, and the unctuous cynics of big business condemn this cynicism. The special outlook shared by the bourgeoisie and lumpenproletariat was captured by Bertolt Brecht in his *Three-Penny Opera*. The anti-hero, MacHeath, a rapist, robber and knife-stabbing murderer, explains to his audience the situation of the common criminal in capitalist society:

> "We bourgeois artisans who work with honest jimmies on the cash boxes of small shopkeepers are being swallowed up by large concerns backed by banks. What is a picklock to a bank share? What is the burgling of a bank to the founding of a bank? What is the murder of a man to the employment of a man?"

Tragically, this not-very-political night of misrule and community mass ripoff will have very terrible political results as the capitalist politicians gear up for their racist scare campaign, trying to out-do each other in "law and order" hypocrisy. In contrast, while revolutionists condemn looting as dangerously anti-social, we demand amnesty for the thousands rounded up in the cops' dragnet and point the finger of accusation at the real criminals: the capitalists.

Expropriate Con Ed!

On Sunday, July 9, Chairman Luce of Consolidated Edison, went on a television talk show and justified the utility's latest rate increase by asserting that there was next to zero chance that the blackout of 1965 would ever be repeated. Three days later came Blackout '77. "It was lightning," Luce told angered New Yorkers huddled around their transistor radios; Con Ed reassuringly announced that all would be well again "in a few hours." The *New York Times*, well practiced in presenting unpopular right-wing dictators as "men in the middle," profiled Luce as a man of "public aplomb" and a "cool man on the hot seat." After all, what can a mere investor-owned utility do against the wrath of Zeus.

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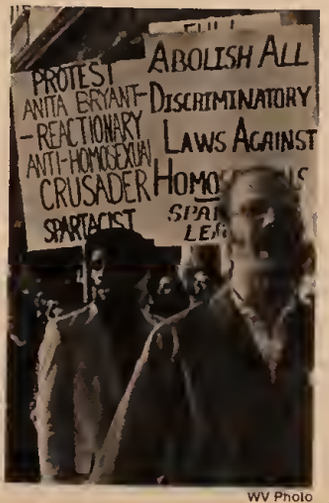


WV Photo

Charles Luce: It can't happen here.

Chuck Pulin

The NYC populace is less inclined to alibi the power company. Not only is Con Ed a center of tax-sheltering corporate boondoggles; not only does it have the highest rates in the country, 17 percent higher than Chicago. It is also well-known for its petty vengeance. In the spring, at the height of Jimmy Carter's energy conservation campaign, the newspapers reported that some eco-freaks had hooked up a small windmill on their rooftop. But to do so they had to get a special dispensation from the government to run it, and were charged higher than normal rates by Con Ed for the privilege.

On a larger scale, Co-op City, the mammoth middle-income high-rise housing project in the Bronx figured out that it would be considerably cheaper and more reliable to set up its own power plant than to have its 60,000 residents pay Con Ed individually. The power monopoly responded with uncontrolled wrath. Co-op City was forced to dump its plan except for a small generator maintained to light its hallways and run the elevators. So its hallways were lit and its elevators ran throughout the blackout. But Con Ed got its revenge: rebellious Co-op City didn't get its power back until hours after the rest of the Bronx was lit up again.

It is no wonder, then, that a man named George Metesky is something of an underground folk hero in New York. The disgruntled ex-employee of Con Ed who became known as the "mad bomber" acted out the impermissible fantasies of many customers as he mysteriously went around town planting bombs in protest.

Even the bourgeoisie is annoyed beyond endurance with the way Con Ed runs its operations in the financial center of U.S. imperialism. They were particularly vexed over the time it took to restore power to the city. It caused the Stock Exchange to close down for one of the few times in history. New York city council president Paul O'Dwyer declared it was "no act of god." Beame, running for re-election on the ludicrous slogan, "Let Abe Finish the Job," weightily pronounced Con Ed guilty of "at the very least gross negligence—and at worst something far more serious." Even nearby power companies are reportedly wary of linking up with the Con Ed network because of its reputation for fouling up.

Nowhere else in the world do such mammoth power disasters occur. But this is not solely due to a unique incompetence on the part of Con Ed management. Instead, it is the result of American "free enterprise," which in this case means a power system serving a tremendous load limited to an extremely small territory. In most countries of the world power generation and supply have long been a state service, and mammoth blackouts are a thing of the past due to the existence of a nationwide grid. But Con Ed has exactly three lines leading to Quebec in the north, from which it gets most of its power and which would be the major supply source if its own plants were put out of commission.

It is also the case that compared to 1965, Con Ed has progressively shut down many of the local generators which were "uneconomical," so that it today has little reserve capacity in the case of an emergency. This focuses a more general constraint on its activities that promotes such disasters: the extremely low margin of tolerance, caused by the capitalists' drive to maximize return on capital. During last winter's bitter cold snap, after freezing people to death the gas companies likewise pointed to the gods of weather and proclaimed an emergency. As we wrote:

> "At the same time capitalism ensures a very narrow margin of tolerance of abrupt shifts. Spare capacity is a capital asset. In order to maximize the rate of profit, all capitalists therefore seek to minimize unused capacity and inventories. That is why any significant change in natural conditions—drought or flood, arctic freeze or heat wave—produces under the capitalist mode of production 'emergencies' for which adequate preparations and material reserves do not exist."
>
> —"Expropriate the Energy Trusts," *WV* No. 145, 18 February

It is obvious, with two severe "energy crises" in the space of six months, that the fuel and power monopolies cannot be trusted to supply the energy needs of the population on a rational basis. Con Ed and all utilities must be expropriated without compensation. And unless one wishes to see them run into the ground like every other urban social service in this country (transport, hospitals, schools), it is clear that this demand must be linked to the struggle for a workers party to eliminate the bourgeois state and capitalist industry which keep them in this sorry state.

Today the bourgeoisie screams about poor people looting groceries and sofas and small appliances while Con Ed for the past half century has been robbing the city blind. Thus the demand for expropriating Con Ed is raised by revolutionaries not only because privately owned utilities are a historic anachronism, and certainly not to fulfill social-democratic dreams of municipal "socialism." In taking up this call, communists seek to focus the deeply felt hatred of the working people and other sectors of the population who have suffered under the arrogance of this bloodsucking monopoly.

Shortly after the blackout New York was declared a "disaster area," an act enabling the ruined small businessmen to get low-interest loans so they can try to rebuild. While this is supportable, it must be understood that capitalism cannot do the same for the workers and poor. It will not provide shoes for the shoeless, houses for the homeless and jobs for the masses of the unemployed. For this it takes the socialist revolution, led by the Trotskyist vanguard party, drawing to its banner the working masses and all the oppressed. ■

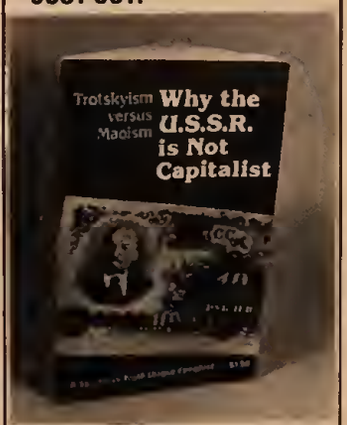
From Gracie Mansion and the editorial board rooms of the NYC dailies, the comfortable preached about the values of civilization and decency. Certainly, those who were arrested for looting were poor, they intoned, but what about the old-time values of self-help and pitching-in during a crisis. At such times, we are told that rich and poor are in the same boat—the "democratic levelling effect," one of the glossy magazines called it. Taking advantage of the dark just wasn't fair play.

This widespread sanctimony was put into perspective in a pithy column by Russell Baker (*New York Times*, 19 July). He noted that Jimmy Carter had recently enunciated his "unfairness doctrine" in opposing Medicaid abortions for poor women. "Life is not fair," Carter said, not only in abortions but other things as well. Baker brilliantly made the connection to the hypocritical moral outrage over the blackout looting:

> **"...one wondered whether the poor folks would take their rotten luck like good sports. The answer came within a few hours when New York went dark and thousands of them started looting.**
>
> **"This is not to suggest that they needed Mr. Carter's lecture to learn that they had been living on the unfair side of the tracks, or even to persuade them that the Government was willing to let them grow old there. Very few probably even heeded the President's statement, if indeed they heard it....**
>
> **"The point is that while it is very sturdy of comfortable men to point out that life is unfair, the people it is unfair to are not apt to be morally or philosophically elevated by the announcement.**
>
> **"If you are going to preach that unfairness is inescapable for some, good sense suggests that you also accept the inevitability of beastly behavior by people who have to carry the burden. Unless you are a Dickens heroine, it becomes insufferable after awhile constantly having all the unfairness left on your doorstep while the Mayfair swells are eating Scotch salmon, weekending in the Hamptons and enjoying exclusive membership in the Abortion Club.**
>
> **"You may not take to the streets with torch and shotgun, but you are likely to find your eyes going glassy when the professor, or the President, talks about social obligations. If the lights go out on a steamy summer night—well, life is unfair, isn't it? And how often does it provide a chance for a romp?"**

Gorton/New York Times

JUST OUT!



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Pakistan...

(continued from page 3)

popular masses which greeted Bhutto's downfall with enthusiasm. The new military rulers will prove no more sympathetic to their plight than the autocratic pseudo-populist prime minister.

General Zia has been widely described in the bourgeois press as a "professional" lacking "personal ambitions." Because of his pro-American sympathies, he is favorably compared to Libya's Colonel Qaddafi. But, in fact, he is like the Libyan in at least one crucial respect: both are exponents of "disciplined" regimes based on the reactionary religious and social tenets of Islam. In one of his first actions, Zia decreed harsh punishments based on the Koran: cutting off the hand of a thief and execution of armed robbers. The same regulations bar "strikes, agitation or political activity of any kind" at schools and universities, as well as all trade-union activity (*New York Times*, 11 July).

Zia describes himself as a "soldier of Islam." On becoming chief of staff in 1976, he gave his troops a new slogan: "Iman (faith), Teqwa (abstinence) and Jihad (holy war)." He made a pilgrimage to Mecca last year. Although he maintains no party ties, Zia's coup was hailed by the president of the rabidly right-wing Ja'amiat-i-Islam party, which spearheaded the PNA campaign against Bhutto's "secularism" ("Bhutto drinks whisky" was a favorite chant during the anti-government marches). He also freed the Pir of Pagaro, leader of a half-million Hur tribesmen who revere him as a Muslim holy man.

Like his fellow bonapartes in the Near East, Zia has demonstrated that the "brotherhood" of Islam not only means the slaughter of "infidels" like the Hindu workers and peasants of India but does not even embrace Muslim insurgents who threaten the interests of the Islamic bourgeois states. In 1970 he led a Pakistani military advisory mission to Jordan at the time of King Hussein's "Black September" massacres of Palestinian nationalists. More recently, Pakistani military forces (as well as Iranian troops) played a key role in suppressing the Dhofari insurgency in Oman, since Bhutto and the generals were worried that the revolt would spread from the Arabian sultanate to disaffected minority tribes in western Pakistan.

If Bhutto's semi-bonapartist regime defended its corrupt and demagogic "Islamic socialism" with bayonets and police clubs, the junta will justify its strong-arm methods with the Koran. The conservative bourgeois politicians of the PNA feel that the coup may be their ticket to power, and indeed they may get some ministerial portfolios in the bargain. However, even if elections are held as promised in October, the army will at most recede a few steps into the background and continue to exercise a determining influence, as it has on both military and "civilian" governments for more than two decades.

The current euphoria among Bhutto's opponents will soon fade as the impact of strict military rule is experienced. Given the massive repression by the Bhutto regime, the oppressed Pakistani masses had no reason to support his increasingly arbitrary personal rule—and, in fact, there was not even a ripple of activity in defense of the toppled government. But the workers and peasants must have no illusions in the constitutional pretensions of Zia and his fellow generals, or in the democratic talk of the highly unstable and reactionary PNA coalition. Their fate remains tied to the proletariat of the subcontinent, which desperately requires a Trotskyist vanguard party to break the chains of imperialist domination, smash the military despots and venal politicians who enforce capitalist rule, and uproot the vestiges of feudalism in the process of consummating a socialist revolution. ■

Indiana...

(continued from page 2)

declare a ban on handling *all* Essex parts, in order to shut off company sales. The full power of the union must be brought to bear, up to and including, if necessary, coordinated solidarity strikes at Big Three plants, which would pressure the major auto makers to force Essex to settle. The many UAW locals in Indiana and throughout the Midwest must immediately dispatch contingents of pickets to Elwood to repulse the anticipated cop/scab assault. Workers from Indiana UAW locals in Kokomo and Anderson, the scene of violent anti-union attacks in the 1930's, as well as other areas, have picketed at Elwood, but the UAW leadership has kept these efforts small. The presence of state troopers is a provocation directed at the entire labor movement. Not only the UAW but other unions in Indiana must be prepared to halt this armed strike-breaking by calling solidarity strikes. Failure to take these elementary solidarity measures will leave the road clear for cop-enforced scabbing and defeat for Local 1663.

UAW officials, however, are simply waiting for the axe to fall. Local president Couch admitted to *WV* that he has no strategy to beat back the company and win the strike. Couch is hoping that the Region 3 or International officials will come up with something. In an interview with *WV*, Region official Johnson expressed his fears of mass picketing with the assistance of other locals, which he felt would result in mass arrests or even martial law. Johnson also rejected solidarity strikes as an illegal secondary boycott in violation of the Taft-Hartley act, which even he conceded is "nothing but a strikebreaking law." Johnson said he would like to urge the UAW Department heads for Ford and Chrysler to pressure those companies to influence Essex to settle.

But Solidarity House has no intention of taking such measures. A Region 3 official admitted: "You can't get anybody in Detroit to do a goddamn thing about it because they want to sit on their fat asses.... Those guys in Detroit in charge of these departments have a pretty decent working relationship with the companies and they don't want to get involved in anything like this." There is plenty of evidence to back up this charge. UAW president Doug Fraser is not known for his ability to win strikes, but for his eagerness in crushing them. Just last March Fraser personally intervened to break a ten-day solid wildcat at Chrysler's Indianapolis Electrical Plant, leaving 23 union officials fired and 44 militants suspended in his wake.

A militant defense of the Elwood strikers requires an implacable struggle against Fraser and the rest of the UAW bureaucracy. With militant support from UAW locals across the country, the Essex workers could win far more than they are even asking. Minimal demands should include wage and benefit parity with the UAW scale at the Big Three. The conditions of the Essex workers, as well as of thousands of others who toil in the high-profit and low-wage sweatshops of corporations like UT, drag down the standards of all workers. And the terror being inflicted on these workers is an attack on all unionists. The UAW can and must act to stop the scab-herding, gun-toting, union-busting thugs. ■

Spanish Elections...

(continued from page 7)

once mention the words popular front, nor the lessons of the civil war, and fails to mention the most important popular front locally, the Assemblea de Catalunya. This is consistent with the LCR's whole history, which has been one of constant waffling and capitulation on the question of the popular front. Thus last January the LCR signed a joint communiqué in Barcelona together with bourgeois liberals and the Carlists deploring the murder of several policemen, demanding that the police arrest the fascists (many of them off-duty police), and concluding with a pitiful plea to the Francoist state to usher in "democracy."

In February the LCR participated actively in negotiations for a full-fledged popular front in the Basque region. It was asked to sign a common political platform with other "far-left" groups, petty-bourgeois Basque nationalists and bourgeois formations. The LCR balked only on the grounds that it disagreed with two planks in the platform, one calling for a provisional government and the other for a return to the Republican statute of autonomy for the Basque region. Far from breaking with popular frontism, the LCR agreed to sign the pact if these two points were removed.

It must also be remembered that the FUT was only a fallback for the LCR. The LCR originally called for a common electoral slate of working-class and "revolutionary nationalist" parties based on a minimal democratic program: "amnesty, legalization [of the parties] with no exceptions, self-determination, election to a Constituent Assembly, republic, support to mass struggles, rejection of the 'social pact' [wage restraint]" (*Inprecor*, 28 April). Thus the LCR was yearning to issue common electoral propaganda with the PCE and PSOE—the historic betrayers of the Spanish proletariat—on a program whose "maximum" demand is the inauguration of...a bourgeois republic!

The absence of any struggle against popular frontism as a key point in the FUT program, the LCR's own repeated capitulation on this point and its continuing desire for programmatic blocs with organizations (PCE, PSOE, MCE) which are members of popular fronts demonstrates that it was impossible for revolutionaries to combat the class collaboration of the PCE/PSOE reformists by calling for votes to the FUT.

The failure of the various tendencies of the "far left" to chart a revolutionary course toward the June elections underscores the burning need to build an authentic Trotskyist party in Spain. Only by rigorously drawing the lessons of the civil war, showing the key role of the popular front in paving the way for Franco's victory and by demonstrating the central role of a series of popular fronts in shoring up the rotting Francoist regime during the last two years, can a Trotskyist vanguard guide the Spanish proletariat to victory. Only as part of a reborn Fourth International can such a party achieve the vital international extension of the revolution, through an Iberian Federation of Soviet Republics in a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

LCR banner. Rubio/Cambio 16

Communist Party election rally. Checa/Kappa

FORUM

Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition, Part 6:

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NEW YORK

Steel...

(continued from page 12)

steelmaking operations are located in the East Chicago plant, and a local strike would therefore effectively shut down "the company." But Inland's 18,000-man workforce voted strike authorization by a scant margin of 53 percent. Only in Local 1033 at Republic did the 4,800 workers produce anything resembling a mandate by voting 2,453 to 1,257 in favor of strike sanction. However, according to Guzzo, the Local has accepted an offer made by Republic Steel on July 11 (*Daily Calumet*, 14 July). It appears likely that a strike will also be averted at Local 1010.

...But Sadlowski Grandstand Play Flops

The inability of the Sadlowski forces to win a solid mandate in District 31 reflects their capitulation to the International. Neither Sadlowski nor Balanoff did anything to mobilize the rank and file when Abel announced his sellout contract. Both verbally condemned the contract but advised steel workers that, since the ENA was "legal," they had no choice but to live with it. Sadlowski occupied himself with pursuing court suits against the union in the hope of overturning the International elections, while Balanoff busied himself trying to worm into the good graces of the International. The new District 31 director went so far as to tell a *Chicago Sun-Times* reporter (30 May) that his union philosophy was "basically the same" as McBride's!

The *Business Week* article suggested that a reason for the local strike votes "is that some militants in the union want to test the ENA to see if the local strike option really works." However, the failure of the Sadlowski "opposition" to forthrightly demand that the ENA and the sellout agreement be dumped through industrywide strike action demoralized the membership. Understanding that the key to winning any real demands was a breakthrough on the industry level, the USWA ranks lacked enthusiasm for the Sadlowski/Balanoff campaign to win local strike authorizations. Sensing this reluctance, the phony oppositionists went to great pains to emphasize that they were for strike authorizations in order to...prevent strikes! Balanoff huffed, "The companies are trying to give the workers the impression that if they vote 'yes' in a strike vote, there will automatically be a strike. That's an out-and-out lie" (*Daily Calumet*, 21 June). Balanoff claimed that the mere threat of a strike was enough to whip the companies into line.

Militants should certainly have voted "yes" in the local strike authorization ballots, but not as a mere pressure tactic. Without strike action, steel workers will not win anything substantial from the bosses. Rather, Steelworker militants must view local strikes as an opportunity to expand them beyond the confines dictated by ENA (and accepted by Balanoff/Sadlowski). They must be extended into an industrywide walkout to break the no-strike agreement, as well as overturn and renegotiate the national contract.

Layoffs at Southworks

At a fourth District 31 plant, U.S. Steel's Chicago Southworks Division, the local leadership's request to conduct a strike ballot was denied by the International. The pro-Sadlowski Local 65 leadership headed by president John Chico, which was elected on campaign promises of implementing trade-union "democracy," had signed a sellout local agreement behind the backs of the membership immediately after the national agreement was announced. This gross bureaucratism even stirred into action a number of Chico supporters, most notably those around the Communist Party-backed National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee.

The Militant
Jim Balenoff, District 31 director.

These fake leftists, agreeing with Chico that, once signed, the local contract could not be discarded, suggested that a meaningless "straw poll" be conducted around the agreement anyway. Not wanting *any* vote on his agreement and looking to refurbish his tarnished credentials, Chico suddenly announced that the issue of seniority had not been resolved and prepared to conduct a strike vote on this single issue. The International, sensing that most of the membership had been alienated by the maneuvers of the various factions of the local leadership, decided it was safe to intervene and bureaucratically suppress the strike vote.

While the International was squelching the possibility of strike action at Local 65, rumors of mass layoffs and even a possible plant shutdown circulated through Southworks. The company is claiming that it has lost $22 million at Southworks since last January, and already in the past few weeks hundreds of workers have been laid off.

The economic outlook for the steel industry as a whole remains uncertain. Despite massive profits raked in last year there has been very little expenditure for capital investment. Less profitable operations have been shut down: Bethlehem has announced the closing of two smaller steel plants and U.S. Steel laid off 1,000 workers in Youngstown last month. Numerous steel workers, including those at Southworks, are on reduced work schedules. U.S. production of steel for the domestic market has contracted relatively; steel imports in May were the highest since December 1974, rising to 18.2 percent of the nation's apparent steel supply. And there was a wave of hedge buying associated with last May's steel price increase, after which orders slumped and have yet to recover.

The answer of the pro-company USWA bureaucracy to the threatening layoffs was easily predictable: chauvinist protectionism. The July issue of *Steel Labor* wrote: "We are once again disappointed with President Carter. Our newest disenchantment with the new administration stems from plans to review and possibly cancel controls on the importation of specialty steel products imposed by the government less than a year ago." And further: "Our union will man the battle stations again in the hope that the present controls on imported special steel can be retained."

Steel workers must reject the bureaucracy's protectionist program of trade war with Japan and Western Europe. This will not end unemployment. Instead, plans must be laid to launch a struggle against the steel bosses, who cynically raise prices while complaining about foreign competition. Steel workers at Southworks must demand that the financial records and books of the price-fixing corporate monopoly be opened to the union. Let's see how "broke" the company really is! This must be part of a broad campaign to launch a struggle against the steel trusts' closing down of "unprofitable" ventures, culminating in strike action against layoffs.

Unfortunately, steel workers remain leaderless in their struggle to reverse the rotten contract deals and impending layoffs. District 31 director Jim Balanoff admitted to *WV* that he expected further industrywide layoffs, but had no solution beyond pointing to the union's supplementary unemployment benefits (which requre two years' seniority for eligibility, do not provide full income maintenance and are exhausted after a year, except for workers with 20 years' service). Neither the Abels and McBrides nor the Sadlowskis and Balanoffs, but only a new class-struggle leadership, can lead steel workers to victory. ■

Australia...

(continued from page 5)

Political Police, headed by Joan Coxsedge, would like to see "All crimes ...defined and offenders prosecuted by the existing police apparatus" in order to do away with the need for ASIO (quoted in *Scope*, 26 August 1976). In other words, once the bourgeoisie declares some aspect of left-wing activity to be "criminal," then suppression is justified.

For revolutionists, ASIO's real crimes do not consist in its violations of bourgeois standards. Nor is its real charter defined by acts of Parliament. Its real charter determines that it will daily commit crimes against the working class. Its surveillance and harassment of working-class militants and organisations are carried out with the purpose of preparing their arrest and assassination when defence of the "security" of capitalist class rule requires it, as it inevitably will—however remote this eventuality may seem in wealthy, social-democratic Australia. The only law for the bourgeoisie's secret police is always and by any means necessary to maintain and defend the decrepit, destructive system of capitalism.

Unlike the stealthy would-be assassins of ASIO, we have nothing to hide. We stand proudly under the red banner of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky. We state our aims openly and explicitly: the abolition of capitalism and all class society around the world. To this end we fight for an international revolutionary leadership of the working class, for the rebirth of the Fourth International. We demand that ASIO, ASIS and all the other secret police agencies be abolished, that all infiltration into and harassment of the workers movement cease. But we also recognise that the bourgeoisie will never do away with its political police, an essential part of the repressive apparatus on which its state power and class dictatorship rests. Only after the proletarian revolution, mobilising the great toiling majority against the privileged capitalist minority, destroys that apparatus and installs the working class in state power will ASIO and all the bosses' spooks and spies meet the fate they deserve. ■

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Langridge speaks

"[Poulus] said that it was going to ba vary difficult [to infiltrata tha SL].... Becausa it was an axtremely hard targat.... Bacausa thay wara a Trotskyist organisation and their politics wera a lot hardar; thair antira organisation was a bit mora difficult and e lot mora demands would ba put on a person who was involved in their activities...."

"...[thair politics] went into a lot mora depth end thara's a lot mora expected of a person."

"[ASIO said] they didn't know anything about it [tha SL] and that's why it was so important that I infiltrata it.... They knaw of it, that was all...."

"[They were curious to find out about it] especially baceuse it was a Trotskyist organisation.... They had information from the [fake-Trotskyist] SWP and they just wanted to see what the Spartacist League was lika in comparison."

"...I had to work my way into their confidance; becoma a mambar, do everything that was expectad of me, go to the local maatings, make thorough reports of the people, how many wera there, the positions they hald."

"...they promised that if I did okay that they would maka sure that I could get to univarsity which was my dying ambition to do."

"It was exciting, it wes stimulating, I had to work in tha public sarvica end I wanted to go to the university and I wantad to heva planty of monay."

(Questions: "So what heppanad?")
"I had to be honest. I couldn't stand whet I was doing anymora....
"It's just tha fact that I respect tham and I respect what thay stand tor and I don't respect mysalf for what I've been doing."

—Interview with Langridge, 11 June

(Question: "In your so-callad career as e spy, what do you ragerd as your biggast triumph?")
"Confessing."

—Channel 2, ABC News, 20 Juna

WORKERS VANGUARD

For A Nationwide Steel Strike Against ENA!

Sadlowski Local Strike Talk Goes Nowhere

U.S. Steel Southworks plant in Chicago. WV Photo

Hundreds Laid Off at Chicago Southworks, More Threatened

CHICAGO, July 16—When outgoing United Steelworkers (USWA) president I. W. Abel rammed through a "moderate" (i.e., takeaway) contract for the nation's 350,000 basic steel workers last April, the capitalist press was ecstatic. However, Abel's no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) did not explicitly prohibit local strikes over local bargaining issues. So with the August 1 contract deadline approaching, some business journals have worried aloud over a possible wave of local strikes, particularly in the key Chicago-Gary District 31 (more than 100,000 USWA members).

Business Week (11 July) wrote in a lead article:

> "The basic steel industry has hummed along without an authorized strike for 17 years, but the possibility of major work stoppages this summer is now taking shape. In an unusual display of militancy, steelworkers at two Chicago-area mills—including the huge East Chicago (Ind.) plant of Inland Steel Co.—voted to strike on Aug. 1 unless local plant issues are resolved by then. Dozens of other local steel unions are also conducting strike votes this week....
>
> "Aside from a few wildcats, there have not been any steel strikes since 1959....
>
> "This year is likely to be different for a number of reasons. The USW's recent presidential election stirred up rank-and-file militancy over working conditions in the mills....
>
> "Spearheading the drive was Edward Sadlowski, who was defeated last February for the USW presidency by Lloyd McBride....
>
> "One of Sadlowski's main campaign issues was that new and younger steelworkers, in particular, are demanding better treatment on the job. Appearing at packed union meetings on the eve of the balloting, Sadlowski urged a vote for a strike. 'The size of the "yes" vote is the size of the hammer we'll have to pound out an agreement,' he said."

In all, some 33 USWA locals voted to request International approval for a strike if contract issues remain unresolved at the August deadline. However, of these, 21 are engaged in iron-ore mining and processing; only four represent steel-producing plants. Furthermore, in the 37 locals that conducted strike-authorization ballots, of 50,000 workers participating under 60 percent voted "yes."

ENA Strangles Steel Workers

The results demonstrated a widespread perception among the Steelworkers' ranks that little of substance can be won through isolated local strikes. Under the ENA, all economic matters (wages, cost-of-living allowances, supplementary unemployment benefits, etc.) along with other key issues, including the basic structure of union seniority, are determined by industrywide bargaining. If these issues are unresolved, they are dispatched to compulsory arbitration; strikes are barred.

Locals may still seek International approval to strike over so-called "local" issues. However, the International in collusion with the companies has made every effort to narrow the scope of such "local issues." As soon as Abel/McBride & Co. signed their sellout agreement with the steel trusts last spring, they designated hundreds of demands raised by local bargaining committees as "not properly local issues"—thus further dampening enthusiasm for local strikes.

As a result, most of the local bargaining issues were reduced to such propositions as parking lot improvements, better food service in cafeterias, company provision of work clothing, etc. Even where issues affecting vital areas of health and safety, crew size and working conditions were ruled local in scope, they were pared down to encompass only small sections of a given plant, making it difficult to mobilize the entire workforce in defense of these demands.

Under this arrangement McBride & Co. could be certain that their cozy relationship with the companies would not be threatened. Strikes, if they occur, will have limited impact, and the International can even score a few points by granting strike authorizations to locals. If the strikes turn out badly, responsibility for them can be foisted off on the local leaderships. Local and district leaders, in turn, who did nothing to lead a fight against the industrywide sellout, can posture as militants by campaigning for local strike authorizations. The only consistent losers are the rank and file, who find themselves with little to fight for and the prospect of strikes that can easily be isolated on a local level.

Malinowski

Ed Sadlowski

It was not, therefore, surprising that the membership was less than enthusiastic about local strikes. The most important strike authorization votes in the large steel-producing plants took place in the pivotal District 31, a stronghold of fake-militant bureaucrat Sadlowski. Sadlowski is former director of the district; now he serves as an appointed staff official under the current director, Jim Balanoff, who was Sadlowski's campaign manager.

District 31 Leadership Pulls Out the Vote...

The district leadership made an all-out effort to garner a large "yes" vote at Local 1033 (Republic Steel), Local 1010 (Inland Steel) and Local 1011 (Youngstown Sheet and Tube). Rallies attended by several hundred workers were held at the Local 1033 union hall on June 20, two days before the balloting there. Speakers included Balanoff, Sadlowski and Local president Frank Guzzo. Union officials denounced Republic management for mailing letters to all employees urging a "no" vote and threatening that a "yes" vote would likely mean reduced orders, possible layoffs and short working hours.

Subsequently, union officials charged management with attempting to interfere with and influence the strike balloting. Guzzo claimed that foremen brought workers to the union hall to vote, urging a "no" vote, and that several favored departments had been shut down or had released work crews to vote on company time. Officials at Local 1010 at Inland also charged the company with the same practices.

The intense campaigning generated a heavy turnout at the balloting. However, despite the energetic efforts of district and local officials, the results were not decisive. At Youngstown Sheet and Tube, with a production and maintenance workforce of 8,000, the referendum for strike authorization passed by a margin of only 31 votes. The vote was turned around, however, when the clerical workers and unionized company "security" thugs voted to reject a strike and the International ruled that sanction must be based on a majority of all votes cast by USWA members. Ironically, company cops are now in a position to veto strike action as well as break into the lockers of steel workers, assault strikers and run scabs through picket lines. These enemies of labor must be driven out of the union!

Local 1010 is Balanoff's home local and the largest local in the USWA. As *Business Week* reported: "...a strike could be disastrous for Inland. All of its

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 168 29 July 1977

120° ▪ Bosses Profit ▪ Workers Burn ▪ Bureaucrats Do Nothing

Heat Walkouts Sweep Auto

Workers gather outside Lynch Road auto assembly plant in Detroit during heat walkout last week. WV Photo

DETROIT—Thousands of auto workers walked off the lines as the worst heat wave in 22 years swept over most of the country in July.

Temperatures in the auto plants shot up as high as 120 degrees, and in the sweltering foundries up to 130 degrees, while the humidity was unbearable inside the ill-ventilated, non-air-conditioned factories. Acting in a fashion that can only be termed barbaric, the auto companies, enjoying near-record sales, refused to shut down production in these man-made infernos. As a result of this criminal and murderous conduct by the capitalists, at least two auto workers died in the Detroit area alone, and hundreds of others were overcome by heat exhaustion and had to be carried off the lines.

In office barely a month, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser did nothing while workers broiled in the plants. Neither Solidarity House nor any of the local UAW leaderships in Detroit even called for, let alone carried out, the shutdown of a single factory. Ironically, the heat wave struck just a few days after the appearance of the 29 June issue of UAW *Solidarity*. The official voice of the International had given glowing coverage to Fraser's first 30 days, and particularly his concern for workers' health and safety as evidenced by his support for bills now before Congress!

Deserted by UAW "leaders," thousands of auto workers asserted their interests anyway. Over the last three weeks there have been several walkouts over both heat and the retaliatory firings and wholesale disciplines imposed by management. Chrysler's four major Detroit-area assembly plants—Dodge Truck, Lynch Road, Dodge Main and Jefferson—were all hit by repeated walkouts. Workers also hit the bricks at Chrysler's Sterling Stamping plant, Trenton Engines and Mack Avenue Stamping. Ford workers at River Rouge's Specialty Foundry and Stamping units and the Sterling Heights plant walked out.

On the East Coast, the Chrysler plant in Newark, Delaware was shut down by walkout. At Linden, New Jersey General Motors, workers forced a reduction in work hours. And at Ford Mahwah, also in New Jersey, hundreds of workers did not report to work on the night shift of July 21, forcing the plant to shut down. Ford has notified scores of workers at Mahwah that they are on notice for disciplinary hearings.

Death in Auto Plant Sweatboxes

The first fatality was a 21-year-old worker at the giant River Rouge complex in Dearborn, Michigan. Grant Schneider had put in a full day July 7 at the Specialty Foundry, where metal being melted, poured and casted creates a boiling hell. Foundry workers say Schneider had complained of feeling ill and had asked for a medical pass. His request was denied. After leaving work Schneider managed to drive about four miles from the plant, then pulled off the road and collapsed. When he was finally discovered by the police, his body temperature was a staggering 108 degrees. He died eight hours later in a hospital. Diagnosis: heat prostration.

A few days later Ford's ruthlessness claimed another life. James Wilfred, a 47-year-old relief man, collapsed in the heat of the Rouge Stamping plant with a heart attack. An ambulance arrived, but then wouldn't start, its battery dead. Wilfred was carried by hand to the Rouge complex's medical center where he died. Workers on Wilfred's line walked off the job upon hearing the news.

Company and union officials are eager to squelch news of these heat-caused deaths, both to cover their own guilt and to prevent walkouts. Otherwise, the officially admitted death toll would undoubtedly be much higher. A woman auto worker reportedly died at GM's Fisher Body plant in suburban Livonia, and there are rumors of another Ford worker dying at the Rouge plant. At Chrysler's Dodge Truck plant in Warren, just north of Detroit, there are reports that a worker died in the overheated paint shop. In many plants, when workers passed out on the lines their foremen attempted to revive them on the spot and then walk them to medical, fearing that the sight of ambulances continually racing through the aisles would spark more walkouts.

With sales edging near the all-time 1973 high point and with changeover to the 1978 models taking place right now

continued on page 9

SWP Polemic Against SL:

Alibis of a Social Democrat...6

Breytenbach, ANC Militants Face Torture in Dungeons

Free Victims of Apartheid Show Trials!

On June 20 twelve members of the African National Congress (ANC) went on trial before the Pretoria Supreme Court in what was widely described as the most important political trial in South Africa since 1964, when eight ANC leaders were similarly accused of "terrorism" and sentenced to life imprisonment in the famous Rivonia Trial. Since Rivonia, anti-apartheid militants from various groups have been jailed on similar charges, but the trial of the twelve, which ended in their conviction on July 13, was unique in the scope of the conspiracy alleged by the Pretoria regime and the importance it attached to railroading a conviction of the defendants.

The trial is a key component in South Africa's current campaign to portray itself as the last bastion of the "free world" (!) against a "Communist takeover" of southern Africa, since it attempts to link the ANC and the Soweto rebels to the Soviet Union. The twelve were accused of organizing underground cells and arms caches of the ANC's military arm, *Umkonto We Sizwe* ("Spear of the Nation"), and of smuggling youth from Soweto across the border to Swaziland and Mozambique for guerrilla training. One of the defendants, Mosima Sexwale, was accused of receiving guerrilla training in the USSR, while another, Elias Masinga, supposedly "infiltrated" the Soweto Student Representative Council to recruit students to the "conspiracy."

Not content with claiming that the ANC militants sought to establish a "white dominated [!] Russian-Marxist government," the Vorster regime has also sought to link the twelve to the June 13 killing of two whites in a Johannesburg garage by several well-armed blacks, alleging that both groups used the same type of Czech submachine guns. Further escalating the siege atmosphere, the government called up police reserves for border patrol duty on July 14.

The prisoners were indicted under the notorious 1967 Terrorism Act, a catch-all police-state measure which has been used to prosecute such "terrorist" acts as boycotts of local grocers and writing letters to a UN agency asking for financial assistance for a non-white community! The minimum penalty is five years imprisonment while the maximum is death, and long sentences are expected for the twelve. All of the prisoners except Pauline Mohale, the only woman, were originally brought to the trial in irons. To complete the garrison setting, the courtroom was flooded with soldiers and police armed with machine guns. They were accompanied by police dogs, which were repeatedly used to quell the crowds of blacks who came each day to the trial and surrounded the prison vans with fists clenched as the prisoners were taken away.

Despite their careful preparation, the white racists' elaborate accusations were exposed as fabrications when, on June 30, the state's star witness, Ian Rwaxa, dramatically recanted. Rwaxa, a 20-year-old arrested in December at the Swaziland border, described how he was viciously beaten and tortured during his interrogation at Johannesburg police headquarters, and how in Pretoria he was beaten daily and kept naked in a cold solitary cell for three months. He was then offered money, and later, immunity by trial prosecutor N.G. von Pittius, if he would follow an outline prepared by the police in his testimony. Realizing that his sabotage of the government's frame-up schemes could well lead to his murder by the vengeful storm troopers, Rwaxa sought the maximum possible publicity for his plight and asked the judge for court protection. The judge replied that he had no power to issue such an order. The freeing of Ian Rwaxa is now a matter of life or death, since scores of anti-apartheid militants have "mysteriously" died or "committed suicide" in South Africa's prisons during the last ten years!

DR

Breyten Breytenbach

Two blocks away from the trial of the ANC members, Breyten Breytenbach, an Afrikaaner poet and sympathizer of the ANC, was aquitted of attempting to escape from Pretoria Central Prison and of continuing his underground activities against apartheid from a jail cell. A founder of Okhela, a white auxiliary to the ANC, Breytenbach was arrested two years ago when he illegally re-entered South Africa from exile. Sentenced to nine years under the Terrorism Act, the poet has been held in solitary confinement for two years in a death row cell in an attempt to break him.

In the new case, the government alleged that Breytenbach had sought to recruit his prison guard, in reality a police spy sent into the prison, to Okhela as part of an escape plan. This frame-up was frustrated by the widespread publicity and sympathy Breytenbach received, mainly in Europe, where he is well-known as an artist and poet. However, Breytenbach remains in jail on the previous conviction.

In an attempt to discredit the small white radical opposition, the judge

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24 Hospitalized

Racist Mob Attacks Blacks in Chicago

CHICAGO—A vicious mob of white racists ran wild on Chicago's Southwest side this past weekend, assaulting blacks and hospitalizing at least 24 people, including young children. The murderous mob assaulted cars driven by blacks, overturning three and forcing the passengers to flee for their lives, and smashed windows on numerous others by hurliog rocks, bottles and blocks of cement. A mother and two small children narrowly escaped serious injury when the crowd of white racists which had surrounded their car and smashed its windows was finally driven back by police. An eight-year-old child was hurt badly when struck near his eye by a rock hurled through a car window.

A city bus carrying black passengers was forcibly stopped and damaged by the mob. The driver, who had just picked up three black youths without fares because he feared they would be attacked, said the racists "started to push the door open. So I just pushed on the gas with my left foot and pulled away" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 24 July). The driver was hurt when a rock thrown through the window by the frustrated mob struck him in the neck. After two hours of terror the rock-throwing, howling gangs of white youth were finally broken up by the cops.

The racist mob had originally mobilized to attack a civil rights march for open housing in the all-white Marquette Park neighborhood, planned by the liberal-pacifist Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. When the march was forcibly dispersed by Chicago cops, who claimed they were unable to protect the marchers, the racist crowd surged into the surrounding streets viciously attacking passing black motorists.

Saturday's terror is not the first display of white racist violence in Marquette Park, the home base of Chicago's small but active fascist movement. Last summer the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement initiated a series of demonstrations for open housing which attempted to march into the white enclave. Each time the marchers were forced back by bloody assaults instigated by Nazi- and Ku Klux Klan-inspired mobs. Scores of civil rights marchers have been injured by barrages of rocks, bricks and jagged glass, following which they have been arrested by Chicago cops for "disorderly conduct"!

Chicago Sun-Times

White racists in Marquette Park overturn a black motorist's car.

The same pattern of police support for the racist mobs repeated itself last Saturday. Deputy police superintendent William Buckney told the marchers at Martin Luther King Jr. Movement headquarters that he had been told ("erroneously," he admits) that the march was canceled, and had released for the day 800 policemen who had been scheduled to protect the marchers. "The manpower is not available. We cannot allow you to march under these circumstances," Buckney said, although the march had a permit. The Reverend A.I. Dunlap, president of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, told the people

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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SL, RFU Hold Joint Forums: "Stop Anita Bryant!"

The Gay Liberation Movement and the Left

As part of the projected fusion between the Spartacist League (SL) and the Red Flag Union/Bolshevik Tendency (RFU/BT), two joint forums on the vicious anti-homosexual Anita Bryant crusade were held this month, one in New York and the other in Los Angeles. Approximately 120 people heard the NYC forum July 23 where the speakers' insistence that the gay liberation movement is only a partially political phenomenon shading over into the gay milieu brought howls of protest from the Shachtmanite and Marcyite New Leftist groups in attendance.

Speaking for the Spartacist League, Kay Blanchard began by warning of the danger posed by the reactionary Bryant crusade, which is closely linked to the Stop-ERA campaign, right-to-lifers and anti-busing forces. While communists fight to defend and extend democratic rights under capitalism, the speaker stressed, they explain that homosexual oppression can be ended only under socialism, with the replacement of the nuclear family. Pointing to the religious overtones rampant in the gay milieu, Blanchard noted that gay liberationists have responded to Bryant's Bible-thumping crusade "by swapping scriptures for verse. While Anita says 'Save our Children,' the gay milieu says 'Anita, We are Your Children.' Anita says 'god punishes homosexuals' and homosexual religionists say 'god loves gay'."

The SL spokesman noted that the thrust of the recent anti-Bryant demonstrations has been to implicitly endorse Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade by demanding its extension to homosexuals in the United States. While in another period, she said, this demand might be merely an innocuous slogan of bourgeois civil libertarians, at the present time it is a cover for the rearmament of U.S. imperialism after its Vietnam debacle, beginning with a propaganda offensive against the Soviet bloc and ultimately aiming at the restoration of capitalism in the deformed and degenerated workers states.

Michael Weinstein, speaking for the RFU/BT, noted the narrow, distorted image perceived by homosexuals who view the world from the vantage point of the gay ghettos of New York and San Francisco. Looking out of the window on Christopher Street one might get the impression that 75 percent or more of the adult male population is homosexual. Here in the "liberated zones" homosexuals go about their lives largely unhindered by police harassment, vigilante attacks or religious fanatics. When Bryant was successful in Dade County and threatened to take her hate campaign on national tour, homosexuals in large numbers rose up in alarm and took to the streets. "Not," said Weinstein, "as the SWP would have us believe, as budding revolutionaries or even militant defenders of democratic rights for the oppressed; but basically as alarmed 'liberated' homosexuals defending their right to live unaccosted by rabid animals like Anita Bryant."

The SL and the RFU/BT, said Weinstein, seek to intercept the left wing of the gay liberation milieu in order to win the most advanced elements to the program of Trotskyism. At the same time, revolutionaries do not seek to build the gay "movement," whose program varies from religious revivalism on the far right to the Democratic Party in the middle and New-Left lifestyle radicalism on the left.

Many people, said Weinstein, want to know why it is that the RFU, which achieved a reputation as the most advanced element of the gay liberation milieu, would want to join the supposedly "sectarian, anti-gay" Spartacist League. "All of the groups fell over themselves trying to pick up the RFU and they were obviously very disappointed when our fusion perspective developed toward the SL," he said. The Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), in particular, felt it should have been the logical inheritor of a gay liberation group which began with an anti-Soviet reflex. After all, didn't the RSL take up the slogan "Gay Liberation through Socialist Revolution," a position held for a time by the RFU?

The SL, he said, won the RFU not by tailing its polyvanguardism, but through a sharp struggle to break the group from sectorialism and to win it to the defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism. Weinstein also stressed the importance of the SL's political honesty, contrasting it to the dishonesty of the RSL, typified recently by the slanderous polemic in the *Torch* in which the SL was denounced for its "closet rule" despite the fact that the RSL has one of its own! The RFU majority, he said, realized early on that the RSL was the archetypal Stalinist caricature of Trotskyism which "everybody had warned us about." "They won't defend anything—they won't

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WV Photo

WV Photo

Spartacist League/Red Flag Union joint forums in Los Angeles, left, and New York, right.

WV Style Change

"Gay": Language and Politics

With this issue of *WV* we are implementing a style change of a politically controversial nature which deserves explanation to our readers. In the past we have either avoided the term gay or placed quotation marks around it because we did not consider gay as a neutral or conventional synonym for homosexual. Although the term does have a long historical association with homosexuality, its increasing popularity in recent years has had a clear political thrust: lifestyle radicalism.

The word "gay" did not and does not refer to homosexuality in all contexts. It would be absurd, for example, to speak about gays in ancient Rome or "People's China" today. Rather, it is associated with participation in the homosexual social milieu. Thus Alan Winter in his study, *The Gay Press* (1976), uses the term as meaning "having freed oneself of misgiving over being homosexual" and "to be free to participate in a homosexual community, in the sense of the gay community."

The term was promoted by and gained public currency in the last decade due to the gay liberation movement. The general program of the gay liberation movement is not so much fighting for democratic rights for homosexuals as the affirmation of "gay pride." As a political rather than purely personal statement, "gay pride" represents a sectoralist outlook fundamentally hostile to Marxism and detrimental to the struggle for a united mobilization of the working class and all defenders of democratic rights against discrimination and social oppression. In this respect it is analogous to the "black pride" promoted in particular by right-wing "cultural nationalists," and is conducive above all to Democratic Party constituency politics.

The term gay is only partly analogous to the usage of "black" beginning in the mid-1960's. While "black power" and "black pride" politics were the catalyst which sparked rejection of the term Negro, there was also a widespread distaste for the word which in the mouth of Lyndon Johnson invariably was pronounced "nigrah"—the usual guarded pronunciation of a racist epithet. Homosexual, on the other hand, is not generally a term of denigration and can be essentially neutral (although inevitably filled with the prejudices of the speaker and society).

Ironically, while use of the term "gay" is symptomatic of an inevitable reflex of oppressed layers to seek verbal solace, it has a decidedly negative (*bitter* sweet) quality. "Gay" due to its traditional meaning is both self-congratulatory and self-trivializing, as it implies homosexuals are both more "liberated" and more frivolous than heterosexuals.

Our resistance to using the term gay was also derived from opposition to New Left moralistic idealism in general, one aspect of which has been a tendency to reject the conventional terms relating to oppressed social groups in favor of new terms, often quite artificial in appearance (e.g., chairperson). As Marxists we oppose such terminological liberationism and maintain a conservative attitude toward conventional usage. Thus we used Negro rather than black until Negro generally acquired an obsolete or derogatory meaning and black became conventional usage. We still do not use the term "Ms.," a form of address closely associated with feminism and based on an amalgamation of traditional aristocratic-derived, sex-defined terminology (as opposed to the democratic "citizen" or the communist "comrade").

However, while homosexual continues to be an adequate term, it is impossible to refer to a whole range of cultural/political activity (gay liberation movement, gay bars, gay milieu, etc.) without the use of the word gay. Thus the word acquires ever more general usage. At the same time, our use of quotation marks around gay was open to misinterpretation by many readers and willful distortion by opponents as indicating a hostile or contemptuous attitude toward homosexuals. Given the pervasiveness of oppression and its terminological reflections all terms will be tainted by the prevailing social prejudices. Thus henceforth we will not use quotation marks around the term "gay." To the extent that the word loses its lifestylist connotations and becomes a conventional synonym for homosexual, *WV* style policy must change accordingly.

Soares Government Flounders

Economic Crisis in Portugal

Avante!

150,000 people turned out June 22 in Lisbon for national day of protest against government austerity measures.

We publish below an article on the deepening economic and political crisis in Portugal by Comrade Mafalda Silva, a Portuguese Marxist. While Comrade Silva continues to have certain political differences with Spartacism, we recommend these articles as an informed, revolutionary Marxist analysis of the current situation and the tasks facing Trotskyists in Portugal.

Letter from Lisbon

According to Portugal's prime minister, Mário Soares, defending himself on television June 7, the Socialist Party minority government is "the only mediator in Portuguese society, polarized between antagonistic and unyielding extremes who seek to crush each other." Without a doubt, Soares, consciously assuming that role, will be responsible for his own fall, which appears increasingly inevitable in the eyes of the "antagonistic extremes" to which he referred: on the one hand, the workers and their organizations, defending their conquests; on the other, reactionary forces internally and externally, who are impatient with the pace at which the "normalization" is proceeding—that is, the repression which is forcing the workers movement into a generalized retreat, and the capitalist "recuperation." The situation is one of permanent instability: the bourgeois-democratic regime, albeit semi-presidentialist, has not been stabilized. It would be more correct to define the situation as one still open to an abrupt revolutionary shift, although at present successive partial retreats are being experienced which could, according to all appearances, be transformed into a general retreat as the result of one final test of strength, comparable to that in Germany in 1923.

Although the two principal rightist parties—the Social Democratic Party (PSD—ex-Popular Democratic Party) and the Social Democratic Center (CDS), which have just formed an informal opposition bloc—do not have basic differences with the present cabinet and its austerity plan, they are showing an increasing impatience with the indecision of the government, which hesitates, knowing that great confrontations with the working masses are still to come. And in fact, the 15 percent devaluation of the escudo, the wage controls, the abolition of subsidies (which put an end to price controls), the attacks on agrarian reform and the authorization to implement layoffs, among other anti-working-class measures taken by the Soares government, have not succeeded up to now in breaking the workers' resistance and putting an end to the pre-revolutionary situation which was opened with the fall of the Caetano/Salazarist dictatorship on 25 April 1974.

The Economic Situation

In order to satisfy the requirements of imperialism, the government will have to carry out a global plan of reconverting the Portuguese economy. The motivation for the imperialist demands can be found in the crisis of the capitalist system—namely the new recession which is forecast, which eliminates the possibility of the industrialized countries of western Europe continuing to import Portuguese labor, therefore requiring Portugal to reorient its industry; and the necessity of American imperialism to obtain new markets, thus preparing the ground for future investments in Portugal. U.S. imperialism is utilizing the loans granted by international organizations, among them the International Monetary Fund, to guarantee the political conditions which would ensure the viability of such investments.

More specifically, the guarantees required by international capitalism, whose implementation requires a significant alteration in the relation of forces, include the following points:

- *An end to state control of banking and an end to nationalizations.* In fact, the nationalizations following the Spinolist countercoup of 11 March 1975 turned Portugal into a country with one of the most extensive nationalized sectors in Europe, amounting to roughly 45 percent of the total investment and 25 percent of the labor force. Traumatized by the action of the workers who took over the factories, private industry does not feel secure enough to invest, even though the government proposes to return 400 companies. And the entry of Portugal into the EEC (Common Market) will certainly not take place unless the European banks are authorized to open branches in this country.
- *Elimination of workers control.* Even though many workers commissions have disappeared, or have ceased to constitute fragmentary organs of dual power, the workers in many workplaces having shown complete disinterest in them, it is certain that they continue to exist in various enterprises with more or less indefinite functions, and that by struggling to maintain and strengthen them the workers can effectively fight against the denationalizations.

For now, in order to resolve the problems caused by the balance of payments deficit and to promote the conversion of the productive apparatus, the governing social democrats are seeking a rapid expansion of exports, which is the purpose of the devaluation of the escudo and of the preferential credits (as well as fiscal incentives) given to exports.

Austerity in Practice

Even though the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), in the interests of its policy of pressuring in order to obtain ministerial portfolios, has refused to mobilize the agricultural workers against the Socialist Party (PS) agrarian policy—refusal of credit to the Collective Production Units [expropriated estates run as collective farms under workers management], an end to expropriations and limitation of the sector affected by agrarian reform—the PCP has raised sporadic resistance to the most flagrant attempts to dislodge the workers on the pretext of the "right of reserve" [holdings guaranteed to former land owners after expropriation of their estates], provoking repeated confrontations with the Republican National Guard (GNR). At Mora, roughly 70 kilometers from Beja, there have been dozens of wounded. The combativity of these workers is obvious; the absence of a more decisive and organized resistance is solely due to the treacherous policy of the PCP leadership.

In the trade-union domain, the PS has been doing everything to break the hegemony of the PCP and the labor federation controlled by it, the CGTP/Intersindical, namely by promoting the so-called "Carta Aberta" (Open Letter) grouping. The latter, however, has completely failed to attract the blue-collar unions, because of its obvious lack of negotiating power. Under the direction of the present minister of labor, the sinister Maldonado Gonelha, the PS has taken off its mask of internal democracy concerning trade unionism and has gone over to repressive measures against Socialist militants who hold positions in the CGTP. Nevertheless the CGTP has shown boundless good will concerning the so-called "social pact," which it is negotiating with the government and whose essential purpose is to limit wage increases to 15 percent by the end of the year, and this when inflation on the order of 30 percent is predicted. The CGTP limits itself to criticizing (that is, counseling) the Ministry of Labor and calls only for defensive forms of struggle, pressuring the existing structures and avoiding at all costs the mobilization of the workers on the basis of a clear program. Meanwhile, the present rate of unemployment exceeds 10 percent.

In the student sector, the measures taken by the ultra-rightist minister of education, Sottomayor Cardia, in favor of the reintegration of professors purged from the University of Coimbra because of their complicity with the former regime, have provoked repeated mobilizations of the students. The minister responded by closing that university and utilizing the spruced-up police shock troop units in order to attack the strikers and demonstrators. The action of the ministry was so ferocious that many professors who are members of the PS publicly took a position against it.

A wing of the Socialist Party itself, around the former minister of agriculture, Lopes Cardoso, in disagreement with the orientation followed by the PS government, has decided to found a more-or-less dissident "cultural association"—the Fraternidade Operária (the Workers Fraternity). The formation of this group reflects the difficulties in saddling the working-class base of the party with measures which directly affect it, such as the law concerning layoffs, the restriction of the right to strike, the wage freeze, etc.

Thus, as the result of the actions of Mário Soares' First Constitutional Government, we have a rightist offensive which on the military level seeks to remove even such "moderates" as Melo Antunes and Vasco Lorrenço who during the summer of 1975 led the opposition to Vasco Gonçalves (backed by the PCP) and who now hold seats in the Revolutionary Council, the organ which represents the last vestige of the MFA (Armed Forces Movement). The Council's (limited) power is increasingly contested by the putschist right wing of the military, which is led by men like Jaime Neves, the executor of November 25, who leads the Commandos regiment; Pires Veloso, the commandant of the Northern Military Region; Soares Carneiro, chairman of the "Association of Ex-Commandos," etc.

The right has seized upon the question of the Azores Islands, an important strategic location in the Atlantic where there is an American military base, as a trial balloon for its reactionary policies. In the Azores—which were given a statute of regional autonomy by the 1976 constitution, and where the PSD was the victor in the April elections, subsequently taking charge of the

regional government—left-wing elements, including members of the PS, are persecuted by the "separatists" such as the so-called FLA (Azores Liberation Front). The FLA, enjoying official protection, is spreading bomb attacks and pro-independence propaganda, which could only mean the creation of a fictitious client state of the United States.

The PCP, lacking "progressive" military officers, opted to support the president of the republic and abandon, for the time being, the slogan of a "left majority" (PS/PCP). Against the right's call for a "presidential majority" (which would consist of a coalition of the parties which contributed to the election of Ramalho Eanes—CDS, PSD and PS), the PCP proposes a "democratic majority," that is a PCP/PS/PSD coalition, a replay of the popular-front provisional governments of 1974-75.

Perspectives

In the meantime, however, all is not definitively lost. The result of the crisis is not necessarily a more right-wing government or a coalition with the right. The emergence of an alternative depends on the mobilization and capacity of response of the workers, on the generalization and coordination of their defensive (where necessary) as well as offensive struggles. Although the conditions of struggle have slowly and progressively deteriorated since November 25, the working class has not yet suffered a decisive defeat. The overthrow of the "military left" (that is, the left sector of the heart of the state apparatus) did not have a direct equivalent at the factory level, even though the situation has been deteriorating and the vanguard elements risk becoming isolated from the masses. Faced with this perspective of dissipation of the pre-revolutionary situation, there is an even more crying need for a revolutionary Marxist vanguard to intervene actively in the struggles. The existing "far left" has already proved itself incapable of advancing with a program of struggle in a united fight against the government's attacks and the fall in the workers' living standards. Thus, the Movement of Popular Unity (MUP)—dominated by the UDP (Democratic Peoples' Union, a Maoist front) has completely fallen apart, and is now unable to offer an answer for the masses who voted for its candidacy of Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho in last June's presidential elections. This situation could possibly favor the appearance of substitutionist currents, lacking faith in the revolutionary potential of the working class, if a revolutionary Marxist pole capable of fighting the demoralization and indicating the revolutionary path does not appear.

Mularoni/Gamma

General Eanes

Meanwhile, among the organizations which claim to be Trotskyist, the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—aligned with the minority of the "United Secretariat" [USec] and more recently with the Argentine PST) criticizes the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—aligned with the USec majority) for falling into reformism since the latter refuses to unequivocally characterize the present situation as pre-revolutionary, thereby abandoning the strategic perspective of reinforcing the organs of workers power. In actuality, judging that the dominant tendency is toward extinguishing the role of the workers commissions—which is a fact—the LCI does not bother itself to fight to revive and centralize them, preferring instead to make them trade-union bodies. Thus they do not concretely threaten the power of the bourgeoisie.

Behind its "orthodox" and revolutionary facade, the PRT was merely hiding one more chapter of its constant capitulation before social democracy, this time through its support to the PS trade-union tendency (Carta Aberta), which is attempting to transform itself into a union federation. The Carta Aberta grouping attacks the CGTP on the basis of formally democratic and

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Revolucao

Police in Porto attack students during May demonstrations protesting government decision to reinstate professors purged for connections with Salazarist dictatorship.

Homosexuals...

(continued from page 3)

defend the gains of the October Revolution, they won't defend the rights of women [referring to the RSL's anti-ERA position], they won't defend the democratic rights of black school children to an equal education."

In the subsequent discussion period the RSL predictably raged about the SL's refusal to make "coming out" a matter of political principle, and one RSLer demanded to know why the SL does not also tell black people to try to pass for white or Jews to bob their noses! Yet in the very same breath the RSLer admitted the existence of the group's own "closet rule," saying "the point is that even if *we* are hypocritical, it does not prove that you aren't." To this Weinstein insisted that such precautions are necessary if communists are to avoid exclusion from the trade unions, as well as many other arenas:

> "You don't think about what it means to ask people to 'come out,' in a country where the ERA is defeated, where a Dade Councy occurs. First of all, the closet rule refers only to communists of the SL. We do not say that gays should not come out, and we do not advise them to come out. We cannot take responsibility for what might happen to them."

To the RSL's amazing charge that the SL under no circumstances would ever admit it had gay members, Weinstein laughingly noted that at this very moment the SL is projecting fusion with a group of homosexuals who "have been going around the country parading before audiences.... This is not the conduct of an organization that wants to hide the fact that it takes up the struggle against homosexual oppression!"

The intervention from the floor by the Marcyite Communist Cadre-Marxist provided some comic relief after the carping RSL. The CC-M raised its demand for a "united front against sexual oppression" and insisted that "the sexual revolution and the proletarian revolution, must be inseparable." Responding to this Reichian nonsense, one SLer said:

> "The most important issue tonight has been the ability to analyze reality as it is. You say that 'black is beautiful' and 'gay is good.' But we do not think that being a black in the United States is beautiful. We think being a black in the U.S. means you're subjected to racist victimization, you're subjected to special oppression, subjected to the most brutal exploitation. Nor do we think gay is gay. Being a gay in the U.S. is pretty brutal, rotten and difficult....
> "Above all our program is concrete. Whether or not people will be sexually satisfied is really a question we don't know and a question to be determined several generations after the socialist revolution. To think that socialism and our program can address that question is a perversion of Marxism."

Los Angeles

More than 50 people attended the Los Angeles forum July 16 to hear Chris Colby speak for the SL and Gene Shofner for the RFU/BT. Discussing the response of the left to the Bryant crusade, Shofner noted the bind in which the Stalinists have been caught over the issue. Thus the Communist Party's *Daily World* has yet to say a word about the Bryant campaign. In San Francisco, however, the CP's *People's World* simply could not avoid saying something and recently came out with a statement implying the Bryant crusade was a conspiracy to "take our minds off the latest jobless figures or the fact that each day our paychecks buy even less."

Of all the Stalinists, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) has the most contemptible position. While *Revolution* has remained silent on the issue, the RCP's local rag, the *Southern California Worker* (July-August 1977) criticized the Bryant campaign as "reactionary" but added that it "had a certain appeal and was based on real fears that parents have about their children." The article goes on to say:

> "One of these massive social problems is homosexuality. It is certainly not simply 'just another lifestyle.' The open parading of drag-queens and such is one of the more spectacular signs that capitalist society is growing increasingly sick and decadent. It's not surprising that Bryant's reactionary campaign found such support.
> "But as much as homosexuality is an ugly blot on society, a perverse hatred of the opposite sex, individual homosexuals are the *victims* and not the cause. Under socialism the working class will finally be able to wipe out homosexuality by wiping out those who have benefitted from and promoted these social sicknesses, the capitalist class. All the victims of capitalist rot will be rehabilitated be they hustler, junkie or queer.
> "To deny such rights as housing or jobs is persecution and is no more correct than denying alcoholics housing or jobs. Of course there are limits. Parents should have the right to remove notorious homosexuals from any and all jobs working with children, just as they would rather not have some juicehead guiding their children either."

While the RCP's parroting of anti-homosexual bigotry is particularly obscene (like its apologetics for the racist anti-busing mobilization), all Stalinist groups pander to backward attitudes among the workers on the homosexual question because of their support to the "proletarian family."

The New York and Los Angeles forums demonstrated the high level of programmatic agreement between the RSU/BT and the Spartacist League. Through these forums and other common work, such as a joint leaflet against the Anita Bryant crusade and joint distribution of *Red Flag* and *Workers Vanguard*, the SL and the RFU/BT are moving forward to the realization of a principled Leninist fusion. ■

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NOTICE

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SWP Polemic Against SL: In Defence of Tailism

Alibis of a Social Democrat

Since expelling the founding nucleus of the Spartacist League (SL) more than a dozen years ago, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has smugly dismissed the SL as an "irrelevant," "sterile" grouping of "ultra-left sectarians." But as the SL consolidated in the U.S. and extended itself internationally, the SWP's cries of "insignificant SL" have become more strident and its carefully cultivated patronizing tone has given way to increasingly ill-humored frenzy.

The Spartacist tendency has succeeded in winning over dozens of former members of the SWP and its international allies of the United Secretariat (USec). A contribution in a recent SWP internal bulletin complains, "We have to admit that, for whatever reasons, a sizable number of members of the Spartacist League are ex-members of our movement" ("We Should Publish an Education for Socialists Booklet against Sectarianism in General and against the Spartacist League in Particular," SWP *Discussion Bulletin*, July 1977).

The SWP's own consolidation around a hardened reformist program assisted in drawing clear political lines between the SWP and the SL. Meanwhile the SL's growth and modest achievements, such as a literate and highly political weekly press, made the Spartacist tendency a natural rallying point of militants moving qualitatively to the left from the SWP/USec.

The exposure of the sordid political bankruptcy of the Healyite bandits assisted in the SL's emergence as the legitimate pole of anti-revisionist Trotskyism. Though the SWP likes to make an amalgam of all organizations to its left as disoriented inhabitants of some ludicrous "Land of Oz," the contrast between the SL's principled politics and the opportunism of our centrist competitors has been highlighted by the organizational disarray of the latter, including their numerous major splits.

The political destruction of the SL is not a life-or-death matter for the deeply reformist SWP, which is working a different side of the fence. Still, the SWP cannot help being embarrassed at its numerous ex-members who took the SWP's residues of verbal Trotskyism a bit too seriously and found that the legitimate Trotskyist tradition led straight to the SL. For opportunists, the notion that a principled program can ever win any support anywhere is a violation of the fundamental laws of nature. But the Trotskyist politics of the "irrelevant" SL seem to have a way of popping up in the strangest places: from the Central Committee of the USec's French section to the American gay liberation milieu. And now that the SWP has undertaken a "turn" toward the labor movement (seeing a possibility of brain-trusting a wing of the labor bureaucracy), it is annoyed to find SL supporters who have been recognized and active oppositionists for several years in the unions—an injury added to insult.

So the SWP must have been delighted last year to come into possession of a former Spartacist, whose politics roughly paralleled its own. After years of pretending not to have noticed *WV*'s publication of declarations of solidarity with the Spartacist tendency emanating from former SWP/USec supporters in the U.S., Canada and Europe, here was finally a chance to hit back. And the SWP has recently seized the opportunity to publicize its recruitment of a former alternate to the SL Central Committee (CC) with an alacrity which belies its protestations of SL "irrelevance."

First, to whet the appetite, the SWP's international factional organ, *Intercontinental Press* (30 May 1977), ran this unusual promotional blurb on the inside of the front cover:

> "Coming Next Week
> "A review of the policies of the Spartacist League.
> "On the Black movement; on the oppression of women; on defense of political prisoners. With entertaining and illuminating examples to substantiate the polemic."

The tongue-in-cheek tone notwithstanding, it was clear the SWP hoped it had really got "the goods" on us at last. Our appetite appropriately whetted, we waited with anticipation to see what our defector, Bob Pearlman, would have to say about us and about his new political friends.

Pearlman's two-part article ("Spartacist: Making of an American Sect," *Intercontinental Press*, 6 June and 13 June 1977) was, frankly, a dud. After all, Pearlman—as a CC member in our democratic organization—had had access to the "inside story" of the SL over a period of years: our political deliberations, our tactical decisions, our free and sometimes sharp discussions and disputes, the minutes of the proceedings of our highest bodies, a mound of internal bulletins. Pearlman is a competent propagandist and an experienced politician; it is not an accident that despite a certain underlying parochial dilettantism and an oppositional history, he was elected an alternate CC member in 1974 as part of the slate endorsed by the outgoing CC.

Cynical and empty social democrats who inhabit the SWP will no doubt find Pearlman's series comforting. But any reasonably experienced and thoughtful political person who reads his indictment of the Spartacist tendency will be struck by a general impression of SL political seriousness, honesty and organizational growth which emerges from Pearlman's attack. His concluding characterization of the SL as "an American sect" is directly contradicted by the picture which emerges of a dynamic and cohesive organization which has grown severalfold in this country and has broken out of involuntary national isolation to become a distinct international tendency with an increasingly authoritative international collective leadership.

The SWP, for instance, is fond of calling us "the Robertsonites" in an effort to imply the personality cultism which is characteristic of "sects." But even a casual reader of the Pearlman document will be struck by the plethora of names of leading SL comrades who emerge as authoritative spokesmen in particular discussions, from a comrade of the Australasian section leadership to the "leading women comrades" who polemicized against and defeated one prominent comrade's conservative attitude toward the women's movement. Another notable aspect of Pearlman's involuntarily complimentary portrait of the SL is his recounting of the manner in which errors are quickly addressed and corrected, testifying to the SL's seriousness about its political program.

The astute reader will also note something which is not in Pearlman's document. Unlike most polemics produced by disaffected ex-members of democratic-centralist organizations, who generally allege endless bureaucratic suppressions of their views, Pearlman's article never cites a single violation of his democratic rights as a member; in fact, he describes in some detail numerous occasions on which his criticisms and oppositional proposals were debated in the SL.

The organization described by Pearlman is clearly both extremely cohesive politically and extremely democratic. Counterposed positions are shown to have been vigorously debated on occasion, on a multitude of questions. Internal documents are quoted; the reader can observe that dissident spokesmen are sometimes won over, sometimes agree to disagree while carrying out the organization's line, sometimes deepen their critiques and eventually leave the organization. The latter was the case with Bob Pearlman. He simply got tired of being a self-described "minority of one." Those in the SWP who find themselves in the unenviable position of being in opposition in that extremely bureaucratic organization would do well to read Pearlman's polemic with an eye to the "regime" question.

Who/What is Bob Pearlman?

Pearlman manages to avoid discussing his terminal differences with the SL and his rapprochement with the SWP. To be sure, some of his political fights – which purportedly demonstrate his central thesis of SL "abstention"—are described at considerable length. But whereas Pearlman provides the reader with the precise wording of documents and motions from several internal SL disputes, some going back many years, regarding his final oppositional course he has neglected to include this kind of documentation.

There are two reasons. First, though Comrade Pearlman's increasing disaffection with our program culminated in differences more than sufficient to justify the launching of a faction counterposed to the SL majority, Pearlman did not attempt to build a factional following for his positions within the organization; this several-year SL member, who was moreover a CC alternate, never proclaimed a faction and resigned without taking a single other SL member out with him. Even after the fact, he never submitted a political resignation statement to his former comrades.

The second reason is more important. The SWP's ability to use Pearlman as a club against the SL would be somewhat diminished by publication of his own oppositional record, as documented in motions on the subjects in dispute. At the time of his departure from our organization, Pearlman's main political stance paralleled the centrist impressionism of the European USec majority (long-time internal arch-enemies of the SWP) more closely than it did the SWP's brand of social-patriotic reformism.

In particular, Pearlman's politics as an SL oppositionist undercut the SWP's main political charge against us, that of "abstention." "Abstention" is how proletarian principle looks to those who orient to "mass" reformist forces which stand politically in the camp of the capitalist Democratic Party: the trade-union bureaucracy, the right wing of the feminist movement exemplified by NOW, the right wing of the black nationalist movement such as the Muslim religious cult, and so forth.

Needless to say, we do not accept the SWP's terms. Of two qualitatively identical class-collaborationist policies we choose neither as a "lesser" evil, but pose an independent working-class perspective with as much force as we can muster. But wherever there is a *class* counterposition, wherever there is a legitimate issue of democratic rights, wherever there is the possibility of even a token gain in the fight against oppression, the SL takes sides—and hard.

Not so the SWP. Pearlman lavishes a lot of praise, for instance, on the SWP's activity as the "best builders" of an antiwar movement (discussed in the second installment of this article) politically dominated by the liberal

bourgeoisie. In deference to his present political mentors, he refrains from mentioning that there was a class line in Vietnam, which the SWP evaded with a neutralist "self-determination" rhetoric which concealed its social-patriotic softness toward its "own" bourgeoisie.

Even mainstream social democrats had the SWP's number on its "single-issue" antiwar coalitions. Michael Harrington, the leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, wrote in 1971: "For they are sworn opponents of the 'class collaborationists' in the Kennedy and McCarthy movements and bitter foes of the notion that Democratic Congressmen can end the war—and yet they helped assemble a gigantic audience which demonstrated in favor of just such an approach." We can only fault Harrington's description for his confusion of classical Trotskyist positions with the policies of the cadre through its revolutionary antiwar agitation. We did not have to win Pearlman to the view the SWP was the left face of McGovernism. He and thousands like him fully recognized that already. If in 1969-70 someone had told Pearlman that he would later write that the SWP's antiwar work was "the deepest expression of proletarian internationalism," he would have been outraged at this impugning of his character.

In joining the social-democratic SWP, Pearlman has not only abandoned the revolutionary Marxism of the SL, but even the militant anti-imperialism of his New Left past.

Angola

Though Comrade Pearlman's oppositional history in the SL touched on a broad spectrum of issues, from tenant organizing to the national question in Ireland, perhaps his biggest splash came over the question of Angola. He opposed the SL position of no political confidence in the bourgeois-nationalist MPLA combined with our unconditional military defense of the MPLA/Cuban forces against the U.S.-backed South African invasion. As would befit a co-thinker of the centrist USec majority, Pearlman—although in the weaselly fashion which often characterized his arguments—wanted to accord the MPLA political support.

WV Photo

Spartacist League raised slogan for "Military Victory to the MPLA" at February 1976 demonstration.

contemporary SWP—which is consciously revisionist rather than guilty of "self-duping" as he suggests.

When Pearlman joined our organization in 1971, the SWP was far larger and better-known relative to the Spartacist League than it is today. And Pearlman was no political babe-in-the-woods, but an experienced New Left activist. When he was recruited to the SL, he was a member of the New University Conference, a Progressive Labor (PL) front group for academics. One would naturally expect him to explain in his polemic why he chose Spartacism over the SWP, but he is strangely silent on this important question. The reason is simple: Pearlman cannot reveal his past rejection of the SWP without condemning his present fulsome endorsement of its antiwar line.

Pearlman asserts that, "The antiwar movement played a decisive role in making possible the victory of the Vietnamese people over American imperialism. The central role the SWP played in this movement was the deepest expression of proletarian internationalism." Even before he joined the SL, Pearlman could not have written this revolting drivel. The SWP was universally known as the right-wing, pro-Democratic Party pole in the antiwar movement. Literally *thousands* of antiwar activists, including Bob Pearlman, despised the SWP as the running dogs of the liberal imperialist bourgeoisie, as the "best builders" of Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern.

In the principal New Left organization of the period, Students for a Democratic Society, both wings (PL's Worker-Student Alliance and the Revolutionary Youth Movement) stood to the left of the SWP's liberal popular frontism. That is why the SL recruited significant numbers of New Left Maoist

In his series, Pearlman says of this period: "The struggle by the MPLA in Angola against the imperialist-backed forces of the FNLA, UNITA, and South Africa opened up tremendous opportunities for solidarity work in the United States." "Criticizing the MPLA," he writes with the cynical coyness of a smug opportunist, meant "the SL excluded themselves" from such demonstrations. It certainly did present problems at demonstrations led by groups like Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and pan-Africanists, who sought to physically suppress any political criticism of the MPLA. We preferred to tell the truth rather than raise fatal illusions in the "progressive" nationalists.

But where was the SWP in all this? While Pearlman wanted to give covert political support to the MPLA, the SWP was alibiing the CIA-financed FNLA and the colonial-settler-backed UNITA, and scandalously declaring its "opposition to the factional war" at a time when the FNLA and UNITA had been decisively, militarily subordinated to the imperialist invasion! Pearlman's gall in attacking the SL from the pages of the SWP press for being too critical of the MPLA is breathtaking. Not only did the SWP, in a report approved by its national committee and reprinted as a "special feature" in the 23 January 1975 *Militant* accuse the MPLA of "slandering" the FNLA during the 1960's, when FNLA leader Holden Roberto was receiving a regular CIA sustainer; it explicitly denied that the South African invasion had altered the situation:

> "It is important to note that the FNLA and UNITA did not serve as puppets of South Africa in this imperialist invasion."

Embarrassed by this disgusting apology for the Kissinger-organized imperialist attack—the U.S. poured in over $30 million in military aid to the UNITA and FNLA during the six months of fighting, FNLA was led by white mercenaries contracted by the U.S., and UNITA forces were integrated into the South African column advancing from the South—SWPers now try to claim that they did not have a policy of neutrality in this conflict. They base themselves on a resolution of the SWP-led "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" of the USec, which stated that, "For revolutionary Marxists and supporters of democratic rights, it was an elementary duty to offer material support to the military struggle against this intervention...."

What they don't mention is that this resolution appeared a full half year after the battle was over, in the *Intercontinental Press* of 11 October 1976! In January 1976, while abstractly calling for "South Africa out of Angola," the SWP report went to great pains to argue

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Coming:
Part 2

The Myth of SL Abstentionism in Boston

would not be a particularly noteworthy attack but for the fact that this great friend of the MPLA, who found our call for military support too limited, has now linked up with a group which was *neutral* in the war between the MPLA and the South Africa/UNITA/FNLA bloc!

Pearlman's actual motion at the enlarged SL Political Bureau (PB) meeting of 10-11 December 1975 read as follows:

> "*Motion*: That the massive U.S. support to FNLA/UNITA in July after the battle of Luanda in June and the Portuguese decision to pull out in November taken in that period, made possible the launching of the FNLA/UNITA drive on Luanda, the commencement of a full-scale civil war and marked the subordination of the FNLA/UNITA forces to the imperialist ploy of establishing an anti-communist regime in Luanda. We support from that point the military victory of the MPLA over the FNLA/UNITA armies and destruction of those armies."

In reality, from the "battle of Luanda" in June 1975 to the South African invasion of Angola in late October, the fighting was not of nationalists facing an imperialist enemy, but rather a murderous feud between the three main nationalist groups, who did not differ qualitatively. To give "military support" to the MPLA in this period was in effect to accord it *political* support against the FNLA and UNITA. Thus the PB adopted a motion counterposed to Pearlman's:

> "*Motion*: That this motion be voted down because Comrade [Pearlman] confuses the *initiation* of the process of the present civil war configuration in Angola with its *culmination*, precipitated by the Portuguese withdrawal. Behind this predating by a few months lay the difference between Menshevism and Bolshevism, presented in a calculated minimalist fashion."

We publish below Bob Pearlman's letter of resignation and the response of James Robertson, SL National Chairman:

August 13, 1976

Daar Comrades,

I hereby resign from the position of alfernate to the CC of the SL and additionally resign from membership.

As comradas well know, I am no longer in political solidarity with tha SL/US or tha IST. A substantial letter of resignation will follow explaining this in detail.

Comradely,
[Bob Pearlman]

London
21 August 1976

Dear Bob Pearlman,

I have haard that you quit the SL. It saddened me a little. With due considerations taken into account, I must wish you well in your life.

Leaving an organization has its own protocols just as does joining one. And I hope that you do them properly so that your resignation may be accepted as an expression of good will and personal respect on both sides. Mainly it's just a matter of being sure that your sustaining pledge is paid up so that you are in "good standing" as of the date of your resignation, and that any outstanding dabts betwean you and other comrades personally are suitably taken care of.

While I thought that you were sometimes a bit sly and disingenuous in the pursuit of your political views which were at distinct variance to those of the mainstream of tha Spartacist League, your ganuine commitment to the plight of oppressed Blacks, the strugglas of particular groups of workers, tha movement of colonial peoples, and the plight of tenants, has to my mind never been in doubt.

Of course, in the SL, our "mainstream" politics are not monolithic. Other comrades approach from time to time your centrism; other comrades sometimes have ultra-leftist impulses. These are part of tha necessary procasses of an intarnally living revolutionary organization. But the depth and consistency of your differences must have led you to a chronic dissatisfaction with your membership in the SL. So it is not inappropriate that you resign.

The difficulty, Bob, has been that you have failed, qualitatively, to sufficiently generalize your felt responses toward these issues, leaving you, then, in a sort of swamp of sectoral-centrism. But a bit better and more honest than that of the overly vulgar SWP. I suppose that you are roughly a USec majorityite politically, but without a USec majority section in the U.S.

Although admittedly unlikely, it may be that circumstanca and experience will permit you at soma point to transcend what is actually the unfortunate situation of being a sort of contemporary Kautskyan.

Fratarnally,
Jim Robertson

Alibis...

(continued from page 7)

against military support to the MPLA, even then. "*At some point,*" it said, "the situation could change in such a way that we would call for material support to the MPLA" (our emphasis).

Constrained to defend the SWP policy, which even today is not so pro-MPLA as his own line, Pearlman resorts to the cheap subterfuge of arguing that the only duty of proletarian revolutionists in the imperialist countries is to campaign on the single issue of imperialist intervention, and *not* to warn against the treachery of the nationalists in the colonial countries. He pulls a quote of Lenin out of context and concludes: "Lenin cited no obligation of the revolutionists in imperialist countries to 'expose' the national movement and its leadership in the colonial countries." Such nonsense is dangerous in the extreme. What does this make of Trotsky's "exposure" of Chiang Kai-shek during early 1927 when this leader of a "national movement" was fighting the imperialist-backed warlords? Presumably, if we listen to Pearlman, Trotskyists in the imperialist countries should have joined Stalinist-sponsored pro-Kuomintang demonstrations and said nothing in their slogans to warn against political confidence in the nationalist butcher who in April 1927 slaughtered the Shanghai proletariat! This was certainly not the policy of Trotsky!

The SL's real "crime," Pearlman argues, is that it "wishes to merge the struggle against imperialism in the oppressor country with the struggle for the independence of the proletariat vis-à-vis bourgeois-nationalist and Stalinist leaderships in the oppressed nations." What an indictment! If the word "merge" were only changed to "relate" this would be a precise statement of the tasks of Leninists. We stand proudly accused.

Pearlman presents the SWP's social-democratic philistinism as motivated by a desire not to offend pro-nationalist radicals. Behind the SWP's "single-issuism" on Angola, however, as on the Vietnam war, was its commitment to dance to the tune of imperialist doves, who only wanted to cut their losses. On Vietnam this meant that the SWP refused to call for victory to NLF/DRV against "our boys" (the U.S. Army). It ridiculed our slogans "All Indochina Must Go Communist" and for "Labor Strikes Against the War" in the U.S. In other words, it refused to fight for communism in Vietnam or even for class struggle in the U.S. That would be "merging" the struggles, you see...

While communists in the imperialist countries fight first of all against their "own" bourgeoisies, they cannot fail to warn against political support to the nationalist misleaders unless they forsake their internationalist duty. Would-be socialists in Angola have paid a high price for their illusions in the MPLA, with death for scores of leftists and prison for hundreds. But the ex-Trotskyists do not consider it a duty to warn against such illusions. It was the SWP's Fred Halstead who replied to a question as to who ought to win in Vietnam with the statement, "I don't know—I'm not Vietnamese." Not a Trotskyist, either.

"Blacks for Blacks"?

Pearlman's present task as an SWP convert is to attempt to smear the SL as a sterile propaganda group, abstentionist on principle from the "real struggles" against capitalism. Where the "real struggle" over Angola is exclusively opposition to U.S. intervention, he claims, the SL wants to quibble about political support to the MPLA. The core of the first installment of his article is to make the case that this "abstentionism" is particularly true for the struggle against black oppression, as demonstrated by the battle for busing in Boston. But even Pearlman, whose parochialism is notorious, must go beyond Boston to find the source of the SL's alleged passivity in its rejection of black nationalism. We had, he claims, "developed a 'laborist' notion of the Black struggle."

Pearlman's task is made particularly difficult because he is forced to admit that "Spartacist theory on the Black question recognized the 'extra class' character of Black Oppression." This, he writes, "set the SL substantially apart from other anti-black nationalist currents such as the Workers League and the Revolutionary Communist party." He even has to concede that "Spartacist's recognition of 'special oppression' enabled it to respond to the desegregation struggle at an early stage." He notes that the SL's forerunner in the SWP, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), "claimed that the RT fought in the SWP for participation in the Freedom Rides while the SWP abstained." As late as 1974 he speaks of "the promise of SL engagement in the Black Struggle" anticipated by the formation of a National Consultative Fraction on Black Work.

He quotes C.L.R. James (Johnson) at us in an effort to prove that the SWP in 1948 had the position of support to black nationalism that the SWP has today. James was arguing against those who saw the black struggle as only "episodic," against latter-day Debsians who refused to recognize the need to intervene in the black organizations that had developed a mass following, particularly the NAACP. The "independent black movement" James writes about, moreover, was not nationalist but overwhelmingly integrationist.

James was a little soft on the Garvey movement in his 1948 resolution ("Negro Liberation Through Revolutionary Socialism," *Fourth International*, May-June 1950), but the SWP's purpose at that time was to fight for *proletarian* politics in the black movement, not to capitulate to the petty-bourgeois ideology of black nationalism. Nowhere in the SWP resolution or practice of that time do we find support for union-busting in the name of black liberation, as characterized the SWP's support for breaking the 1968 New York City teachers strike in the name of transitional organization, the Harlem Organizing Committee, which was squeezed out as representatives of the "white left" were driven from civil rights organizations and the SL's tiny black cadre fled from the integrated revolutionary movement into insular ghetto nationalism.

Pearlman, like all Pabloists, takes for granted the "impossibility" of the intervention into the black movement and the labor movement; this, to the opportunists, is mere abstract propagandism. Likewise they accept the default of the labor movement on the struggle for democratic rights of black people. For them what is real is the desperate response of a black population which sees itself without allies, and so they refuse to fight for a proletarian revolutionary program to end black oppression through a united class struggle.

Pearlman accuses the SL of not recognizing the positive aspects of militant black nationalist rejection of the traditional black leaders. This is simply false; what he really objects to is that we pointed to its severe limitations, and the fact that nationalism is a block to the

SWP Flim-Flam on Angola

MILITANT January 23, 1976

The pursuit of SWAPO guerrillas was followed ... August by seizure of the Cunene dam and military occupation of the area.

It is important to note that the FNLA and UNITA did not serve as puppets of South Africa in this imperialist invasion. Instead, it was the FNLA and UNITA that spearheaded the fighting against South Africa in June, July, and August, along with the MPLA. This is not surprising since these are areas where the local population supports the UNITA and the FNLA units led by Daniel Chipenda.

MILITANT April 23, 1976

groups could become ... foreign imperialist power.

If the basic war had been between South Africa backed by the United States on one side and the MPLA on the other, as the Stalinists all but say in print, it would be entirely different. Revolutionists would have been duty bound to defend the MPLA against the imperialist invaders.

But the South African intervention, as dangerous as it was—and this was pointed out by the SWP—was not the overriding issue in Angola. It was the civil war for state power.

The SWP concluded, as we have already seen in Tony Thomas's remarks, that none of the three groups ... a superior perspective to the ... the others and ... be-

MILITANT September 17, 1976

... imperialist government.

Revolutionary socialists aided with neither faction in Angola against the other. We completely opposed South African, Portuguese, U.S., and other imperialist intervention in Angola.

We sided with the Angolan liberation struggle. This means that we supported the military actions taken by the MPLA against South Africa and the imperialist-controlled mercenaries. By the same token, at an earlier stage we supported the actions by the UNITA against South Africa. And we supported the FNLA in its confrontations with the Portuguese military.

The setback South Africa suffered in Angola ... a positive role in ... struggle throughout ...

Having covered his bases, Pearlman tries to show that the SL's rejection of black nationalism meant abstention because nationalism was the "real trend." While the SWP are the "best builders" of the "real," he argues, the SL "merely dreams of how socialist intellectuals would like the class struggle to be." But how real is Pearlman's "real trend"? What is the material basis in American social reality for black nationalism?

Pearlman objects to the fact that the Spartacist League considers the black nationalist movement "largely a negative response to the failure of the organized workers movement with its immense social power, to intervene in behalf of the black masses" (*Young Spartacus*, May 1975). He asks, "But why negative?" and goes on to explain the "material roots" of black nationalism:

> "'Black for blacks' had profound material roots, the expulsion of the Southern Black peasantry, urban migration North and South, the rapid growth of the Black working class, *and* a large measure of labor movement passivity toward the struggle for black rights. How could revolutionists characterize this Black radicalization as anything but a positive development?"

What do Pearlman and the SWP learn from the integration of blacks into the northern industrial working class, from the massive urban migration? They learn that black nationalism is progressive! "community control." The 1948 resolution contains this resounding call:

> "The party wages unceasing struggle against the Negro petty-bourgeois leadership.... It seeks to replace the vacillating, reformist petty-bourgeois leadership with a militant leadership fighting on the principles of the class struggle and in the closest alliance with organized labor and the Marxist revolutionists."

In 1963 the SWP abstained from the most militant arenas of the civil rights struggle, while moving to an acceptance that an "independent" petty-bourgeois-led black movement could do the job instead. It was Pabloism, the liquidation of the need for the leadership of the proletarian vanguard party, which had sapped the SWP's revolutionary fiber and soon led it to support black nationalism.

Despite its small forces, the RT and Spartacist did seek to intervene in the upsurge of black struggle around the civil rights movement. The Spartacist League fought in New York CORE chapters for a perspective of revolutionary integrationism while the far larger SWP was tailing the Black Muslims. Pearlman fails to note the SL's involvement with black self-defense groups in the South (Deacons for Defense), with militant civil rights groups and rent strike organizing in the northern ghettos. We sought to cohere an exemplary black development of *class* consciousness. As we wrote in "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (*Spartacist*, No. 10, May-June 1967):

> "The adherents of 'black power' are usually the most militant elements who have adopted the term partly because of its militant sound and partly because of its repugnance to white liberals.... the 'black power' movement is raising questions whose answers lie *outside* the framework set up by the capitalist class. "However, as yet the movement has not become consciously anti-capitalist.... Lacking a conscious orientation towards the working class, and constantly surrounded by bourgeois propaganda, the movement may yet fall prey to bourgeois politicians with radical phrases or else become hopelessly isolated and demoralized."

What are the real results of the black nationalist radicalization? Where is the revolutionary black leadership which might have emerged from a class polarization within the black movement, had opportunist organizations like the SWP not capitulated to black nationalism? After a dozen years of black nationalist moods, there is not a single mass black organization today which stands to the left of the NAACP. Or would Pearlman consider the present-day CORE, which tried to raise mercenaries to fight against the Cubans and MPLA in Angola, a "positive development"?

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Heat...

(continued from page 1)

in many plants, management cared little about the deaths in the plants. Its sole interest was in chaining the workers to the machines and the line. With 100,000 fewer workers in the auto industry than in 1973, the bosses are squeezing out near-record production levels by means of an incredible speed-up and long, grueling hours of overtime.

Requests for heat passes were routinely ignored; if a worker managed to actually get to First Aid, he was commonly given a couple of salt tablets and sent back to his job. Foremen stalked the aisles watching for any hint of a walkout, barking orders and intimidating threats. A scene typical of management's unabashed arrogance was reported to *WV* by a Dodge Truck worker. A committeeman had filed a grievance for the refusal of a foreman to grant a worker a heat pass. The general foreman tore up the grievance and threw it in the committeeman's face. When Dodge Truck management attempted to keep workers in the plant by handing out free ice cream on the line and giving away Coke in the cafeterias, many workers refused these disgusting tokens. "I won't be bought by a 20-cent ice cream," one worker protested.

As UAW members were being killed and abused in the plants, the union's leadership did not lift a finger. Solidarity House maintained a stony silence on the heat, while local officers, stewards and committeemen either made themselves scarce to avoid the workers' wrath, or were scurrying about the plants urging workers not to walk out. Although booming production schedules, the changeover period and the right to strike over health and safety grievances give the union enormous power, the UAW tops are content to hole up in their air-conditioned offices and let the workers suffer.

Strike Demanded at Dodge Truck

At Chrysler's Dodge Truck plant, angry workers forced a confrontation with Local 140 officials. The workers walked out of the baking plant on July 5, 6, 7, 15 and 20. Skyrocketing absenteeism forced the plant to shut down early on other days as well. After the first set of walkouts, a special union meeting was held. The subject of the meeting was a petty reshuffling of Local officers. When angry workers tried to raise the issues of the heat, eleven workers fired and hundreds who were disciplined and had their pay docked, newly elevated Local president Paul Cooper ruled them out of order and adjourned the meeting.

On July 20, the previously scheduled shift meeting turned into an even more explosive confrontation. A stewards' meeting four days earlier had voted to recommend strike action if necessary to defend the jobs of the fired Dodge Truck workers. Though the vote was cheap, essentially a face-saving device to throw the ball to the Local 140 executive board, it helped encourage nearly 400 workers who turned out to demand a strike. Speaker after speaker took the floor, complaining of the vicious company harassment and denouncing the union leadership's passivity. At one point, hundreds of workers raised their fists in unison, chanting "strike, strike, strike!" Cooper, who had sat out most of the meeting, finally pledged to schedule a strike vote for the following week, but predictably he reneged and no strike vote has been held.

Lynch Road Wildcat

An even more treacherous betrayal took place at Chrysler's Lynch Road assembly plant, this time spearheaded by fake-oppositionist bureaucrats. The "United Coalition," a group that has grown in the last couple of years because of its claim to oppose the sellout policies of Local 51 president Tony Janette and the UAW International, is regularly praised in the pages of the International Socialists' *Workers' Power* and holds three out of five positions on the local shop committee. But, no different from the mainline bureaucrats, the United Coalition helped lead a back-to-work movement after the firing of three workers, one of them a prominent Coalition member!

During the week of July 11, Lynch Road had been shut down on three consecutive days by heat walkouts. The following week management fired three alleged "ringleaders," including Bill Parker, a United Coalition spokesman who writes regular, signed articles for *Workers' Power*. The Coalition-dominated shop committee called a rally for Wednesday afternoon, July 20, to protest these firings. But they evidently got more than they bargained for.

The day shift walked off the job Wednesday and the night shift refused to go to work. On Thursday morning at 6 a.m., some 200-300 workers gathered outside the Lynch Road gates, refusing to report to work and urging other workers not to go in. Few did. But United Coalition committeemen now circulated among the workers urging them to return to work, under pressure from the International and Local 51 leaders and with the company officials on the plant roof photographing their actions. Most workers ignored the "advice" and went home.

That afternoon, a meeting of 200-plus workers gathered at the Local 51 hall. Once again they heard United Coalition spokesmen, including committeeman Fred Kennedy and Enid Eckstein, another regular contributor to *Workers' Power*, call for a return to work. Angry workers shouted down other union officials and yelled at Kennedy: "You've got power, you lead it." Opportunistically changing her mind under the pressure of the militancy, Eckstein then took the floor again and reversed herself, calling for continued picket lines, striking and a strike vote organized by the Local executive board. With such weak-kneed and vacillating "leadership," the wildcat collapsed and workers returned to the plant the next day.

The 25 July *Workers' Power* apologized for the behavior of the United Coalition, albeit with some difficulty. Acknowledging that, "The Lynch Road Shop Committee went through the motions of trying to get the people back to work Thursday afternoon," the I.S. nevertheless bragged, "the Lynch Road Shop Committee acted like a union"! The most critical comment the I.S. could muster up was to say that United Coalition committeemen "are not angels or supermen."

The flip side of such cowardice was the idiot adventurism shared by most left groups. A typical response came from the Maoist Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML)—formerly the October League—which hailed the walkout as part of a "fight back" that is producing "rebellions" all over the country, while patently ignoring the crucial question of the need for class-struggle leadership in the UAW.

The walkouts over intolerable heat in Detroit are the first widespread militant actions since the auto wildcats of summer 1973. Taken together with a number of UAW local strikes this spring, they are an indication that the period of layoff-induced passivity among the auto workers is coming to an end. But the main walkouts were largely spontaneous, poorly organized and leaderless. Moreover, they were almost universally followed by successful management reprisals.

More than anything, the walkouts were testimony to the wretched role of the UAW bureaucrats. That auto workers are forced to individually take this risk of downing their tools and leaving the plant in small groups, constantly threatened by company discipline is an outrage. A union worth its salt would have closed down the plants during the deadly heat and fought for a number of key demands: air conditioning like the management enjoys, no victimizations and full pay for lost work.

The various "radical" aspirers to replace the current UAW bureaucrats, however, either busied themselves with adventurous wildcat-mongering or abysmally reformist tokenism. While the CP-ML hailed the "rebellions," its timid demands were for heat passes when the temperatures reached above 90 degrees *outside* (it is usually 20 degrees hotter inside), and the right of the union to shut the plant down when it was 95 degrees outside! This is a prescription for more deaths. Not even calling for shutting the plant down, the I.S. boosted such paltry "demands" as "more relief time" (during the heat), slowing the line speeds (during the heat) and "better ventilation."

A militant opposition in the UAW cannot be built on such mealy-mouthed demands. In addition to calling on the *union* (not wildcatters) to shut down the steaming sweatboxes, auto workers must demand the local right to strike without International sanction, and a union shop-floor organization with the power to shut down unsafe and unhealthy operations on the spot.

In the pre-UAW summer of 1936 a similar heat wave killed dozens of Detroit auto workers. The conditions in the plants today, despite 40 years of unionization, are nearly as bad, and they will not be measurably bettered until the auto workers ranks forge a new class-struggle leadership. ■

Hundreds of workers outside gates of Lynch Road assembly plant in Detroit protest inhuman working conditions. WV Photo

The leaflet reprinted below was distributed by the Militant Solidarity Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in UAW Local 906, at Mahwah, New Jersey Ford plant.

HEAT WAVE

It's the Union Leadership's Job to Shut This Plant Down!

In tha biggest heat wave in 11 years, already one worker at the Ford Rouge Plant in Dearborn, Michigan and two UAW members at the Chicago Stewart-Warnar plant hava died as a result of this heat. A numbar of walkouts have hit the auto plants in Detroit.

This hall must stop now! Close the plants!: full pay for all workers, no disciplina to anyone forced to leave the plants because of heat exhaustion! Simple justice demands that, as a token of tha company's asteem for our not having walked out five days ago, we should receive "bonuses"—like company executives—how about free beer and passas to air conditioned movia theatres, for startars?!

UAW leaders in Detroit, Mahwah, and throughout the industry have not liftad a finger. Union meatings hava baan canceled for the summer. Shut off the air conditioning and alavators in Solidarity House! And in Local 906 too! Lat tha officials ba subjactad to tha same conditions as wa face!

The committeemen ara dasarting tha plant, leaving tha mambership to the mercies of tha company. Wildcats, like June, 1973, when large numbers of militants ware fired, won't solve the problem. In 1973, the Reilly "leadership," rathar than leading us out of the plant, ignored the problem and then sabotagad tha walkout. We want tha union to act to defend us now! Make the company shut down the plant in this heat!

Militant Solidarity Caucus — 20 July, 1977

Drop the Charges Against Kent State Protesters!

Akron Beacon Journal Witchhunts SYL

We reprint below a letter sent by the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, to the Akron Beacon Journal *protesting that newspaper's recent smear attack on the SYL. On the eve of a planned cop attack against Kent State protesters, who for the last month have mounted a vigil in a tent city on the site of the infamous 1970 slaying of four antiwar demonstrators, this mouthpiece of capitalist "law and order" resorted to the time-worn slander of revolutionaries as "violence-prone outside agitators." For an account of the actual policy and activity of the SYL in the recent Kent State protests, see "Kent Sit-In Commemorates 1970 Massacre,"* Young Spartacus, *June 1977, and "194 Dragged Off at Kent State: Drop the Charges!"* WV *No. 166, 15 July.*

WV Photo

Kent State, July 12.

To the Editor:

The *Akron Beacon Journal* has engaged in a scurrilous and potentially dangerous attack upon the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). In an article on student protest at Kent State University (July 6), you attribute to us:

> "...SYL members said they are committed to the same cause as the peaceful protesters but preferred to use force to make their opinions known."

This is a patent falsehood. No member of our organization ever stated such a thing. If there are any suicidal lunatics around who "prefer to use force," they are certainly not to be found in the SYL. The SYL has a clear and documented history opposing provocation and self-defeating adventurism.

Clearly the intention of such an article is to provide the police and university administration with a free rein and a ready-made alibi for violence against the left and the student protesters—as occurred in 1970. We understand full well that your description of us as "outsiders" seeking to "provoke confrontation" is a set-up for police repression.

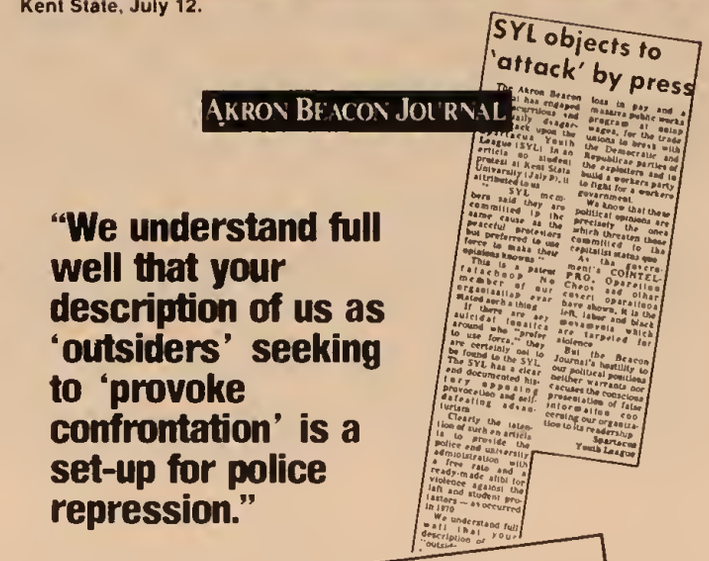
By launching a witchhunting smear attack on the left as "provocateurs," the *Beacon Journal* attempts to write off the struggle of revolutionary socialists against ROTC and the presence of military recruiters on campus.

We affirm that the real "provocations" at Kent State were the work of the administration. It is they who supported imperialist slaughter in Indochina. They who brought the representatives of the imperialist armed forces (witness Kent and Jackson State) onto the campus. They who unleashed the campus cops, who brutalized three students on their way to a mass meeting. And they who had 194 protesters carted off to jail.

It is clear to all that the SYL is not "provoking" violence at Kent State, so why is the *Akron Beacon Journal* slandering the SYL? The method of attack is the all-too-familiar McCarthyite accusation. It is because the SYL is the open left-wing organization on the Kent State campus that we have been singled out for victimization in the press. The *Beacon Journal* pretends that the SYL is dangerous in the way we would make our opinions known—but it is really the political opinions and positions of our revolutionary socialist organization which are considered dangerous by the capitalist class. On the Kent State campus, for instance, we offer a program to link this isolated student protest action to the organized labor movement. We remind students that the National Guard units which murdered the Kent State four in 1970 were first called out against a Teamster wildcat strike.

We unabashedly stand for the interests of workers against capitalist exploiters, their politicians like Nixon and Carter and their cops. We called for support to the protracted rubber workers strike and for a solidarity strike by the UAW. In this period of mass unemployment, we fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and a massive public works program at union wages; for the trade unions to break with the Democratic and Republican parties of the exploiters and to build a workers party to fight for a workers government. We know that these political opinions are precisely the ones which threaten those committed to the capitalist status quo. As the government's COINTELPRO, Operation Chaos and other covert operations have shown, it is the left, labor and black movements which are targeted for violence. But the *Beacon Journal*'s hostility to our political positions neither warrants nor excuses the conscious presentation of false information concerning our organization to its readership. We demand you retract these libelous accusations.

Yours,
Spartacus Youth League



AKRON BEACON JOURNAL

SYL objects to 'attack' by press

"We understand full well that your description of us as 'outsiders' seeking to 'provoke confrontation' is a set-up for police repression."

RECORD-COURIER

Spartacists not violent

I AM writing about a statement in an article by Jean Peters in the July 6 Beacon Journal, in which she referred to the Spartacist Youth League (SYL) as preferring to use force to make its opinions known. The clear implication of that language was that the SYL is violence-prone.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. As a lawyer, I have had occasion over the last few years to advise the SYL on legal matters. At no time has it engaged in violence as a matter of policy. Nor has it advocated such a tactic in the present controversy at Kent State.

Its members have put forth forceful opinions at meetings. They have, as well, received equally forceful remarks [illegible] between the [illegible] affiliated with the May [illegible] have been based on fundamental doctrinal matters.

It seems clear from statements of Kent State administrators that they would like to portray the May 4 Coalition and some of the groups supporting it as violence-prone trouble-makers. Such an accusation against the SYL in particular would be a lie. The policy of the coalition has been nonviolent, and any people or groups that advocate or engage in violence are considered to be police agents and provocateurs.

The implication in your article that the SYL is violence-prone should be corrected and the record made clear so that no mistake could be made by anyone as to their purposes.

ANTHONY A. WALSH
Cleveland

THIS IS in response to your article of July 6 and the role of the Spartacist Youth League in the May 4 Coalition.

In my view, this organization is a principled, honest one, and should not be picked out as advocating force or introducing a disruptive element into the coalition. I would like to offer my voice in defending both the coalition and the SYL against such charges.

NORMAN FISCHER
Department of Philosophy
Kent State University

Editor's note: We have received several other letters attesting to the SYL's nonviolence.

Kent State...

(continued from page 12)

hy a small self-appointed goon squad, this action flows from the policies of the May 4 Coalition. While prating on about the "moral witness" character of the protests, Coalition members have freely resorted to smearing the SYL's class-struggle politics with accusations of "violent provocateurs" and "cop agents." Yet the same Coalition members who on a nightly basis pledged themselves to "non-violence" turned on the SYL—*in front of the police!*

Coalition Lies and Press Slanders

The political bankruptcy of this Coalition culminated in the appointment of a delegation to confer with the aides of chief imperialist Jimmy Carter over the gym site. All the while, Army and Air Force ROTC teams were setting up tables in the Kent student center, completely unmolested by the May 4 Coalition.

Instead of directing their rage at the agents of the imperialist state, these campus politicos continue their efforts to silence the SYL through the use of calumny—including a return to cop-baiting charges at a "mass meeting" following the rally on July 21, only one day before the physical attack. Ludicrously enough this smear attack was launched in response to the SYL demand for cops off campus. Yet none of the Coalition members responded when SYL supporters demanded that these charges immediately be repudiated.

An SYL spokesman reminded the Coalition that such slanderous charges were fuel for the bourgeoisie. On July 6, the *Akron Beacon Journal* stated that the SYL "...preferred to use force to make their opinions known," and the next day went on to attack the entire May 4 Coalition for "violence." The SYL demanded that the *Beacon Journal* retract these libelous charges and circulated both a leaflet and a letter to local newspapers (see accompanying box). On July 21, the *Ravenna Record Courier* reprinted the SYL letter to the *Beacon Journal*. The same day the *Akron Beacon Journal* was forced to print "Spartacists Not Violent" which contained two letters, one by a well-known radical lawyer, the other a professor at Kent State, denying the newspaper's allegations and a note stating that other similar letters had been received.

The Partisan Defense Committee urges readers of *Workers Vanguard* to contribute funds for the defense of the 194 protesters arrested at Kent State last week on charges of contempt of court. Presently out on $25.00 bond each, those arrested face substantial legal costs, possible fines and jail sentences. All contributions should be sent/checks made out to Kent Legal Defense Fund, Box 366, Kent, Ohio 44240, earmarked "Kent State 194."

At a campus meeting held today, the SYL put forward a motion to condemn the attack at the march, to denounce the use of violence on the left and in the workers movement and to affirm "that all groups and individuals who agree with the aims of the Kent State protest be free to raise their respective political viewpoints without physical intimidation, harassment and gangster attack." This motion was voted down with not one of the so-called "socialist" groups voting in favor.

The YSA and RSB chose to line up behind a motion intended to gag "marchers who have bullhorns, chant separate chants, engage in physical violence or are in general disruptive," by leaving it up to "tactical leadership [to] decide what is disruptive." In light of the repeated attempts at physical intimidation by Coalition leaders, this can only be interpreted as an invitation to

"respectable liberals" to silence the left. The YSA drew on its experience as front-men for liberal Democrats during the antiwar movement, arguing that violence was inexpedient and that "isolating" and "shouting down" leftists was much more efficacious.

Throughout the gym-site controvery, the Maoist RSB and the "Trotskyist" YSA have done the dirty work for those who would limit the protest to tent-bound "moral witness." The YSA tailed after each twist and turn of the Coalition, but balked at the prospect of being arrested. Only when its cretinist legalism was challenged did these social democrats meekly propose "peaceful and legal protest" to get "police off campus." This can hardly be taken seriously—the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party have for years advocated the deployment of these same cops, federal troops and National Guardsmen to Boston to "defend" the embattled black population from anti-busing racist terror.

The RSB has refused to demand cops off campus at all—even as 194 students were being carted off to jail. The RSB's "mass line" practice of tailing after the most right-wing current of whatever might be popular has led it to come out *for* negotiations with the administration and Carter's representatives, *for* federal "mediation," and *against* the call for ROTC and military recruiters off campus.

In a leaflet entitled "Lessons of Kent State: Cops and ROTC Off Campus!" the SYL laid out the revolutionary perspective in the current struggle:

> "The key question at Kent State remains what it was seven years ago: intransigent opposition to the bourgeois state, its representatives in Washington and on campus and its armed forces. There must be no back-room deals with the administration, no illusions in the politicians on Capitol Hill, no tolerance of ROTC on campus. Students who wish to eradicate once and for all the system which produced the horrors of the Vietnam War and murdered its opponents at home must find their way clear to the perspective of class struggle and socialism. Join the SYL!" ■

Racist Mob...

(continued from page 2)

assembled at the headquarters that, "I feel it would be suicidal to march to Marquette Park today, but if the group thinks we ought to go, we will go." Thereupon 20 marchers, led by Rev. Edgar Jackson attempted to march on Marquette Park. Jackson and three others were promptly arrested by the cops for "disorderly conduct" and the racist rampage began.

The Chicago cops, who have been consistently "unable" to protect the black civil rights marchers, no longer even make a pretense of protecting the civil rights of blacks! The armed thugs of the bourgeois state—some of whom, as even the Chicago bourgeois press has reported, participated in last year's violence—are by profession enemies of black people. But it is these same cops and the racist Democratic Party machine built by Boss Daley which the reformists of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party continue to call upon to halt the escalating racial violence in Chicago.

The Spartacist League has pointed out time after time the deadly danger of fostering illusions in this kind of "protection." No reliance on the racist thugs in blue! The entire Chicago labor movement must demand that the charges against the marchers be dropped! The white racist would-be pogromists must be stopped by a militant mobilization of Chicago's large, integrated labor movement in defense of black people's democratic rights! Only this perspective can defend black people—neither the cringing reformism of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, nor the foolhardy pacifism of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, can halt the deadly spiral of vicious race hatred and terror in Chicago.

For a labor-black mobilization against racist and fascist terror in Chicago! ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 2)

sought to portray Okhela as a "fantasy" created by Breytenbach's "intensely depraved" mind. But Breytenbach is not the only white man rotting in a South African prison for daring to solidarize with the struggles of the black masses rather than simply deploring the "excesses" of apartheid. Last September, David Rabkin, a British journalist, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, and Jeremy Cronin, a university lecturer, to seven years for alleged support of the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

As the trial of the ANC members demonstrates, despite sharp tactical debates in the white supremacist camp, the apartheid regime still relies on naked force. In April of this year, the fine for breaking the notorious pass laws was doubled to $115 (the monthly wage of most black workers is about $200), and legislation was submitted further limiting the right to trial by jury and granting even wider powers to the army to requisition civilian property and censor the press during "emergencies." The military budget has been increased to one fifth of total government expenditure.

This June twelve more murders were added to the official toll of more than 600 "coloureds" and blacks slain by the Vorster regime since the Soweto rebellion of last year. Thousands have been arrested, and about 20 have died in prison as a result of torture. Another 90 have been sent to join the hundreds already imprisoned on Robben Island, South Africa's version of Devil's Island. The horrors described by Ian Rwaxa are standard operating procedure for the apartheid regime, whose techniques include sleep deprivation, semi-suffocation of prisoners with plastic bags, beating the genitals and use of electric shock treatment.

As Marxists, the Spartacist League opposes the strategy of the ANC, which hopes that a combination of economic sanctions by the "democratic" imperialists plus harassing guerrilla activity will panic the South African rulers into liberalizing white supremacy by increments. As a South African Communist Party leader stated at the Rivonia trial, they had taken to arms to "bring the government to its senses" (Bram Fischer, *What I Did Was Right* [1966]). The situation in South Africa cries out for a Trotskyist vanguard party based on the black and coloured proletariat and not a petty-bourgeois nationalist formation such as the ANC. Nonetheless, despite important political differences it is an elementary duty to defend all victims of apartheid terror. We appeal to black, labor and socialist groups to struggle for the release of Breytenbach and the ANC Twelve, who face years of prison and possibly death, whether by torture or official execution.

Free the ANC Twelve and all victims of apartheid repression! Smash the Terrorism Act, Suppression of Communism Act and other police-state laws! Open the road for workers revolution in South Africa through smashing apartheid! ■

Portugal...

(continued from page 5)

abstractly correct pretexts, but it is itself only another bureaucracy, not yet consolidated, which is supported by the government and the right wing for the purpose of breaking PCP domination over the trade-union movement.

The PRT advocates struggling within this tendency, limiting itself to proposing the construction of a "socialist tendency for trade-union democracy," on the pretext that the Socialist bureaucracy has less control over its ranks than the Communist bureaucracy. Thus it bows before the divisive pressures which it should combat and abandons the most advanced sectors of the workers. The PRT's tactic merely aids one bureaucracy, although still in embryo, on the grounds that it is preferable to another. A revolutionary tendency built on the demands of the Transitional Program would oppose the PRT's intervention for being based mainly on defense of trade-union democracy as the central point of struggle.

Immediate Tasks

Against the offensive of capital, in order to defeat the austerity plans, the most urgent tasks which face the workers movement include the struggle for:

—an immediate wage increase for all workers and a sliding scale of wages, against the galloping inflation, against the increase in the cost of living;

—reduction of the workweek without a cut in pay in order to ensure the existence of work for everyone, against layoffs;

—defense of the nationalizations under workers control, against their return to their former owners;

—extension of the agrarian reform, against the "right of reserve."

In order to undertake these tasks, it is necessary to combat trade-union disunity, intervening within the unions to unmask the bureaucracies, whichever they may be. It is necessary to unite and coordinate those organs of workers power which still exist. Above all the conscious intervention of a Trotskyist vanguard is necessary, to fight democratically for the leadership of the autonomous organs and the struggles of the proletariat, uniting them with the struggles of the Spanish and European working class. ■

Keter/Sygma

Peasants returning from work on their cooperative in the Alentejo.

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Left, Spartacus Youth League contingent in picket line at Portage County Court House; right, with arms interlocked, Coalition demonstrators wait their turn to be arrested, July 12.

Bourgeois Press Retracts Slander of SYL

Protests Continue at Kent State

KENT, Ohio, July 24—tn 1970 Kent State University became a focus of national attention when National Guardsmen gunned down students protesting the Nixon-ordered imperialist invasion of Cambodia. Seven years later, the university administration is trying to bury the memory of the four murdered protesters by building a gymnasium on the site of the shootings. The fate of Blanket Hill—from which the Guardsmen fired on 4 May 1970—remains the center of controversy in which student demonstrations again confront the administration and the police.

On July 22, following the expiration of a court-ordered temporary restraining order against construction on the site, student protest flared up again. Nearly 500 demonstrators turned out for what was billed as a "national rally." But as has been the case since the occupation of Rockwell Hall early this May, the rally was dominated by empty moralism reflecting the politics of the campus May 4 Coalition: a potpourri of aging New Lefters, student bureaucrats, and the reformists of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). Under the aegis of this Coalition—which first "led" students into spending 62 days in tents on the gym site, then took almost 200 into the outstretched arms of the local police at a ritual of pacifist "passive resistance" on July 12—the "national rally" was actually smaller than other recent campus protests.

The speakers at the rally, including the RSB, the Communist Youth Organization (CYO)—youth group of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), formerly the October League—the Cleveland mayoral candidate of the YSA's parent Socialist Workers Party, and a singing Yippie with a Nixon bumper sticker on his hat were all virtually indistinguishable. Although some denounced former Kent State president Glenn Olds for his role both in the 1970 shootings and the cover-up ever since, the Coalition confined the rally to the terrain of meaningless "fight back" rhetoric. The prevalent wretched liberalism was typified by the featured "solidarity message" from Paul Soglin, "radical" Democratic mayor of Madison, Wisconsin. At the conclusion of the speeches most of the crowd chanted in unison, "the people united will never be defeated."

ROTC Off Campus!

Combatting the liberal spirit of this year's protests, only the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the Spartacist League, linked the struggle against the gym site to the original May 1970 demonstration by calling for ROTC and cops off campus. An SYL spokesman noted the vast political difference separating revolutionary Trotskyists from the May 4 Coalition, but solidarized with the demand to move the gym and called for abolishing the administration and replacing it with student-teacher-campus worker control of the university. She also demanded that the charges against the 194 demonstrators arrested two weeks ago be dropped at once and concluded with the chant, "Move the Gym—Cops and ROTC Off Campus!" The speech was well received by the rally.

Following the rally, demonstrators set off on a march to the site of the shootings and the proposed gym. However, the march was disrupted by the attempt of Coalition members to silence the SYL contingent. Repeatedly over the course of the protests, Coalition leaders in collusion with the RSB Stalinists have tried to politically censor the SYL. Even the SYL's one-minute solidarity message was anathema to the RSB which tried to exclude the SYL up to the actual beginning of the speeches.

As the march left the gym site, this "united front" of liberal pacifists and time-tested Stalinist thugs attempted to drown out all SYL chants which were not identical to those of the Coalition. tn particular, any mention of the centrality of the working class in settling accounts with the butchers of Indochina incensed the Coalition. Even chants such as "Jail the Killers of Jackson and Kent" were drowned out with the omnipresent "the people united will never be defeated."

As the march reached the campus police station where another speech was to be heard, a goon squad consisting of a leading Coalition member, a local RSB supporter and several CYO members began threatening the SYL contingent with violence. SYL supporters asserted their democratic rights while protesting this threat of physical censorship and pointing out the utter stupidity of threatening violence in the shadow of the police station—a provocation which could open up the entire demonstration to cop and administration repression.

Nevertheless, less than 50 feet from the police station, Alan Canfora, a leader of the May 4 Coalition, attempted to tear down the SYL banner, which he claimed "brushed" against his head. Within seconds half a dozen goons led by CYO members swarmed at the SYL contingent. SYL supporters repulsed the attack and remained in the march, leaving the assailants somewhat bruised for their efforts. Several demonstrators, including members of the Kent State YSA chapter, marched behind the SYL through the remainder of the march to defend the SYL's right to participate.

Although the attack was carried out

continued on page 10

As we go to press, a second series of arrests have been carried out at Kent State. In response to the protest march on July 22, police began rounding up student leaders suspected of having set foot on the proposed gym site. Using videotape records as "evidence," cops secured warrants for 27 peopte, three of whom were arrested on July 26. This is an egregious attack on the democratic rights of the demonstrators. The SL/SYL demand that these charges be immediately dropped and that the arrested students be released!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 169

12 August 1977

WV Photo

USWA Local 1938 pickets check cars entering U.S. Steel's Minntac taconite production complex at Mountain Iron, Minnesota.

20,000 USWA Iron Miners Out

Shut Down Steel– Smash ENA!

The lines of a crucial class battle are being drawn in the iron fields of the Mesabi range in Minnesota and in Northern Michigan where, on August 1, 20,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) put down their tools and picked up the only effective weapon of economic struggle against the bosses –the strike. This walkout, comprising almost the entire workforce of the U.S. iron mining and ore processing industry, is the first major strike in steel in 18 years. It opens the first real crack in the hated Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), the no-strike pledge signed, sealed and enforced by the pro-company, anti-strike Steelworkers bureaucracy.

The iron miners' strike is geographically and structurally isolated from the strategic center of the industry, basic steel. But both the companies and the workers know that what is at stake cannot be contained on the iron ranges. Last Monday, when the miners shut down the conveyor belts that feed the iron-laden rock to the crushers, when they cooled down the brick-lined ovens that bake taconite ore into hard pellets for the basic steel plants, their walkout reverberated in Pittsburgh, in Gary, Indiana, in Sparrows Point, Maryland.

Steel workers across the country seethe with disgust at the contract shoved down their throats by the McBride bureaucrats, which required two ballots to pass a conference of local presidents in basic steel. Under the terms of the ENA, only the Catch 22 loophole of strikes over "local" issues remained. With "local" issues designated to mean such things as parking lot improvements or company provision of work clothing, most steel workers felt there was little to be gained by such walkouts, which might well go down in defeat as the companies and union bureaucrats colluded to isolate them. The proven treachery of all wings of the USWA bureaucracy—including "steel rebel" Ed Sadlowski who postures against ENA abstractly while calling for its enforcement until 1980 –sowed defeatism among the union ranks and prevented local strikes, which might have been utilized as an opportunity to expand into an industrywide walkout against the national contract.

The Mesabi strike—whose basic issue is the demand for wage parity with workers in basic steel—could be the wedge which steel workers need to challenge the ENA. This is precisely what the companies most fear, and they are moving against the militant iron ore workers, not only on the iron ranges but in the courts. Attempting to obtain anti-strike injunctions and threatening a civil suit seeking millions of dollars in "damages," the companies charge the strike is "illegal" because the wage parity demand, rejected in industry-wide contract bargaining, is not a valid "local" issue. They fear the iron miners' strike will set a precedent for engaging national issues in local strikes, thus undermining the ENA as a bludgeon for class peace in steel.

Faced with the iron miners' determination, the McBride bureaucracy is attempting to balance between unpleasant alternatives. Failure to grant authorization to the miners' strike might have triggered an open revolt by the miners against the ENA, so the bureaucrats santioned the walkout, gambling it can be isolated and ended without having a major impact on basic steel, and with the local leaderships saddled with responsibility in case of defeat. This ploy will not succeed if workers in basic steel recognize in the massive miners' strike the potential to unite the entire industry around resistance to ENA through broadening the local strikes to an industrywide walkout in defiance of the ENA.

The political shock waves of the iron miners' strike are not limited to the coke ovens and mills. The companies are also charged for battle. They understand what a successful strike to enforce the demands of 20,000 iron miners could mean to their ENA. For years, the bosses, abetted by the bureaucrats, have pushed one constant theme: strikes do not pay. Now they want to drive this lesson home to the taconite workers—younger than most steel workers and less prey to the demoralization that has gripped the USWA

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Sipa/Liaison

Klonsky Gets China Franchise

Teng Back in Power

It's official—Teng's back. Vice chairman of the Communist Party and vice premier, he's formally the number three man in the regime, and may well be the real boss. Purged during the Cultural Revolution as "the number two person in authority taking the capitalist road," purged again right after Chou En-lai's death in 1976 when his followers rioted in Tien An Men Square because he was passed over for the premiership, Teng is indeed a resilient political figure.

As we noted immediately after the fall of the Chiang Ching group:

> "Now that his enemies are dead or in prison, Teng is reportedly back in Peking. No doubt we will hear more from Teng Hsiao-ping."
>
> —"Violent Power Struggle Erupts in China," *WV* No. 130, 22 October 1976

Of course, it took no great gift for political prophesy to figure out Teng probably had something to do with the purge of the "gang of four," and certainly would benefit from it. As the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (29 July) quipped, Teng's return should be

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Tito to Visit Peking

Albania Denounces China

On August 1, the 50th anniversary of the founding of China's People's Liberation Army, Albanian and Chinese officials met in the Chinese embassy in the Albanian capital, Tirana, and toasted to "the revolutionary friendship between the two peoples and the two armies." But showcase cordiality cannot heal the wide rift between the one-time allies or erase the bitterness which has intensified during the last few weeks, following an Albanian denunciation of Chinese foreign policy.

The Albanian attack was made in an unsigned article entitled "The Theory and Practice of Revolution," which appeared in the July issue of *Zeri i Popullit*, the official organ of the Albanian Party of Labour. While it never mentions China by name, the article is directed at those "Marxist-Leninists" who establish a strategy without taking into account the "criteria of the proletarian class." The article attacks at length the Maoist doctrine of the "three worlds" which posits that the world today is divided into three fundamental sectors: the "first world" consisting of the U.S. and Soviet Union, both considered as "capitalist superpowers"; the "second world" consisting of "secondary" imperialist countries such as West Europe and Japan; and the "third world" consisting of Asia, Africa and Latin America and including "socialist" China. According to this schema, the principal revolutionary force is the "third world" en bloc and the principal enemy is the Soviet Union, the "more dangerous" superpower.

The Albanian polemic denounces Peking's line as "opportunist" and "anti-Leninist":

> "This is an antirevolutionary 'theory' because it preaches social peace, collaboration with bourgeoisie—hence giving up the revolution—to the proletariat of Europe, Japan, Canada, etc., who have to fight the monopoly bourgeoisie and the system of exploitation in the countries of the 'second world' because the interests of defense of national independence, and particularly the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism, allegedly require this.
>
> "This is also a pseudo-anti-imperialist theory because it justifies and supports the neocolonialist and exploiting policy of the imperialist powers of the 'second world' and calls on the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America not to oppose this policy, allegedly for the sake of the struggle against the superpowers....
>
> "In essence, according to the theory of the 'three worlds,' the peoples of those countries must not fight, for instance, against the bloody fascist dictatorships of Geisel in Brazil and Pinochet in Chile, Suharto in Indonesia, the Shah of Iran or the king of Jordan, etc., because they allegedly are part of the 'revolutionary motive force' which is 'driving the wheel of history forward.' On the contrary, according to this theory, the peoples and revolutionaries ought to unite with the reactionary forces and regimes of the 'third world' and support them... "
>
> reproduced in the *Guardian*, 27 July

The doctrine of the "Three Worlds" is unimpeachably orthodox Maoism. Moreover, the elevation of the Soviet Union to the status of "main enemy" occurred in the last years of Mao's reign. The Albanian polemic cannot be construed simply as an attack on the new Chinese leadership, but involves a doctrinal break from orthodox Mao-thought. In fact, while the article freely evokes the authority of Stalin and Lenin, the name of Mao Tse-tung is not once mentioned. Why has Enver Hoxha's Albania all of a sudden attacked Chinese policy and Maoist doctrine as anti-Leninist and class collaborationist?

Albania Against the Superpower: Yugoslavia

Hoxha's regime disagrees with China's present line on the "superpowers" because for Albania there is only one superpower: Yugoslavia. About one million Albanians (roughly a third of the Albanian people) inhabit the Koso-

Bandeira Vermelha

Enver Hoxha addressing seventh congress of the Albanian Party of Labor.

vo region of Yugoslavia. Albania is a natural target for Yugoslav expansionism.

While Stalin initially encouraged Tito to take over Albania, after the bitter 1948 Soviet-Yugoslavia split the Kremlin became a strong champion of the independent Peoples Republic of Albania. That and that alone is why the Stalin cult lives on in Tirana after it has long been buried elsewhere.

In the late 1950's Khrushchev reversed Stalin's policy and wooed, with some success, the "non-aligned" Yugoslavia. Since the U.S. was simultaneously seeking friendship with Belgrade, Albania turned to the only potentially anti-Yugoslav power available, China. It was anti-Yugoslav "power" politics, not Stalinist ideological purism, that made the most backward country in Europe Maoist China's only ally for more than a decade. In its turn, the internationally isolated Maoist regime of the 1960's welcomed an ally, one so poor and backward even China could provide it with valuable economic assistance.

But China's present aggressive campaign for a grand alliance against Brezhnev's Russia necessarily leads to support for a strong Yugoslav state. China's favored imperialist alliances, the Common Market and NATO, are both seeking closer relations with Yugoslavia. It is, as they say, no coincidence that the *Zeri i Popullit* polemic appeared not long before Tito's first scheduled state visit to Peking. So unless Soviet-Yugoslav relations take a sharp turn for the worse (as they did between 1948 and 1956), Albania may be forced to "build socialism" in splendid, if primitive, isolation, striving to catch up with and overtake the industrial production of Sicily.

U.S. Maoists Around the "Three Worlds"

While the New Left Mao-oid *Guardian* (27 July) published lengthy excerpts from the Albanian polemic, it predictably, one might even say instinctively, took a middle position between Tirana and Peking. On the one hand, it has "some serious reservations" about the Albanian position, but on the other hand, it disagrees with China that the Soviet Union is the "main enemy" and reserves that distinction for the U.S. Then again, it seems to the *Guardian* that the Albanian statement underestimates the "progressive" character of the "non-aligned movement." But "at the same time, as we have been saying for the past two years, we are particularly aware of the danger of class-collaboration in our own movement stemming from the thesis of 'striking the main blow at Soviet social-imperialism'." And so on. In fact, the *Guardian* isn't particularly interested in the substance of the Albanian position. It gave prominent publicity to the Albanian polemic to undermine the ideological authority of Peking and so legitimize the *Guardian*'s own Maoist polycentrism. In this sense, Irwin Silber can be viewed as a tenth-rate Santiago Carrillo of Maoism.

For the benighted workerists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), having just seen its rival, Mike Klonsky's Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) formerly October League gain the Peking franchise, the Albanian polemic offers a ray of hope. Reduced to political paralysis by the fall of the "gang of four" nine months ago, *Revolution* has not said a word about the internal situation in China since then! Recently, however, *Revolution* (July 1977) carried an article which endorsed the "three worlds" doctrine but with sufficient leftist qualifications to open the door to Albanianism. While the article states that the "three worlds" doctrine "gives, in our view, a correct appraisal of the general role that *countries*... are playing today on the world scale," it makes bold to point out that:

> "...for the U.S. proletariat to support, for instance, the Shah of Iran to the extent that, as a member of OPEC, Iran struggles against imperialist plunder, does not mean putting such support above support for the revolutionary struggles of the Iranian people to defeat imperialism and overthrow the Shah."

The CP (M-L) naturally jumped on the RCP's heterodoxy and, as always, denounced it for Trotskyism. These

Der Spiegel

Stalin statue in Tirana.

Peking running dogs are incensed that the RCP has attacked the Shah of Iran, an important anti-Soviet Third World leader. In particular, says *The Call* (1 August), "they have echoed the propaganda promoted by the Soviet Union, labeling the government opposed to social-imperialism as 'U.S. puppets' and 'reactionaries'." It is this unqualified support to bloody, anti-communist dictators throughout the world that has won Mike Klonsky an official visit to Peking and handshake from Chairman Hua. Of course, the RCP's Bob Avakian may seek compensation in a trip to Tirana and an embrace by First Secretary Hoxha.

We have previously pointed out (see "Albania: Last Hope for Maoists Without a Country," *WV* No. 139, 7 January) that the Stalinist commitment to "socialism in one country" does require, at least, its one country. Those Maoists critical of China's alliance with American imperialism or of the purge of Mao's widow, Chiang Ching, may be reduced to a last "socialist fatherland" in Albania. The crazed Stalin cultists of the COUSM-L, for example, have already opted for the Albanian connection.

Many would-be communists throughout the world were loyal to Stalin's Russia because they believed that here was a great world power which represented the communist cause. Maoist China in the 1960's likewise appeared to many young leftists as a revolutionary force in world politics. But loyalty to Enver Hoxha's Albania is the Stalinist infatuation with national state power in its most degenerate, even ludicrous, form. Those self-styled Marxist-Leninists who feel they must have their "own" secret police somewhere (anywhere) are simply vicarious bureaucrats, who are useless or worse to the revolutionary cause. But those Maoists repelled by China's now openly counterrevolutionary policies, who do not need a nationalist homeland, will find in Trotskyism, not Albania, the path to world revolution. ■

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Carter to Black Critics: Shut Up!

The deepening misery and despair of America's black ghettos stands in such stark contrast to the campaign promises of Jimmy Carter that even the leaders of such "respectable" black organizations as the National Urgan League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), whose job it is to keep the black masses under the thumb of the Democratic Party, have been forced to openly criticize the president they broke their backs to elect.

At the NAACP's 68th National Convention in late June, Chairman Margaret Bush Wilson in her keynote address expressed "disappointment" at Carter's failure to support the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill and to spend money for public housing. She reminded Carter that "millions of people poured out of rat-infested, dilapidated tenement houses from one end of this country to the other to give him his margin of victory."

A month later, at the National Urban League's 67th Annual Conference in Washington, Vernon E. Jordan noted that: "We resent unfilled promises of jobs, compromises to win conservative support and the continued acceptance of high unemployment.... We, who have been patient for so long, are running out of patience." He suggested Carter prove his much-vaunted concern for the poor by visiting the ghetto neighborhoods of New York.

Friend of Yazoo City, Enemy of the Ghetto

Jimmy Carter's response to his black critics was swift and sharp. Shut up, he basically told them. Carter, who exudes a particularly repugnant air of moral superiority, made it known via a press spokesman that he was "very sensitive to and certainly understands the problems of the inner city," and therefore didn't need to visit the ghettos, preferring to spend his time glad-handing his southern white constituency in such places as Yazoo City, Mississippi, which after its recent flood was provided with federal relief far greater than the measly $5 million or so that New York will be getting following Con Edison's criminal negligence in the blackout.

Carter told the Urban League on the day after Jordan's speech that he had "no apologies to make" for his record. He told Jordan "privately" (his statement was later made available to the press) that any criticisms of him "are damaging to the hopes and aspirations of those poor people" and later in a press conference said that Jordan's attack was "erroneous" and "demagogic."

U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young attempted to wish away the discord, chiding "those who would attempt to find a crack in our unity" (between blacks and the administration, that is), but got a lukewarm response at the Urban League conference.

Following Carter's smug attack on Jordan, rebuffed black politicos, including the Black Congressional Caucus, broke out in a chorus of indignant huffing and puffing, threatening a national conference of "black leaders" in late August to plan "strategy." The Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH hinted darkly at a new march on Washington (which, however, he said, probably would not take place for two years!) to force Carter to make unemployment his first priority, instead of his current scheme for a balanced budget by 1981, which Carter hopes to achieve through slashing federal aid to the poor, to women seeking abortions and to decaying cities.

The NAACP and Urban League "attack" on Carter is merely whining liberalism—the attempt of black politicians to maintain a shred of credibility in the eyes of their constituency, whom Carter never had any intention of assisting. Since it has now become obvious even to the most loyal black Democratic Party hacks that "benign neglect" of the black population is bipartisan policy, a show of bravado, hot air and empty threats was necessary. But Jordan *et al.* were careful to cover their bets. "Mr. Carter, after all, is only the chief executive," Jordan explained, as administration officials hastened to point out that Congress was the *real* culprit.

WV Photo

For Carter no apologies are necessary—blacks of Bedford-Stuyvesant will get more of the same.

UPI

Carter with Vernon Jordan at the Urban League convention.

NAACP National Convention: A Falling Out Among Liberals

The largest, oldest and most respectable organization of Carter's newfound black critics, the NAACP, has always counseled black people to seek justice through the bourgeois courts and the legislative system, but a recent string of reactionary rulings—many reversing the limited gains of the 1960's civil rights movement—has made the NAACP leadership nervous that the exposed bankruptcy of the narrow, legalistic strategy of its organization will erode its support at the very moment when it is increasingly becoming the target of racist attacks.

Last year, the NAACP was nearly bankrupted by a punitive $1.2 million damage suit brought by white merchants in Mississippi who had been boycotted by the NAACP and local civil rights activists ten years ago. The NAACP lost the case at the state level and was forced, as a condition for appeal, to post 125 percent of the judgment—nearly $1.5 million! NAACP leaders have publicly expressed fear that other racist forces could successfully use the same tactic and the organization could be "sued to death."

The tactics and worldview of the NAACP have changed little since its founding in 1909. It holds, against all evidence, that a program of full social and political equality for blacks is consistent with capitalism and, moreover, can be accomplished through the "constitutional process." In 1954 its director, Walter White, jubilantly hailed the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision overturning the "separate but equal" Jim Crow doctrine as proof that "American democracy works for Negroes."

The NAACP today remains what it has been for decades—the most consistent advocate of liberal integrationism and the most prestigious community organization of the upper stratum of the black petty bourgeoisie. This layer, called the "talented tenth" by the NAACP's first leading black spokesman, W.E.B. DuBois, is concerned mainly with the legal barriers to formal racial equality which prevent it from rising to the same level of wealth and prominence as its white similars. While even the most token anti-racist gains benefit the black working people to some extent, these gains—whose tenuous and reversible nature is amply demonstrated in this period of mainstream rightist consolidation—do little to alleviate the hideous oppression of the impoverished ghetto masses.

The stability of its constituency and the accrued capital from its legal victories enabled the NAACP to grow enormously during periods of black upsurge, but the national leadership and local "pillars of the community" have never allowed the organization to diverge for long from a narrow legalistic path. While it was temporarily overshadowed by more activist organizations like Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to say nothing of SNCC and CORE, the NAACP largely retained the loyalties of established black professionals and the churches, surviving while the other groups became moribund. Today there is no significant black organization to the left of the NAACP.

Particularly since Carter's election, black politicians, eager to ingratiate themselves with the administration, have backed away from the NAACP's school desegregation programs. Los Angeles' black mayor Thomas Bradley, for example, ran a hard anti-busing campaign in April of this year. When the NAACP opposed the appointment of southern racist Griffin Bell as attorney general, it found itself pitted against several black Georgia legislators and A.J. Cooper, chairman of the National Conference of Black Mayors. As its track record in the courts becomes less impressive, the Association is hard pressed to compete with the new black political machines which can at least offer a few political appointments and a share in the Democratic Party pork-barrel.

Recognizing the NAACP's present impasse, opportunists on the left like the SWP and the Communist Party have rushed to offer themselves as advisers and loyal "critics." They are attempting to rebuild this servile, pro-capitalist organization through liberal-pacifist pressure marches such as the April 1975 NAACP/NSCAR demonstration in Boston. But the bourgeoisie is marching to a different drummer, and all the tactical advice in the world will not solve the NAACP's problems.

In particular, the NAACP like the liberal milieu in general looked to the capitalist courts as the vanguard of gradual social progress. This strategy is now manifestly bankrupt. On June 27, the first day of the NAACP's 68th National Convention, the Supreme Court extended its doctrine that court-ordered busing is only appropriate when and to the exact extent that segregated schools are the result of conscious "intent" by local officials. It struck down, for the first time, a desegregation program that was actually in orogress

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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1,000 Miners March in D.C.–70,000 on Strike

Mass UMWA Wildcats Against Medical Cutbacks

AUGUST 9—The coal miners' wildcat against medical cutbacks, which has swelled to 70,000 strikers, is now at a watershed. Following a militant rally of nearly one thousand striking United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in Washington on August 5, local and district officials in Districts 17 and 29 of West Virginia, the heart of the wildcats, are hoping to start a back-to-work movement. Content that the miners have made their point to the coal operators, the UMWA tops and government higwigs, these sellouts want to end the strike.

Yesterday a meeting was held in District 29 to consider returning to work. Militants had to dispatch pickets to some pits in order to prevent a return to work, but reportedly a few mines were re-opened. A similar meeting of local presidents with District 17 president Jack Perry and vice president Cecil Roberts was held today. Though no one has returned to work in District 17 the local presidents are waffling. Local officials were instructed to poll their memberships and return tomorrow to decide whether to end the strike. Perry and Roberts reportedly asserted that they were only "facing reality," since support for the strike was not increasing.

Yet, there are still thousands of miners who resist returning to work without having gained a thing. One miner told *Workers Vanguard* he wanted to organize roving pickets to spread the strike: "We can't win by ourselves. [We]...have to have support from every district in the union....if we don't get it, we just lost."

WV Photo

Mine workers' August 6 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

The current wildcat, which was condemned by the entire UMWA International Executive Board, began seven weeks ago. It was provoked by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), which refused to bolster the miners' shaky medical benefit fund with a transfer of money from a bulging pension trust. The BCOA blames recurring wildcats for the depletion of the trust, which is funded by the operators on the basis of coal tonnage produced. The cutbacks require miners to pay $250 of hospital costs and 40 percent of doctors' fees up to $250. Also threatened are 50 non-profit medical clinics in the coalfields that serve 300,000.

For many miners, the UMWA medical card—for years the guarantee of free medical care for union members and their dependents—is their most important security. There is widespread recognition among militants that a return to work now under the BCOA's terms would greatly weaken the union in the face of the anticipated national strike in December. The BCOA ploy was a cold-blooded move to demoralize the miners, clamp down on wildcats, and insure substantial stockpiling by December.

Before the miners' annual vacation began June 25, some 35,000 were on strike. Contrary to the operators' hopes that the vacation would dissipate the workers' anger, 70,000 were out as the miners boarded buses for Washington. All of West Virginia's UMW mines were closed and some non-union mines walked out in solidarity even without union pickets. A District 29 meeting in Beckley, West Virginia, on July 29, voted nearly unanimously to continue the strike and in favor of establishing a district strike fund. Additionally, the meeting of 700 miners called for the resignation of Harry Huge, appointed by UMW president Arnold Miller as the union's representative on the Board of Trustees of the Health and Retirement Fund. Huge voted for the cuts when the BCOA blocked the transfer of funds to the medical trust.

The Beckley meeting also decided to cooperate with District 17 in organizing the Washington rally. Reportedly, working miners who sit on the executive boards of Districts 17 and 29 were the chief initiators of the rally, but rank and file enthusiasm was widespread.

Among those who marched in Washington were many rank-and-file miners who wanted to continue and broaden the strike. But there were also those, including many of the rally organizers, who only sought to allow the miners to blow off steam as a prelude to a back-to-work movement.

Rally in Washington

After rallying in front of the UMW's International offices, the miners marched past the White House, where militants jeered that Carter should try burning peanuts instead of coal. On the Capitol steps one miner reminded the demonstration that attacks on the union medical card would eventually result in the return of the hated company doctors. The crowd roared back "No card, no coal!" And while the House of Representatives considered "important energy legislation," nearly 1,000 miners chanted, "No coal, no heat!" and "No coal, no light!"

The announcement of the cutbacks, which came just after Miller's narrow re-election, has incensed many union members who voted for him, particularly pensioners who will be among the hardest hit by the cutbacks. Hostility runs deep among working miners as well. The strike is centered in the regions that were the base of Miller's support. One District 17 miner (Miller's home district) told *WV* that he had campaigned hard for Miller, but is completely disgusted with him now, and with his opponents Lee Roy Patterson and Harry Patrick as well. "You're out of material," he said.

Miners in Washington scoffed at rumors that the strike was about to end. A worker from a small local in Wayne County, West Virginia called for reinforcements from Boone and Logan counties to shut down a working pit in Wolf Creek. Militants were particularly determined to close the UMW mines that remain open. One miner swore: "Now boys, I ain't going to go up and ask a man nine times to come out. I'll go up and smash him on the side of the jaw and jerk him through the car windows—that's the last time I'll ask him. If he comes back again, it's his life in his own hands."

But while the miners were demonstrating their militancy, the rally organizers were leading them on a wild goose chase after capitalist politicians and govern-

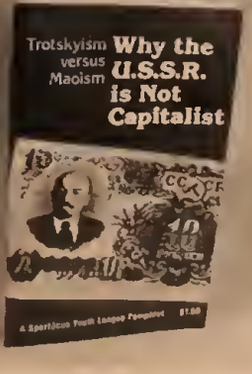
Phone Contract Stinks! Vote It Down!

The CWA top bureaucrats signed a sellout contract on Sunday which allows the phone company to cut thousands of additional jobs. In the weeks before the cuntract expired the union officials insisted that jobs were the main issue and vowed to settle for nothing less than an offer containing adequate joh security provisions. Yet on August 6 these traitors agreed to a settlement which gives Communications Workers of America (CWA) members the grand total of—three mure paid vacation days; severance pay to encourage early retirement; and a "reduction" in forced overtime to guarantee outside craft a 50-hour (!) week!

These ludicrous "job security" provisions are an insult to the ranks of telephone workers and will not have the slightest effect in an industry where 100,000 jobs have been lost in the past five years and where future automation plans threaten the luss of thousands more. Moreover, the thoroughly inadequate wage increase of less than eight percent the first year and three percent the next two years applies unly to top craft, with no increase at all for new hires.

While the Des Moines, Iowa CWA Local 7102 walked out in protest for two days, for the most part locals across the country faced the sellout with unly passive disgust. Phone workers knew full well that even if a strike was called CWA president Glenn Watts & Company intended to sit back and let a scab army of 200,000 management personnel cross the picket lines! Thus, many workers were pessimistic about winning a strike that would have taken several months at best tu have the slightest effect.

A national strike built through mass picket lines at every location or plant occupations to *shut down phone* would bring the company tu its knees. To deal with the rising cost of living and massive elimination of jobs nothing less is needed than a 20-hour workweek at no loss in pay, a raise which narrows the gap hetween skilled and unskilled lahor, and a cost-of-living allowance which matches inflation penny for penny. Phune workers must vote down the present cuntemptuous offer and demand an immediate national strike to win no layuffs and a shorter wurkweek at no loss in pay!



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ment officials. The rally was addressed by West Virginia Congressman Nick Joe Rahall, who admitted that he didn't know the facts and could offer no solution but promised he would call for a Congressional investigation "if the evidence warrants it." As miner after miner rose to denounce the bosses and the union misleaders, a delegation went into the Capitol to appeal to U.S. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall and West Virginia Senator Jennings Randolph. The results were predictable. Both promised to investigate the matter further and sent the miners away empty-handed.

The illusion that the miners can rely on the capitalist state and its politicians is fatal. The history of the strikebreaking Arnold Miller leadership is precisely the history of government intervention in the union, ostensibly to clean up

WV Photo

Miner addressing rally on steps of the Capitol.

corruption. It is the federal courts that have handed down one injunction after another to break miners' strikes. Moreover, it was government interference, through federal regulations that place restrictions on transfers of benefit funds, that was at least partly responsible for the current strike. The miners' health and welfare benefits must be completely controlled by the union. Power over these funds must not be shared with "independents," agents of the BCOA, or the government.

In fact, however, miners and other workers must fight to replace the existing system of separately negotiated medical plans with socialized medicine. Union-company negotiated plans are inherently inadequate and unstable. The trade union movement must demand free, quality medical care for all.

The rally in Washington broke up with no clear strategy of how to bring the coal bosses to their knees. After having vented their just anger at the BCOA, the UMWA leadership, Congress, and the White House, the miners returned to the coalfields, armed with little more than their enormous gut militancy, and lured by the poisonous promises of "aid" from the government.

There are thousands of miners who do not want to return to work in defeat. This looms as a real possibility, however, unless the present deadlock is broken by extending the strike on a nationwide basis. Unless this is done, the miners are likely to succumb to the enormous pressure of the strikebreaking International and those district and local officials preaching confidence in the capitalist state and politicians. The existing informal strike leadership, dominated by wavering bureaucrats, must be replaced by authoritative, elected strike committees led by militants with a clear consciousness of the need for the political independence of the miners and the working class. Only in such a fashion can victory in this important defensive battle be assured.■

Closet Rule Frame-Up

reprinted from Red Flag, July 1977

In a display of insidious political slander the RFU [Red Flag Union] "Revolutionary" Faction, the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), the Freedom Socialist Party and others have coalesced to falsify the so-called "public closet" rule of the Spartacist League.

The "public closet" rule refers to the organizational policy of the Spartacist League restricting *all* SL supporters, both homosexual and heterosexuals from doing anything in their personal lifestyle which would detract from the presentation of the politics of the Spartacist League. It is also intended to protect supporters from victimization.

In an article on the RFU Stonewall '77 Conference the SL explains, "Members of a tiny communist nucleus confronted by the power of the bourgeois state must seek to avoid facilitating their own isolation and possible repression by unnecessarily affronting bourgeois social norms in non-political or secondary matters."

In an article pompously called the "Debate at Stonewall '77 Conference—The Leninist Approach to Gay Liberation" by Chris Hudson and RSL National Chairman Ron Tabor [*Torch*, 15 July-14 August 1977] the RSL exhibits its base opportunism by ignoring all the other tendencies present at the conference, with whom, presumably, they are in sharp disagreement; the primary question that precipitated the split in the RFU—the Russian question; and the actual substance of the debate over the gay question itself.

According to the RSL, "To overthrow capitalism, revolutionaries must wage determined war against anti-gay prejudice." "Coming out can be an important tactic in waging this crucial struggle. By revealing one's homosexuality to straight friends, relatives, and co-workers, one can force straight people to recognize and examine the irrational basis for their anti-gay attitudes. This can be the first step in helping straight people to overcome their anti-gay prejudice. Behind the SL's charge of lifestyle politics and their blanket opposition to coming out is a cowardly refusal to fight anti-gay prejudice in the working class."

The 60's and 70's, Anita Bryant not withstanding, have been a period of relative toleration of homosexuality. There is the temptation in such a period, particularly in a "democracy" to see such periods as everlasting. It is irresponsible, both in respect to one's own membership and to homosexuals, in general, to advocate they "come out." This is not to say that the party is against individual homosexuals "coming out." "Coming out" is by and large the result of a positive impulse to throw off oppression. Of course, we would defend gays who are victimized as a result, but it is essentially a personal matter.

The primary task for Leninists is to forge the communist vanguard and to guide the struggle of the working class for state power. It is the bourgeoisie that we wage war against. While backward anti-gay bourgeois ideology can only be eliminated on the basis of the overthrow of capitalism and the progressive elimination of homosexual oppression culminating in the replacement of the family under socialism, the groundwork must be laid throughout the revolutionary process, by propaganda and agitation against anti-homosexual bigotry.

The RSL was one of the big losers in the RFU's convergence with the SL. The RSL and other outside observers considered themselves logical inheritors of the Lavender and Red Union/RFU. It is unthinkable to them that a sectoralist organization could overcome its subjective anti-Soviet reflex and come to a strong position of defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states from capitalist attack. Thwarted in its attempt to peddle latter-day Shachtmanism on the majority of the RFU they now seek to drive a wedge between the RFU periphery and the Bolshevik Tendency of the RFU [RFU(BT)] and the Spartacist League. Exploiting the anti-communist prejudices of many gay leftists, but dressing it in Leninism, the RSL pontificates about the correct communist approach to the gay question.

The Russian Revolution liberated the Russian masses from the yoke of Czarist oppression. Soviet jurisprudence represented the maximum expression of bourgeois-democratic rights for the oppressed that has thus far been achieved. The RSL hopes that by juxtaposing their attack on the SL with their description of Bolshevik policy they can leave the impression that the Bolsheviks were champions of sexual libertarianism per se. While the Bolsheviks rescinded all laws against homosexuality and made all forms of consensual sex a private matter it would seem the Bolsheviks, de facto, maintained a very stringent closet rule since to our knowledge not a single Bolshevik leader is known to be a homosexual, although we can presume that some of them were homosexual.

WV Photo

Red Flag Union Stonewall '77 Conference in Los Angeles.

The American revolution needn't be limited to the simple legislative remedies employed by the Bolsheviks which were about the most that could be achieved given the backwardness and the hostile capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union.

In principle Lenin explains the essence of the SL's "closet rule" in "*Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, 1920:

> "These men the 'leaders' of opportunism, will no doubt resort to every device of bourgeois diplomacy and to the aid of bourgeois governments, the clergy, the police and the courts, to keep Communists out of the trade unions, oust them by every means, make their work in the trade union as unpleasant as possible, and insult, bait and persecute them. We must be able to stand up to all this, agree to make any sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to various strategems, artifices, and illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, as long as we get into the trade unions, remain in them, and carry on communist work within them at all costs."

A communist who is a homosexual, or any communist, does not for the most part have the luxury of "coming out." A communist seeks to be identified exclusively in people's minds in terms of the party and program they represent. The sexual identity or personal characteristics of the individual are not the concern of others. By being a representative of the communist vanguard one makes oneself a walking target for the bourgeoisie, one invites harassment even above and beyond that suffered by the oppressed masses. Therefore, it is the obligation of the party to do everything in its power to shield its supporters from such victimization.

Various fake-socialist groups have ludicrously tried to make it appear that in order to join the Spartacist League one must undergo shock therapy to eradicate one's homosexuality. The closet rule in no way, shape or form applies to people's conduct inside the party. In actuality something approximating the "public closet" rule is maintained by virtually every organization on the left. At the Stonewall '77 Conference an RFU (BT) speaker exposed the hypocrisy of the RSL when he asked Chris Hudson, "Would the RSL allow a male wearing a dress to present a public forum on behalf of the RSL?" Despite our repeated insistence he refused to answer the question. Certainly, no one can deny the oppression suffered by transvestites nor support the denial of their democratic rights, but to have a male public spokesman in a dress would effectively make the subject of people's attention transvestitism and not politics.

All left groups, including the RSL must be hypocritical, to a certain degree, in order to take advantage of political opportunities. But, in an effort to get political mileage out of the "public closet" rule of the SL, the RSL trips over its own closet rule.

The closet is an aspect of homosexual oppression. The closet is deforming to the individual, insofar as it perpetuates the myth, in their own minds, that homosexuality is something so unspeakably evil and perverted that it cannot be revealed publicly. However, it is not necessary for individuals to offer themselves up as examples to be victimized in order to throw off these aspects of gay oppression.

The establishment of workers rule will guarantee people the freedom to "come out" if they so desire and socialism will destroy gay oppression and make it a moot point

The Spartacist League's so-called "public closet" rule will be adhered to by the comrades of the RFU(BT) upon fusion with the SL without reservation. The fusion itself belies the charge that the SL capitulates to anti-gay prejudice. We know that if we or other homosexual comrades in the SL are victimized by the state or by backward elements in society we will be defended. Yet, if we must go down fighting, we prefer to do so as communists, rather than as victimized homosexuals, for the cause to which we have dedicated our lives—the realization of the communist program and the building of socialism.■

Behind "Human Rights" Campaign

Imperialist Carter Ups Weapons Budget 50%

Hand in hand with its anti-Soviet propaganda barrage masquerading as a crusade for "human rights," the new Carter administration is busy beefing up the strategic weapons arsenal of U.S. imperialism, hoping to gain a qualitative advantage over the USSR. While slashing expenditures for social services and thumbing his nose at the oppressed racial minorities and the trade unions, Carter is increasing government spending on weapons systems by 50 percent.

Having promised during his campaign to reduce arms spending by $8 billion, the new chief of U.S. imperialism proposes for 1978 a $10 billion *increase* over the $20 billion spent on weapons procurement in 1977. Significantly, increasing allocations are planned for new weapons systems with one bourgeois estimate projecting $197 billion to be spent on new systems between now and 1985. The attempt now underway to upgrade U.S. strategic forces thus represents the most significant escalation of the "arms race" since Kennedy's mythical "missile gap" provided the rationale for full-scale U.S. deployment of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM's).

Carter's new military budget reflects the renewed determination of U.S. imperialism, free of the quagmire of Vietnam, to gird itself for new conflicts both with its renascent imperialist rivals and above all with the USSR. This drive to achieve a qualitative strategic nuclear superiority must be understood as part and parcel of the administration's "human rights" crusade.

However, if so far Carter has proved himself to be a particularly vicious leader of his class, he has also demonstrated that he is a consummate hypocrite and liar. Thus in a recent interview he declared his "determination to reduce substantially the world's dependence on nuclear weapons" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 6 June). But as press reports have heralded one new U.S. weapons system after another, the details of this "determination" have become all too obvious.

On June 30, for example, Carter announced that he was scrapping the Air Force's B-1 bomber. Immediately the liberal press hailed this as a unilateral American declaration of good faith to smooth the path for a SALT II accord on strategic arms limitation. It was, said the *New York Times*, a "signal" to the Russians which should not be ignored.

Yet buried at the end of the news dispatches was the announcement that the administration had opted instead for heavy deployment of the Cruise missile, a small, inexpensive, jet-powered drone which can be loaded by the dozens onto B-52's or 747's. Guided by a miniature computer, the Cruise will have a range of at least 1,500 miles, can fly 200 feet off the ground (below radar thresholds), and deliver a 20-kiloton warhead with an accuracy measured in a few dozen feet.

And this was not all. On July 1 the Senate met in an unusual secret session for what the *Wall Street Journal* called "mid-summer entertainment." The fun centered on Carter's request for funding of an "enhanced radiation device" tucked away in the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) budget. The "device" turned out to be a neutron bomb which had been successfully tested by ERDA and was now about to go into production.

Intended for the tactical Lance missile, the neutron bomb emits lethal radiation while minimizing blast damage. The *Journal* calls it a "discriminating weapon," although weapons experts admit it was designed to be as "dirty" as possible. Senator John Stennis said, "It is the best news I've heard in years." In fact the neutron bomb is meant as an answer to the Warsaw Pact's formidable armored forces which outnumber and outgun those of NATO.

In addition there have been persistent reports of other weapons systems—the large and accurate MX-12A warhead, the mobile MX missile, the Trident submarine, and the "maneuverable reentry vehicle" (MARV), which has a "circular error probable" of 98 feet at 8,078 miles.

Hard-Target Counterforce

Common to virtually all of the new strategic weapons is a significant increase in missile accuracy. In a number of systems, this accuracy is combined with additional "throw weight," a rough measure of destructive power. With the U.S. strategic arsenal stagnant since the beginning of heavy U.S. intervention in Vietnam (the mid-1960's), Pentagon planners are pushing for the deployment of a whole new generation of nuclear weapons which have long been on the drawing boards.

As the Soviet Union catches up with the U.S. in equipping its missiles first with multiple warheads (MRV's), then with independently targetted warheads (MIRV's), Washington is seeking to capitalize on American technological superiority. And the deployment of pinpoint-accuracy missiles by the United States places the Soviet Union at a real disadvantage. While only 25 percent of U.S. warheads are atop land-based ICBM's, fully three-quarters of Soviet warheads are so deployed.

Thus a significant fraction of the Russian strategic arsenal is vulnerable to a U.S. "hard-target capability." Increasing the threat is the fact that the USSR does not yet have the sort of radar which can reliably detect the low-flying Cruise.

During his tenure as Ford's secretary of defense, James Schlesinger called for the acquisition of a "hard-target counterforce." While Carter's predecessors have steadfastly maintained that the United States would never unleash its strategic arsenal except in *response* to a nuclear attack, a "hard-target" capability is useless once the "enemy's" ICBM's are in flight. Thus, if such a "counterforce" strategy means anything, it is a euphemism for the old "preemptive first strike."

Carter, moreover, took pains to distance himself from the national fiction that the U.S. arsenal merely has "deterrent" value. In his July 12 press conference he declared that whoever first resorted to atomic weapons "would be under heavy condemnation from the other people of the world unless the circumstances were extremely gross." What a "gross circumstance" might be he listed as the "unwarranted invasion of another country" (*New York Times*, 13 July).

Right, Carter aboard nuclear-powered attack submarine. Other weapons include B-1 bomber (middle) and Cruise missile (bottom).

UPI

John Zimmerman

Dirck Halstead

A Grain of SALT

In the spirit of his two-faced advocacy of "human rights," Carter has attempted to hide U.S. weapons development behind a rhetorical "disarmament" offensive. The showpiece of this hypocrisy was the SALT II proposal delivered last March in Moscow by Secretary of State Vance to Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

According to Jan Lodal, director of program analysis for the National Security Council (the top U.S. executive decision-making body on military affairs) during 1973-75, Carter's SALT proposals would "bring the Soviet strategic program to a halt, yet leave the United States program almost untouched" (*New York Times*, 12 April).

Particularly outrageous was Vance's fallback position—that the 1974 Vladivostok agreement be implemented without controls on the Cruise missile or the Soviet "Backfire" bomber. This would have set an overall limit of 2,400 on strategic weapons (an increase for the U.S., a decrease for the USSR) while removing the Cruise from that category. In return for unlimited deployment by the U.S. of the deadly Cruise missile, the Soviet Union would be allowed to build "Backfire," a medium-range bomber which is generally acknowledged to be neither intended nor adequate for reaching U.S. targets.

Unsurprisingly, the guiding genius behind this "initiative" was Boeing's own Henry Jackson, who has apparently found in Carter a hawk of his own feather. According to a recent column (*New York Post*, 16 July) by Joseph Kraft, Jackson has long favored the Cruise program over the costly B-1 bomber. The "Senator from Boeing," of course, is also representing his "constituent," who is the prime contractor for the Cruise.

The use of "disarmament" agree-

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SWP Calls on Soviet Union to Disarm

Nogues/Sygma

Russian ballistic missiles on parade in Red Square.

For the past several years we have pointed out that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) seeks to become the kept opposition party of American social reformism, filling the political vacuum created by the degeneration of official American Social Democracy into ossified, anti-communist sects to the right of Democratic Party liberalism. In its degeneration into reformism, it was only a matter of time until the once-Trotskyist SWP adopted pacifistic support to disarmament as well as abandoned the military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The SWP's abandonment of the Trotskyist position on these questions is made crystal clear in an exchange in the 24 June *Militant* between veteran SWPer Morris Starsky and the party's leading publicist, Joseph Hansen.

Hansen/Militant

Joseph Hansen: Apostle of Social-Pacifism

Questioning a previous *Militant* article from the Trotskyist standpoint, Starsky writes:

> "Is writer Hansen's position with respect to nuclear disarmament 'a plague on both your houses'?...
> "A workers state, even a degenerated or a deformed workers state, has the abstract right to defend itself militarily from imperialist attack.
> "The Soviet Union has indeed the *concrete need* to arm itself fully within the limits of its resources in defense of its existence." [emphasis in original]

Hansen responds as the best builder of a disarmament program...for the Soviet Union: "Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament..." writes Hansen. He goes on:

> "Naturally, it would have been preferable if Brezhnev had proposed in addition a schedule leading at short intervals to one half capability, one fourth capability, one eighth and so on."

Support to bourgeois disarmament programs as a solution to imperialist militarism has long been a central point of demarcation between social-democratic reformism and Leninism. Thus, in the Declaration of the Left Opposition to the 1932 Amsterdam Antiwar Congress, Trotsky wrote:

> "The pretense of 'disarmament' has and can have nothing in common with the prevention of war. The program of 'disarmament' only signifies an attempt...to reduce in peacetime the expense of this or that kind of armaments. It is above all a question of military technique and the imperialist coffers."
>
> *Writings*, 1932

He proposed to the Congress ten points, the second of which was: "Denunciation of capitalist 'disarmament' schemes which serve to dupe the people."

The aspirations of the SWP to become the present-day version of Norman Thomas' old Socialist Party underlies Hansen's pacifistic statement. One wonders if Hansen didn't crib from one of Norman Thomas' speeches of the early 1960's. But since the SWP is ostensibly Trotskyist, there is more to Hansen's article than pacifist illusions. There is the classic "Third Campist" position that the U.S. and Soviet Union are co-equal warlike enemies of mankind:

> "Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle nuclear stockpiles. The hope for peace will remain illusory so long as the imperialist powers and their 'partners' in the Kremlin remain in control."

It is this undisguised "Third Campism" which allows the SWP to fuse with the formally "state capitalist" Soviet-defeatist Revolutionary Marxist Caucus.

Moreover Hansen goes on to explicitly abandon the military defense of the Soviet Union *in practice:*

> "But the fact is that each side possesses a stockpile much larger than needed to

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One Dead, 100 Injured

French Cops Attack Anti-Nuke Protest

One person was killed and a hundred others wounded, some with hands and feet torn off by exploding grenades, on July 31 when French riot police charged a demonstration of 30,000 anti-nuclear protesters marching toward the construction site of the Super-Phénix, the nuclear breeder reactor in Creys-Malville. For nearly four hours the battle went on with the cops stampeding, swinging clubs, hurling tear-gas and hand grenades, driving the demonstrators out of the nuclear-site area into the surrounding farms and villages.

The anti-nuclear march, coordinated by the Malville Committees, brought thousands of pacifists, eco-freaks, far-leftists and anarchists from across Europe to this rural area on the Rhône River, 300 miles southeast of Paris, for two days of protest July 30 and 31. The confrontation occurred about noon on Sunday, July 31 when the three huge columns of marchers were converging on the town of Faverges, inside the 10-mile zone around the reactor which had been sealed off for the day. Here the march was ordered to stop and for a short dramatic period the riot cops faced down the demonstrators across the no-man's land of a wheat field.

When a small group of helmeted militants started forward in defiance of the order, the cops unleashed their attack, grappling with demonstrators who had left the main line of march and were rushing further into the district. Demonstrators began throwing stones and nails. Soon police reinforcements arrived with orders to clear the area and the cops charged the demonstrators, beating them back with clubs, hurling tear gas and hand grenades into the crowd.

Paris Match

Injured protester is carried from scene of July 31 anti-nuclear demonstration.

One person, Vital Michalon, 31, lay dead after the charge and a hundred others wounded, including five cops. While the cops originally said Michalon died of a heart attack, the autopsy revealed his lungs blew up from an explosion. Although hand grenades were exploding all over the place (even the bourgeois daily *Le Monde* [August 5] implies that these most likely caused the many injuries), the cops are now, incredibly, saying Michalon died from the effect of a Molotov cocktail!

Chauvinist Furor

Although the demonstrators were mainly French, the presence of marchers from all over Europe, including some 5,000 German protesters, has sparked a vicious wave of anti-German chauvinism on the part of the French authorities.

From the very moment of the police attack, the French authorities have been trying to pin the blame for the violence on the demonstrators and particularly on the presence of foreign "anarchists." Thus in a TV interview on July 31, Interior Minister Christian Bonnet said, "These people are undeniably anarchists both in their acts and beliefs who know no frontiers and have turned up elsewhere, notably in West Germany." On the same day, after a militant demonstration at the town hall of nearby Morestel, in which some self-proclaimed members of the West German Red Army Faction (RAF, referred to as the "Baader-Meinhof gang" by the bourgeois press) participated, René Jannin, prefect of Isère, declared: "For the second time in Morestel's history, the Germans have invaded its town hall" (*International Herald Tribune*, August 1).

For weeks prior to the demonstration the authorities had been whipping up anti-German hysteria, making elaborate security precautions, and gearing up for the day's attack. Jannin had ordered a 10-mile area around the breeder reactor sealed off, and stationed 5,000 riot police in five security rings around it to guard it. Helicopters flew overhead looking for anyone foreign to the area; roads and bridges were closed to "outsiders"; five special ordinances were passed calling for the expulsion of any strangers found in the area. The army was put on alert.

Jannin himself developed his talent for repression in Algeria, where he was head of French Security. Returning to France in the mid-sixties and made prefect of various districts, he has violently smashed at least two workers'

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Teng...

(continued from page 1)

rated as "one of the biggest anti-climaxes of the year."

What is more surprising than Teng's return to power was the nine-month delay. There are two plausible reasons for this delay. With his forty years as a party and government leader, Teng Hsiao-ping is the single most authoritative figure in the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Hua Kuo-feng's meteoric rise to power occurred because, as a relative newcomer and political lightweight, he was acceptable to both the Cultural Revolution "radicals" and the Old Guard. With the Chiang Ching clique out of the way, Hua's principal advantage (that he was a young Maoist who came up through the Cultural Revolution) doesn't count for much. So it is possible that Hua resisted Teng's inevitable return to hang on to his own shaky position as Mao's successor.

It is in the interest of Chinese Stalinism to maintain the cult of Mao. There is evidence that Chou En-lai, identified with less inhumane and irrational economic and social policies, is more genuinely popular than the Great Helmsman. However, for the Chinese masses, particularly the peasants, Mao is the symbol of the revolution, the overthrow of capitalist-landlord rule, and the liberation of China from a century of imperialist domination. To restore to power Mao's leading internal enemy ere the Chairman's body was scarcely cold would have been unseemly.

"With the guidance of Mao's line, the Chinese people were able to recognize the line and policies of the capitalist roaders, headed this time by Teng Hsiao-ping, and beat back their attempts at reversing the achievements of the Cultural Revolution and restoring capitalism."

—*Revolution*, 15 October 1976

"The target of this struggle was Teng Hsiao-ping because he represented the bourgeois class in China....

"Teng launched an open attack on the party and instigated the counterrevolutionary incident in Tien An Men Square. This incident changed the nature of the struggle with Teng into an antagonistic contradiction."

—*The Call*, 1 May 1976

Sygma

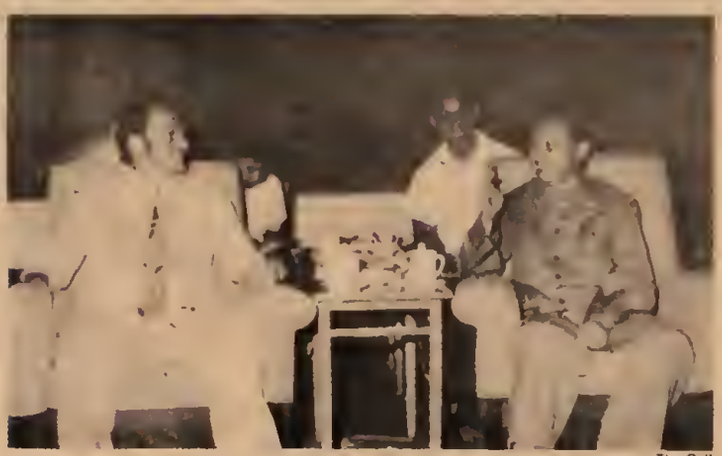
1976 poster portrays Teng as evil genie.

What Now, Maoists?

The immediate impact of Teng's restoration will be greater in international Maoist circles than in China. The economic policies associated with Teng—more Soviet-type centralized planning, more technologically sophisticated imports—have been implemented willy nilly since the fall of Lin Piao in late 1971. For the Chinese bureaucrats the fundamental political identity between Teng and Mao is more important than their periodic differences over economic and other questions.

But for foreign Maoists Teng has been the very embodiment of Chinese revisionism, the arch-"capitalist roader." Most of today's Maoist cadre were first recruited through Mao's "revolution" against Liu/Teng. It will indeed be hard for many Maoists to accept Teng as the leader of "People's China," harder even than to accept Chiang Ching as a counterrevolutionary criminal. For those Maoists who balk at the latest change in the Peking regime, the future is not bright. It's either Enver Hoxha or that most unfortunate of all political fates, to be a Stalinist without a "socialist fatherland." And those Maoist groups which do accept Teng as their leader will be more than a little embarrassed. After all, they said some very bad things about him not that long ago. (See box.)

Mike Klonsky's Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)—formerly October League—is beyond embarrassment regarding the periodic upheavals within China's ruling clique and its policies. Klonsky's CP(M-L) is committed above all to supporting the line of whoever rules in the Forbidden City *no matter what*. To be completely safe, since the purge of Chiang Ching the CP(M-L)/OL wrote nothing on its own about China, but limited itself to reprinting and paraphrasing *Peking Review* and *Hsinhua Weekly*. Of course, parroting the succession of bureaucrats who put their stamp for a time on *Peking Review* will not overly impress advanced workers in the U.S. or elsewhere.



The Call

Mike Klonsky at July 20 meeting with Hua Kuo-feng in Peking.

Klonsky just penned an article hailing Teng's restoration. Without so much as a word of self-criticism, this shameless sycophant blamed Teng's past disgrace on the now silenced and helpless "Gang of Four":

> "Through the use of the mass media, which they firmly controlled, they directed their attack against Premier Chou En-lai by using Teng Hsiao-ping as a scapegoat. Teng made some minor errors, but the 'gang of four' fabricated a list of charges against him....
>
> "The links made by the 'gang' at that time between the incident at Tien An Men and Teng Hsiao-ping have been proven to be false. Also shown to be false are the charges that Teng promoted the 'taking of the three directives as the key link' in opposition to taking class struggle as the key link. While some people did promote this line, Teng Hsiao-ping was not one of them."
>
> *The Call*, 1 August

What Klonsky hides is that the decision in April 1976 to remove Teng from all his posts was not taken in the editorial offices of the *People's Daily*, but at a Central Committee plenum which *included Mao*. In any case, it is absurd to think that the Chiang Ching clique controlled the mass media against the will of Mao, Hua Kuo-feng, Li Hsien-nien and the rest of the Chinese leadership.

It is very unlikely that Michael Klonsky enters into Teng's political consideration. However, if Teng did consider Klonsky, the tough old bureaucratic infighter could only have utter contempt for the cynical American courtier, who now kowtows to the man he viciously attacked a few months ago.

Chairman Klonsky???

Nonetheless, Klonsky has his uses. Leading his group through one cynical turn after another—support for the U.S./China alliance, cheering on the South African invasion of Angola, extolling the bloodthirsty Shah of Iran—this self-described "communist" has built an organization whose *raison d'être* is slavish loyalty to Peking's rulers and their counterrevolutionary policies. The CP(M-L) is apparently even more homogeneous and pliable than the U.S./China Peoples' Friendship Association whose Boston local split over the purge of the "Gang of Four."

Klonsky and his cohorts were invited to China last month, just as Teng was being restored to power. Klonsky's total subservience to Peking was rewarded by bestowal of the official franchise as the Maoist bureaucracy's mouthpiece and "fraternal" party in the U.S. Looking just like Dudley Doright of the Mounties and exchanging grins with Hua Kuo-feng, he even got his picture on the front page of *People's Daily*.

At the reception in the Great Hall of the People, political bureau member Li Hsien-nien acknowledged Klonsky's services:

> "The founding of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the U.S. has reflected the aspirations of the proletariat and the working people of the U.S. and also marked a new victory for the Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S. "With great joy, we extend our warm congratulations on the founding of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the U.S. and on the election of comrade Klonsky and comrade Eileen Klehr as chairman and vice-chairman...."

For years the American Maoist sects have been yapping at each other's heels in the race for recognition from Peking. With total cynicism, lack of principle, and the delicate timing of the career bureaucrat, Klonsky has outdistanced the pack. His competitors face dismal prospects. They can either kowtow to Chairman Klonsky and seek a deal on his terms or prepare to break with his Chinese masters.

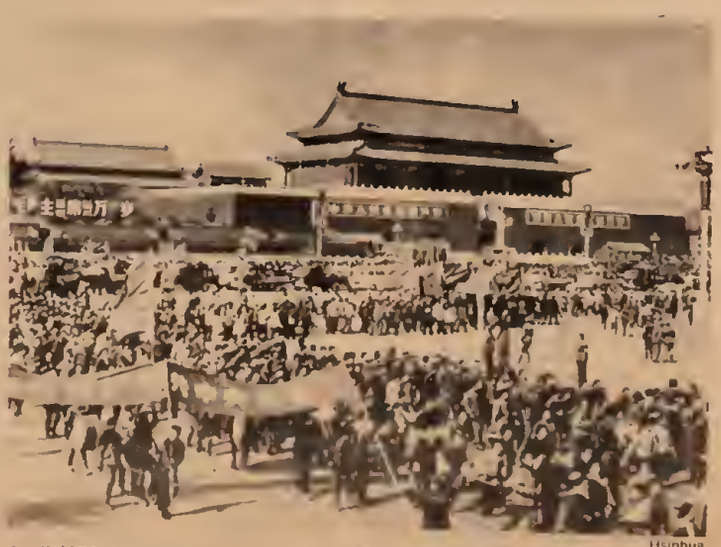
Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) is now on the sidelines. Sensing danger with the purge of the "gang," the RCP responded like the proverbial ostrich. For the past nine

"The plenary session [of the Central Committee] unanimously decided to restore comrade Teng to his posts...."

—*Hsinhua Daily News Release*, 23 July 1977

"Documents that were worked out on instruction by Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, are a concentrated demonstration of the ultra-rightist essence of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line and a systematic expression of his revisionist view-points. These three big poisonous weeds opposing the Party and Marxism are rarely available materials for learning by negative example and iron-clad proofs of the fact that *"The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."*

—*Hsinhua Weekly*, 30 August 1976



Hsinhua

April 1976 demonstration in Tien An Men Square denounced Teng as "class enemy" who attempted to "reverse correct verdicts."

months, the RCP's *Revolution* has written *nothing* about the internal situation in China! While we understand that Stalinists are usually prone to utopian illusions, we must inform the RCP membership that China will not disappear if only they close their eyes long enough. One of the victims of the fall of the Chiang Ching clique, the RCP shows every sign of becoming a nationally-limited, philistine, workerist, Stalinoid sect, a second rate version of Progressive Labor Party.

In the American Maoist milieu, the *Guardian* newspaper represents the soft, non-party New Left elements. The *Guardian* is committed above all to not antagonizing "movement" public opinion. In keeping with its lack of political definition, the *Guardian* reacted to the fall of the "gang of four" by trying to support *both* sides. It supported Hua's purge as a legitimate attack on left deviationists, but defended the Chiang Ching group against charges of being "capitalist roaders," criminals, and counterrevolutionaries.

While the *Guardian* has not yet had time to comment on Teng's restoration, we have no doubt it will occupy a middle position between those who believe Maoism has now been overthrown in China and the Peking-loyal sycophants à la Klonsky. The *Guardian* will probably say that, compared to Mao, Teng is a rightist, but that is not so bad, and certainly no bar to high office. The *Guardian* China tours are popular, and Irwin Silber and Co. would not want to antagonize the country's rulers.

However they responded, Maoists throughout the world have been dismayed and shocked by the developments in China these past nine months. Yet the political destruction of Mao's widow right after his death and the restoration to power of his main enemy is readily comprehensible from the standpoint of Trotskyism, the revolutionary Marxism of this epoch. Mao was not a revolutionary leader resting directly on the advanced elements of the proletariat and governing through the institutions of workers democracy. He was a bureaucratic bonapartist, given to leftist rhetoric within the framework of Stalinist ideology, who played off various cliques and power blocs to remain on top. That is why his regime turned topsy-turvy as soon as he died. For those Maoists shaken enough by the events in China to reconsider their Stalinist premises, the Trotskyism of the Spartacist League—which combines defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism or counterrevolution with the call for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy—is a serious revolutionary alternative to the cynical toadyism of Mike Klonsky and the know-nothing economism of Bob Avakian. ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* is published bi-weekly in August. The next issue will be dated 26 August 1977.**

Spartacist League Forum

Eurocommunism: Joining Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" Campaign?

Speaker: Ed Clarkson
Spartacist League Central Committee

Date Friday August 19
Time 7:30 p.m.
Place Phillips Brooks House, Harvard University
For more information, call (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

Steel...

(continued from page 1)

since the defeat of the 1959 strike—and to all American workers.

Thus the iron miners' strike is not only a struggle for more than a thousand local grievances unresolved for years and for wage parity between a region and section of a crucial industry. It is also a conflict between the elemental militancy of the ranks and the disabling bureaucratic tradition of class collaboration. In this union, whose bureaucrats have sought to make prostration before the bosses explicit and legally binding through the ENA, it may be nothing less than the struggle for the strike weapon itself.

The companies are gearing up for a long strike. They have admitted to stockpiling up to four months' supply of taconite ore. Some have built separate roads into the plants to carry construction workers across the picket lines. The Pinkertons are on the job. The capitalist propaganda mill threatens layoffs and depression conditions. And behind it all stands the capitalist state—the cops and courts whose business is strike-breaking.

WV Photo

USWA pickets at the Hibbing Taconite Co. near Hibbing, Minn.

In the face of this company intransigence, the workers are getting ready for a long test of strength. *WV* learned from pickets at Hibbing, Minnesota that they are considering building warming huts at plant entrances to protect strikers from the sharp Minnesota winter. The slogan of workers at U.S. Steel's key Minntac complex at Mountain Iron, Minnesota is "Shut it down and let it rust!" The initial strike authorization vote for Local 1938 representing this plant was 80 percent for striking; last Sunday more than 1,000 Local 1938 members voted 94 percent to reaffirm the strike vote.

"No-Strike" Bureaucrats

The iron miners voted overwhelmingly for "steel rebel" Sadlowski against USWA head Lloyd McBride, and many express surprise that McBride sanctioned their strike. But it isn't so hard to understand. All wings of the Steelworkers bureaucracy are united in refusing to confront ENA head-on in the only way that counts, strike action. Faced with a massive regional walkout, McBride acquiesced to the inevitable and moved to contain it within the straitjacket bounds of the ENA. Thus the demand for wage parity is being treated as a demand for an "incentives" plan similar to the one in basic steel; "incentives," unlike wages, are considered a "local" issue.

The demand for wage parity is simple and fully justified. The pay differential runs between an estimated 70 and 80 cents per hour. The "incentives" programs in steel are nothing but speed-up schemes, generally known in the labor movement under a different name—piecework. Militant USWA members must demand that the "incentives" systems in basic steel be dumped in favor of hourly rates, with the highest level of incentives rates rolled into them, for all steel workers.

The iron miners have taken the lead in challenging ENA. But the local bureaucrats in the iron fields have failed to call for the crucial demand that could definitively smash ENA and force the re-opening of the sellout contract: the extension of the miners' strike into an industrywide strike, encompassing basic steel.

Linus Wampler, director of the Mesabi-centered District 33 and a Sadlowski man, stresses the strike's local character and insists that individual locals can settle whenever they see fit. Already Hanna Mining Company's Channing plant in Michigan has voted to settle without pay parity; this plant and three natural ore mines in Minnesota are currently in operation.

While 3,000 USWA members are on strike at Minntac, some 2,000 supervisory and white-collar employees cross the picket lines daily, with union approval, while construction workers go in and out by a separate entrance. Only Local 2660 at the National Steel Pellet Plant in Keewatin has successfully stopped construction workers from scabbing by setting up mass pickets.

Further, in addition to the stockpiles at the mills, an estimated 6 million tons of taconite pellets await shipment in Duluth. USWA Local 5000, representing seamen, has continued to man taconite-carrying boats embarking from Duluth. Yet Local 1938 president Samargia considers it "unnecessary" to appeal to Local 5000—members of his own union!—to refuse to handle the stockpiled taconite.

The elementary principles of solidarity demand that all union workers refuse to handle taconite. A fighting USWA leadership would appeal in particular to railroad workers, Great Lakes seamen on the ore boats and the National Maritime Union (NMU)-crewed boats that deliver ore to Ford's massive River Rouge complex, and Canadian workers involved in a possible influx of imports to "hot cargo" strike breaking stockpile shipments. Canadian iron miners and all USWA workers—should force their union "leaders" to shut down the steel industry.

But the present USWA leadership, and its loyal oppositionists in the Sadlowski camp, will fight tooth and nail against a militant mobilization of the steel industry. Instead of a call for an industrywide strike to smash the sellout contract and break the ENA straitjacket, they think only of courtroom bickering over the "legality" of the strikes under the provisions of the ENA. The resolution of these issues will not be determined in the courtrooms; they will be fought out on the terrain of the class struggle.

In the last analysis, the ENA will not be broken on the iron ranges, but in the steel mills—the backbone of the industry. The iron miners' determination can be an inspiration to the USWA ranks. But the USWA "leaders" are flirting with disaster by allowing isolated militant sectors of the workforce to face the full ferocity of company intransigence. The iron miners' strike underlines the crucial need to sweep aside the McBrides and Sadlowskis in favor of a class-struggle union leadership. Steel workers must take the massive iron miners' walkouts as the jumping off point for a concerted offensive against the ENA, guarantor of class collaboration, through an industrywide strike to shut down steel ■

CORRECTIONS

In the last issue of *WV* (No. 168), the article, "Akron Beacon Journal Witchhunts SYL," contains a press display which mistakenly labels the article from the *Akron Beacon Journal* as the *Record Courier*, and vice versa.

Also in the same issue of *WV*, the article, "Alibis of a Social Democrat," says of Bob Pearlman: "When he was recruited to the SL, he was a member of the New University Conference, a Progressive Labor (PL) front group for academics." In fact, the PL front group for academics to which Pearlman belonged when he was recruited to the SL was the University Action Group. The New University Conference was not a PL front group at all, but the unfortunate creature of New Left academics and liberals from which PL and its supporters were expelled on an anti-communist basis.

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Weapons...

(continued from page 6)

ments as a cover for arms escalation is not new. SALT I put limits on missile launchers and long-range bombers but not warheads. So between 1970 and 1975, despite "historic" SALT I, the United States added 4,500 nuclear warheads to its arsenal by MIRVing its Minutemen III and Poseidon ICBM's. This "arms-limitation" resulted in a nearly threefold advantage for the United States in warheads.

The reality was nicely captured by Henry Kissinger who boasted last year in Dallas, "The SALT agreements are the opposite of the one-sided concessions to the U.S.S.R., as they are so often portrayed. Soviet offensive programs were slowed; none of ours were affected" (*New York Times*, 23 March 1977). Carter's March "initiative" makes it quite clear that he is aiming for an equally advantageous bargain this time around.

"Team B" et al.

An important aspect of the "human rights" campaign and the effort to enhance American strategic forces is a widespread propaganda campaign to convince the U.S. public of a mounting Soviet threat. Last year there were "revelations" that the CIA had been seriously underestimating Soviet military expenditures. Then came "Team B"—the "hardliners" who said as a "team" what they'd been saying as individuals for years: that the Soviet Union is striving for strategic superiority.

As if to bolster Team B's credibility, there has been a spate of recent articles detailing this new Red Menace. Team B leader Richard Pipes went on at length in a recent *Commentary* on why the Soviet military thinks it can win a nuclear war. *Aviation Week* reported the development of a Soviet "death-ray" particle beam which can supposedly knock out U.S. ICBM's from their parabolic orbits. Other reports tell of mock attacks by Russian "killer" lasers on U.S. satellites.

A number of influential anti-communist coalitions have sprung into action around the theme that the military balance is shifting in favor of the Kremlin and there is imminent danger of war. The "left" wing of this cesspool is the Committee on the Present Danger, founded by former Kennedy aide and Vietnam hawk Eugene V. Rostow. Included in the ranks of the Committee are General Lyman Lemnitzer, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Maxwell Taylor, former undersecretary of defense David Packard and Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO.

On the right is the American Security Council, headed by a former FBI agent and co-chaired by five retired high-ranking military officers. The Council membership includes James Angleton, longtime head of CIA covert operations, and Edward Teller, co-inventor of the hydrogen bomb and the original Dr. Strangelove.

Recently this loathsome crew produced, with AFL-CIO cooperation, a television program entitled "The Price of Peace and Freedom," a piece of celluloid hysteria on the mounting Soviet threat. According to the *New York Times* of 4 April:

> "This color film shows strong-jawed young Soviet officers pushing buttons that send missiles soaring in an arc of destruction, and displays the efficiency of Soviet tanks, bombers, radar and other military hardware. It is laced with somber warnings of high-ranking American officers and extensive use of a pessimistic speech by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn."

While the U.S. Pentagon and its right-wing technocrats are certainly chomping at the bit, this campaign is no simple right-wing offensive. The desire to upgrade U.S. military hegemony represents the consensus of bourgeois opinion. And leading the effort is Jimmy Carter.

Interestingly enough, the Carter administration's own assessment of global power relationships is at variance with the thrust of the anti-Soviet propaganda. In fact Presidential Review Memorandum 10 finds the U.S. strategic advantage to be increasing and cites Cruise, the MX, Trident and the MK-12A as proof. It also notes that "détente" has somehow become passé, and advocates that the term "Era 2" be adopted, which incorporates the "competition of the cold-war era" (*New York Times*, 8 July). The change, unheralded at the time, undoubtedly occurred around 20 January 1977.

The CP's Reformist Pipedreams

The response of the Stalinists to this anti-Soviet offensive is as predictable as it is appalling. The U.S. Communist Party (CP) can only babble on about the pressure that "war hawks" are placing upon Carter. The notion that a massive arms budget springs from a sinister right-wing conspiracy may mesh nicely with a class-collaborationist "anti-monopoly coalition" strategy, but it has little to do with imperialist realities. The warhawk windmill at which Gus Hall tilts is inhabited by the entire bourgeoisie.

The Stalinists typically concentrate on a particular weapons system as the current embodiment of all evil. The Carter decision not to build the B-1 bomber, for example, was hailed as a "stunning although partial victory for the people." Indeed, this "great people's achievement" was deemed comparable to that other great "success," the rejection of an anti-ballistic missile system (ABM).

Despite the CP's giddy elation, one suspects that a certain amount of embarrassment is being felt these days around the *Daily World* editorial offices. The *Daily World*'s "victory" communiqué itself announced the necessity of defeating the Cruise and the neutron bomb, and there is reason to believe the Soviet military may possibly have preferred the B-1 to Cruise. Contrary to the CP's liberal "guns vs. butter" platitudes, the B-1 and ABM were not rejected for more jobs in "productive sectors" but for what the bourgeoisie judges to be more effective weapons, Cruise and MIRV.

The Stalinists have been preaching their tired old refrain of "peaceful coexistence" and "disarmament" for decades. Its source is clear—the Soviet bureaucracy's anti-revolutionary policy of "socialism in one country." While the imperialists have from time to time sought or made limited, temporary deals with the Soviet degenerated workers state, these deals were always conditional on the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy being willing to barter away this or that vital interest of the international workers movement. The niggardly flow of Soviet arms to North Vietnam (at a time when Egypt was being armed to the teeth with the USSR's most advanced weaponry) and Moscow's pressure on the DRV for a total sellout of the struggle in the south epitomize Brezhnev's pursuit of "détente" with the blood-stained Nixon regime.

The various imperialists, hungry for new markets, fresh sources of materials and new labor to exploit have never reconciled themselves to the fact that first the USSR and then China were wrenched from the world capitalist system by revolution. This fact of life, bloodily illustrated by the World War II Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union and the imperialist interventions in China, Korea and Vietnam, was ABC to the leaders of the October Revolution. Thus Lenin wrote:

> "As long as capitalism and socialism remain side by side we cannot live peacefully; the one or the other will be the victor in the end. An obituary will be sung over the death of world capitalism or the death of the Soviet Republic. At present we have only a respite in the war."

Today as in Lenin's time the policy of revolutionaries struggling against imperialist war is the policy of class struggle. The main obstacles to the pursuit of this struggle are the Stalinists and social democrats (à la the SWP) with their pursuit of class collaborationist coalitions for "peace" and "disarmament." As Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Program*:

> "'*Disarmament*'—But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers. But to disarm the bourgeoisie the workers must arm themselves." ■

Workers Vanguard

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French Anti-Nuke Protest...

(continued from page 7)

strikes and one student demonstration.

On July 29 police raided the campsite at Morestel where many German protesters were staying and announced discovery of an "arms cache." Although according to *Le Monde* (2 August) this "arsenal" consisted of some 30 helmets and gas masks, a few tools, knives, and tent spikes, Jannin rushed to announce: "The formal instructions have been given; if necessary, I myself will give the order to open fire" (*Le Matin*, 1 August).

In the night following the assault, French cops scoured the rural area, rounding up foreigners, particularly Germans. Cars with foreign license plates were stopped, their occupants thrown in jail without charges, and held overnight in barbarous conditions. Some dozen German citizens were still being held last week, charged under the vague "anti-casseurs" law, an omnibus bill passed in the post-1968 events which allows the arrest of anyone the police deem suspicious. And at press time it was learned that after the first trial one demonstrator received a three-month prison sentence for possession of a knife!

Anti-nuclear protests have been growing in Europe. In Sweden last year the issue was decisive in defeating the Social Democrats, who had held power since 1932. In Britain, which already has two experimental breeders, rising costs and domestic protests have caused officials to agree to a public debate on the advisability of commercial breeders. West Germany has been the scene of recent violent clashes between police and demonstrators, and in Spain on July 14, 200,000 persons turned out to try to halt construction of a nuclear plant in the outlying suburbs of Bilbao. In France, which has insufficient fuel reserves, the government is determined to squelch any attempt to try to stop construction of the Super-Phénix, a key element in the government's energy program. Thus, on the eve of the Creys-Malville rally, President Valéry Giscard-d'Estaing chose to visit a nearby uranium-enrichment plant to assert his commitment to nuclear programs.

PCP: "A Provocation"

The police assault at Creys-Malville was widely condemned among the opposition parties in France—with the notable exception of the Communist Party (PCF), long a rabid supporter of France's nuclear energy program. *L'Humanité* called the demonstration a "provocation" and Paul Rochas, PCF central committee member, condemned "the acts of violence of organized groups in France and other countries which act under and hide behind the cover of anti-nuclear slogans." Indeed, the PCF is even refusing to participate in the demonstration against Michalon's murder by the cops!

While the PCF lashes out at the eco-freaks, who they say wish "to return to the days of sailboat navies and oil lamps" (*New York Times*, 2 August), this position stems solely from the PCF's appetite to become the future administrators of the bourgeois state, and has nothing to do with the Marxist commitment to the fullest development of society's technological resources. The PCF's shameless call for developing an "independent military force" for France—whose purpose is to strengthen France's imperialist designs—is an enormous betrayal.

The Socialist Party (PS), long an advocate of nuclear power, is now calling for a referendum on the issue. Among the fake-Trotskyist left, while the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste and Lutte Ouvrière have opposed the anti-nuclear movement, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) has been enthusiastically building the recent demonstrations, to the extent of devoting a page per day in *Rouge* to news of the upcoming demonstration. In the wake of the attack, while the LCR has denounced the government's resurrection of "xenophobic fear of the German anarchists," the LCR calls the event "the most powerful international demonstration against the run-away advance of nuclear power by the government, the EDF [government electrical utility] and private industry" (*Le Monde*, 2 August).

We condemn the despicable anti-German French chauvinism, but it is not only the bourgeoisie which has in the past fanned these flames. In particular the PCF has long campaigned against NATO and the Common Market on the basis of traditional anti-German hostility. We demand the immediate release of all those arrested in connection with the July 31 demonstration!

Marxists are not opposed to the development of nuclear power. Although the operation of fast breeder reactors such as Super-Phénix may pose potentially greater safety hazards than the operation of conventional nuclear reactors such as the one which was the object of the Clamshell Alliance protests in the U.S., like the Clamshell Alliance, the European ecology movement sees the main danger to society as technology itself. All the anti-nuclear movements ignore the capitalist system with its vast arsenal of nuclear bombs and sophisticated weapons systems. Marxists call for control of safety conditions in the nuclear plants by the trade union movement and for the expropriation of the energy industry linked to the struggle for a workers government. Not only nuclear power, but all forms of modern technology can be lethal in the hands of the capitalist class and its drive for profits. Only international proletarian revolution can halt the escalating spiral of the imperialist arms race and unleash the productive forces from the chains of capitalist economic anarchy, putting them at the service of all humanity. ■

Shut up...

(continued from page 3)

(in Dayton, Ohio). Two days later the Court also overturned desegregation plans in Omaha and Milwaukee.

The Court has already virtually outlawed "metropolitan" busing plans between predominantly black cities and surrounding white suburbs. Last winter it held that it was not inherently unconstitutional for a Chicago suburb to refuse to change its zoning laws to permit low-income housing even if one of the motivations for the zoning ordinance was racial discrimination.

Under the circumstances, NAACP spokesmen felt compelled to launch an uncharacteristic attack on several Democratic Party politicians. Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington office, charged that opponents of busing, including prominent liberal congressmen, "are trying to

McElroy/Newsweek

Benjamin Hooks, new NAACP head.

restore the badge of slavery." He singled out Senator Thomas Eagleton (McGovern's initial choice for running mate in 1972) and Representative Charles Vanik (once a member of the Board of Directors of the Cleveland NAACP) for being "ready to turn and run when they feel pressure from the worst segregationist elements in their states." Eagleton and Vanik recently introduced similar resolutions, which passed the House and Senate, preventing the federal government from withholding aid to school districts that refuse to integrate.

Reformism Equals Blacks vs. Labor

The NAACP is also running into trouble with its support for "affirmative action" schemes which were introduced by the government in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Under the guise of concern for the plight of unskilled, marginally employed blacks and women, the state sought to rip up union contracts and destroy union hiring halls and seniority systems—hard-won gains which provide virtually the only protection that *all* workers have against selective victimization or arbitrary company actions.

While Marxists may support certain insufficient measures like special admissions programs at universities which extend the opportunities of oppressed minorities (while calling for *open* admissions for all), petitioning the capitalist state to attack the gains of the labor movement must be resolutely opposed. We demand a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create jobs for all; an end to all discriminatory practices in unemployment and within the unions; and union-controlled hiring on a first come, first served basis.

NAACP support of union-busting by the government is rationalized with the liberal bourgeois argument that white workers are the cause of racial discrimination and must pay the price for its redress. Herbert Hill, the NAACP Labor Director, attacked the labor movement as a whole at the convention's labor workshop:

> "Black workers have not been denied jobs as individuals, but as a class, no matter what their personal merits and qualifications.... Correspondingly, white males as a class have benefited from this systematic discrimination. The notion that these workers are innocent and blameless is a myth, and we categorically reject this notion."

Not surprisingly, these attacks on the trade unions have led to sharp clashes with union bureaucrats, including black bureaucrats. A contingent of black labor bureaucrats, led by William Pollard, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights, sharply criticized Hill and defended the May 31 Supreme Court decision upholding seniority systems as long as they were not intentionally discriminatory. The Meanyite bureaucrats, of course, care nothing about historic union gains and their extension to blacks and women, seeking only to preserve their own narrow constituencies built on job-trusting, betrayal of low-seniority and unemployed workers and catering to the labor aristocracy.

Predictably, the reformist SWP hailed Hill's attack on the unions, approvingly quoting his denunciation of white workers in the 8 July *Militant*, Robb Wright, a member of the Boston Teachers Union and a supporter of the SWP, supported Hill at the labor workshop.

The trade-union bureaucracy and the NAACP play symmetrical political roles—both attempting to bind their respective constituencies to the Democratic Party and to loyalty to the bourgeois state. In a period when the bourgeoisie is no longer able or willing to grant significant concessions to either the working class or blacks, and is in fact on the offensive *against* the oppressed, the NAACP and the bureaucrats are set one against the other more than ever, squabbling over whatever rapidly disappearing crumbs there are left.

McElroy/Newsweek

Black misleaders delivered ghetto vote to "ethnic purity" Carter.

The black reformists and labor statesmen are obstacles to the forging of the revolutionary proletarian leadership which is the only road forward. Such a leadership will be forged in the fight to break the labor movement from the parties of the bourgeoisie in the struggle for a workers party to fight for a workers government.

A key element in the creation of such a party is the black proletariat. In fact, it was the increasing black component of the labor movement more than the legal campaigns of the NAACP which forced many of the gains of the civil rights period. The Jim Crow system, which was effective for keeping rural sharecroppers in their place, simply could not be adapted to the conditions of the industrial proletariat.

The courts and Congress are not the guardians of the democratic principles which the ruling class hypocritically claims to uphold, but are simply state organs to protect bourgeois property while creating illusions and false hopes among the masses. Like all branches of the state, the courts reflect the prevailing moods and tactics of the bourgeoisie. In the present period of rightward motion, when the labor movement is still crippled by conservative leadership and the black population is atomized and demoralized, it is no accident that the NAACP finds itself snubbed by a Democratic Party president, abandoned by liberal legislatnrs and suffering repeated defeats in the courts.

The realization of full social and political equality for black people and all the oppressed can only be won through unrelenting struggle against the bourgeois state. Break from the Democratic Party! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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SWP Calls on Soviet Union to Disarm...

(continued from page 7)

> wipe out all human beings once. Both sides have stockpiles sufficient to obliterate humanity many times over....
>
> "Yet in a madness that has no equal in human history the nuclear arms race continues. 'Military defense' has obviously become *meaningless* in terms of saving a country from the most terrible catastrophe imaginable—its extinction. "To me it appears quite clear that the Kremlin, by participating in this mindless race, is dealing terrible blows against the defense of the Soviet Union." [our emphasis]

Hansen abandons the Trotskyist position of Soviet defensism with the argument that nuclear weaponry makes all military defense meaningless. Nuclear weapons render the class nature of conflicting states irrelevant; any state with weapons capable of destroying mankind is a bad state. Contrary to Norman Thomas and Joseph Hansen, it is a pacifist illusion that, if both sides have nuclear weapons, a war must result in mutual annihilation. It is possible to win a nuclear war.

The logic of Hansen's position is that since the early 1960's when both the U.S. and USSR acquired stockpiles theoretically capable of destroying humanity, all military expenditure and planning has been completely senseless. This is a stupid, pacifistic technological argument. Stockpiled nuclear weapons *in themselves* have no military effectiveness. Such weapons must be *delivered* to enemy targets. And delivery systems are *constantly* being countered through new military technology. The type of plane which A-bombed Hiroshima in 1945 could not today get within a thousand miles of an enemy city. Polaris submarines of late 1960's vintage are so noisy they are easily located by present-day underwater listening devices. It is in the area of delivery systems (ICBM's, MIRV's, Polaris submarines, Trident submarines, Cruise missiles) that American imperialism seeks the technological breakthroughs which would give it strategic nuclear superiority over the USSR.

It is common in liberal, pacifistic circles to regard the American military/technological establishment as a bunch of mad gamesmen à la Dr. Strangelove. This view, the product of technological ignorance, intellectual snootiness and fatuous moralism, has no relation to military science. Strategic nuclear superiority is *not* a fantastic concept. Weapons can potentially be developed which would give the U.S. an effective first strike capacity against the Soviet Union. James Schlesinger's project for a "hard-target counterforce," for example, is potentially a deadly threat to the Soviet state.

What gives the *illusion* of pointlessness and stasis to the arms race is that the USSR has countered each U.S. advance so that a rough strategic *parity* has been maintained since the early 1960's. We do not condemn the Soviet Union for its nuclear weapons policy. On the contrary, we are concerned that it might be inadequate. Any Kremlin regime which out of liberal illusions or bureaucratic mismanagement neglects the nuclear defense of the USSR and Eastern Europe is signing the death warrant of the Soviet state, which is historically progressive in relation to its capitalist imperialist enemies. Such a failure of Soviet military preparedness could open the way to a nuclear holocaust which would set mankind back many generations.

The inevitable conflicts between rival imperialist powers competing to plunder the world for profit, and the revanchist imperialist appetite to restore private property in the deformed workers states, constitute the impetus toward nuclear world war. "Disarmament" and "coexistence" schemes are a dangerous hoax; the worldwide victory of the revolutionary proletariat is the only road to peace. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

WV Photo

Opposing Carter's "human rights" campaign.

WV Photo

Tailing Carter's "human rights" campaign.

August 20 Demos Feed Anti-Soviet "Human Rights" Crusade

Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals!

When Anita Bryant's vicious anti-homosexual crusade chalked up a victory for bigotry in Dade County, Florida earlier this summer, hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets in protest. Now, demonstrations scheduled for August 20—organized on the West Coast by the Coalition for Human Rights and on the East Coast by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights are being built around the slogan, "human rights for gays." These actions, intended to tap the outrage of the gay community in the face of the Bryant assault, cannot advance the struggle for homosexuals' democratic rights, for they are attempts to bring the protests into the camp of an even more menacing campaign, Jimmy Carter's imperialist "human rights" crusade against the Soviet bloc.

In New York City the plan is to demonstrate at the United Nations. According to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a prime mover of the August 20 demonstrations, the marchers' aim is to "focus attention on President Carter's two-faced pronouncements on human rights abroad while these very rights are denied to lesbians and gay men in this country" (*Militant*, 5 August). To chide Carter for hypocrisy because he denies human rights at home is a conscious legitimization of the imperialist chief's policies abroad. In other words, Carter's domestic stance should be as "humanitarian" as his foreign policy!

What is the meaning of Carter's "human rights" campaign internationally? His call for "human rights" is nothing but a code phrase for anti-Communism. It is an attack on the Soviet Union and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states, an ideological preparation for imperialist military assault on the gains of the October Revolution.

The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 was a monumental historic advance; all opponents of capitalist exploitation and oppression must learn its lessons. The socialist revolution in Russia overturned more than bourgeois private property; it also committed itself to the fight to root out centuries of barbaric abuse of women, Jews, non-Russian nationalities and other specially oppressed sections of the population. An important revolutionary act, guided by the principle that the state has no business interfering in private consensual sexual relations, was the abolition of reactionary anti-homosexual legislation. The revolution laid the material basis for replacing the stultifying enslavement of women in the nuclear family with personal relations freed from economic coercion and philistine moralism. Thus, the Bolshevik program held the key to ending the oppression of homosexuals.

The Stalinist political counterrevolution in the USSR destroyed workers democracy and the revolutionary Bolshevik Party and reinstituted (in the name of the so-called "proletarian family") much of the old bourgeois moralism and social conservatism. But it did not destroy the collective property forms established by the October Revolution. The economic foundations upon which the USSR still rests are the decisive criterion of the class nature of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

It was this understanding of the class character of the USSR and the contradictory nature of Stalinism that propelled a politically advanced collective of gay activists, the Red Flag Union (RFU, formerly Lavender and Red Union) in the direction of Trotskyism and fusion with the Spartacist League. These comrades came to understand that the duty of revolutionists is to defend the gains of October against imperialism and counterrevolution, as part of the Trotskyist program of political revolution against Stalinism:

> "The working class must overthrow Stalinism itself—it cannot delegate that task to the bourgeoisie. We defend the USSR not because we believe that it is a model to be emulated, not because we feel a moral solidarity with its leaders, and not because we believe that socialism will come there sooner than it will come here. We defend the USSR because we oppose the return of capitalism and because of what that return would mean for the consciousness of the working class and the prospect for world revolution."
>
> *Red Flag*, July 1977

On August 20 the SL and RFU will not be found among the pious liberal cold-warriors, pro-tsarist "dissidents," "free Soviet Jewry" Zionists and other "human rights" protesters who appeal to U.S. imperialism not to be "hypocritical." We cannot march with the August 20 "single issue" demonstrators when their single issue is imperialist "human rights." Instead, the SL and RFU call upon leftist homosexual activists and others who wish to demonstrate in defense of democratic rights to boycott the August 20 protests which have been organized under the banner of liberal anti-Sovietism.

In the protests which were organized this summer against the ominous anti-homosexual campaign spearheaded by Bryant the SL and RFU actively demonstrated our commitment to the defense of democratic rights. But we intervened to draw the *class line*—pointing out that while Carter in his Father's Day interview was willing to hypocritically give support to democratic rights for homosexuals, his "human rights" campaign is demagogy designed to mobilize public opinion behind his attempts to refurbish the discredited spy agencies and to strengthen the nuclear arsenal of U.S. imperialism. Unlike the SWP, which tails the imperialist "human rights" campaign by uncritically supporting all Soviet dissidents including reactionary ideologues such as Andrei Amalrik and by explicitly opposing "dictatorships everywhere" so as to equate the USSR with bourgeois police states, the SL and RFU have raised the slogan—"the main enemy is at home!"

The current thinly veiled appeal to the Democrats' refurbished cold-war politics is a sinister but logical outgrowth of the sectoralism of the petty-bourgeois gay milieu, abetted by the cynical reformists of the SWP. It is flatly counterposed to the revolutionary perspective of the SL and RFU, based on the socialist understanding of the revolutionary future of the united proletariat under the leadership of the vanguard party. As a recent leaflet issued jointly by the SL and RFU explained:

> "Our program has a double edge. In one direction it seeks to cut the workers, which includes the preponderance of gay people, and oppressed away from backward ideology and in the other to sever the oppressed from utopian petty-bourgeois illusions they place in the revolutionary potential of their particular oppressed sector."

The SL and RFU are committed to the struggle for full democratic rights for homosexuals as part of the class struggle which alone can win and defend those rights. Participating in demonstrations across the country under the banner, "Stop Anita Bryant," we stressed the need for united class struggle, guided by a revolutionary proletarian program, to beat back the reactionary offensive. Above all we insisted that this offensive was mounted by the capitalist state; behind the savagery of the Bryants, the "right-to-lifers," the anti-busing fanatics stands Carter's "human rights" anti-Soviet campaign.

Stop Anita Bryant! Fight Social Reaction Through a Workers Party! Toward a Workers Government! Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet "Human Rights" Campaign! Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 170 26 August 1977

West Germany Gets the Bomb

Black nationalist militants from southern Africa, who had come into possession of sensational secret South African government documents on nuclear development, finally got a major public response. The Soviet government broke the story wide open with the charge that South Africa was about to conduct an A-bomb test. The Americans then chimed in, with the State Department moaning, "We know that the Soviet Union shares our concern over nuclear proliferation and we are therefore taking their allegations in this matter seriously" (*New York Times*, 21 August).

The South Africans denied everything but on 23 August the *Times* reported: "The French Government said today it had received new information that South Africa was getting ready to set off an atomic test explosion." The story was complete with references to the Russian Tass agency's accusations that the French were helping South Africa develop nuclear weapon capability.

Of course, most of the great powers today shed crocodile tears over the plight of the blacks in southern Africa. But nothing in the American press to date reveals the urgent (and hardly African) reason why Russia on the east and France on the west have raised such a hue and cry about the South African atom bomb, while having so little to say about nuclear proliferation to Israel. But reference to facsimiles of the original documents stolen by the African black militants, as published in the British press, reveals what is really going on.

The London *Observer* (14 August) reported that the Russian warning of an imminent South African A-bomb test may be related to "a massive theft of secret papers from the South African embassy in West Germany," the second such theft in two years. The African National Congress produced documents referring to "visits to Germany by South African arms experts, the supply of equipment including nuclear equipment in non-military guises and technical briefings by German personnel." Leading West German companies, including Telefunken, Siemens, Messerschmidt and others have been involved in joint German-South African work at a uranium enrichment plant near Pretoria. And West German scientists were secretly visiting the South African plant to introduce an exclusive process for enriching the uranium to weapons-grade levels.

Out-of-Town Try-Out

In the 1920's, as a result of the Versailles treaty, German capitalism was supposed to be demilitarized. Correspondingly the Reichswehr entered into an intimate military collaboration with the Russian Red Army for a period, thus obtaining the opportunity to develop the foundations of Blitzkrieg tactics and train officers. Today, under the direction of the West German capitalist government, the greatest industrial corporations in Germany along with principal German scientists are fathering the South African atom bomb project. Bonn of course denied the reports, but this is what the stolen documents show.

Following World War II, as a result of defeat by the Western imperialists and the Russian deformed workers state, and further sanctified by the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, the powerful German capitalist state was compelled to acquiesce to restricting itself to a defensive armed forces, without heavy bombers, a powerful navy or especially the nuclear weapons which in today's world constitute the military expression of even middling power.

But Germany is again a very powerful capitalist state. A Japan or a Sweden, and certainly a Germany, have all of the industrial-technical means to develop the full range of nuclear weaponry within a very few years. But for the West German state to openly repudiate the agreements which formally bind it would have major political repercussions which it is not now prepared to face. Instead as in the 1920's, when the Weimar government felt similarly constrained, the foundations of military power corresponding to West Germany's economic weight are being laid down at a distance, in this case in South Africa. That is why Germany's neighbors Russia and France are raising such a stink about the evil South Africans and "their" bomb.

In pointing out this development, we must adamantly oppose the chauvinisms left over from World War II. What is being prepared is a realignment based on a decline in the specific weight of U.S. capitalism. America is no longer hegemonic, merely the most powerful of the world's imperialist nations. The reasons why the principal powers are

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WV Photo

UMW march in Washington earlier this month hit recent cutbacks in miners' health benefits.

"No Card—No Coal!"

Mine Sellout

AUGUST 23 — At a heated meeting of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) held in Charleston yesterday, the Union's International Executive Board (IEB) ordered miners to end their two-month wildcat, reportedly with the provision that if the coal operators (BCOA) do not restore the company-paid medical cards within 60 days, they will call the union out on a national strike.

The immediate effect of the meeting has been to boost back-to-work sentiment. Reportedly about one half of the 65,000 miners in West Virginia — the heart of the strike — returned to work today, along with miners in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Alahama and western Kentucky.

Miners in eastern Kentucky's District 30 remained on strike, and roving pickets from that district closed a number of mines in West Virginia, but the bitter eight-week-old strike is in mortal danger.

The sellout maneuver by the UMWA bureaucracy must be rejected by the membership. Once the picket lines are pulled down and the miners return to the pits, it will be doubly difficult to go on the offensive again. The popular slogan of the Washington march two weeks earlier must be revived: "No card, no coal."

Yesterday's meeting in Charleston was scheduled to bring together IEB members and District 17 officials. But several hundred uninvited rank-and-filers came to Charleston, insisting that the UMWA tops confront them. They fought their way past a bureaucratic goon squad into the meeting room at the Daniel Boone Hotel.

Miller reportedly fled from the room at the sight of the militant miners, returning with a ten-man personal bodyguard. Further "protection" for the executive board was furnished by Charleston police, who showed up in full riot gear. One District 17 miner in attendance told *WV* that as soon as the back-to-work motion was passed, the meeting was instantly adjourned and most IEB members disappeared from the room within 30 seconds.

For weeks the UMWA bureaucrats have feverishly tried to break the strike. They have on numerous occasions ordered the wildcatters to return to work, threatening to discipline the strikers. Miller even appeared on television August 13 to denounce "false prophets" who were promoting the strike.

But Miller and the IEB, whose authority has slipped to its lowest point, were defied repeatedly by the militant miners. Numerous miners have demanded Miller's recall. And last week District 17 miners picketed district headquarters, refusing to allow elected officials to enter. When Joe Duffie, district secretary-treasurer and a well-

continued on page 9

SWP Polemic Against SL:

Alibis of a Social Democrat...6

Shanker Opposes Implementing Busing

CIA Social Democrats Feted at AFT Convention

At the 61st cnnvention of the 400,000 member American Federation of Teachers (AFT), held in Boston from August 15 to 19, the right-wing social-democratic regime of Albert Shanker weathered a series of attacks from the liberal/reformist opposition.

The major issues were affirmative action and seninrity, the Bakke decision and quota policies, busing and school desegregation. Numerous delegates made telling points about the racial insensitivity of the Shanker bureaucracy. However, the opposition accepted the fundamental premise of Shanker & Co. that cutbacks are inevitable at the present time. The axis of the convention debate centered on which section of the working class should bear the brunt of the capitalist austerity attacks, rather than on the need to defend all workers and the poor. The attempt to solve the prohlem of racial discrimination within the framework of capitalism frequently led the liberal opposition to take positions to the right of the union leadership, as with their support for dumping seniority in favor of "preferential layoffs" and similar examples of reverse discrimination.

What went unchallenged was Shanker's open capitulation before the wave of cutbacks in social expenditures. The most blatant example is New York City, Shanker's home base. Under the whip of the city's fiscal crisis, over 20,000 school jobs have been eliminated, including 12,000 classroom teachers; the school day has been shortened and class sizes increased, while most step increases in salaries have been frozen. Shanker's only response has been to commit more union pension funds to the city's bank-run "Municipal Assistance Cnrporation" and to disavow the strike weapon. In November 1976 Shanker proposed that collective hargaining be replaced for the duration of the fiscal crisis by a tri-partite board composed of labor, management and "ncutrals."

In Philadelphia, another Shanker stronghold, 10,000 layoffs, amounting to one-third of total school employees, were announced last spring; all kindergartens and library services are to be eliminated, all non-teaching assistants dropped and many elementary school lunch programs eliminated. The teachers union leadership has stond by helplessly, its only response being to heg the state legislature lor more aid, to he financed if necessary hy massive regressive tax increases.

Until recently, the Shanker leadership has enjnyed a reputation among the hulk of teachers of being a tough negotiator at the bargaining tahle. But Shanker's capitulation to the cutbacks in NYC, Philadelphia and elsewhere has croded his traditional base in the union. The failure of the opposition to even make an appeal on this fundamental issue to the convention delegates testifies convincingly to the fact that Shanker's opponents share his class-collaborationist nutlook and have nothing to offer as an alternative.

A central link cementing the AFT bureaucracy to the capitalist class is Shanker's long-time collaboration with anti-Soviet imperialist politicians. Convention guests included not only such hourgeois political figures as Vice President Mondale, Secretary of Labor Marshall and U.S. Commissioner of Education Ernest Boyer, but such well-known cold warriors as Irving Brown, foreign policy aide to Jay Lovestone and Genrge Meany and identified by Philip Agee as the "principal CIA agent for the control of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions."

Shanker's virulent anti-Cnmmunism went virtually unchallenged by the delegates, many of whom consider themselves "socialists" and "communists." The glaring failure of a single delegate to speak out against a Shanker-sponsored resolution favoring the freeing of Huber Matos, a military leader and former supporter of Castro whose links to a rightist plot to overthrow Castro in the interests of American imperialism justly landed him in a Cuban jail, is an index of the capitulation of the fake left.

Busing and Affirmative Action

The Shanker bureaucracy, knowing beforehand that it had the votes necessary to win every disputed issue, permitted a moderate amount of debate. The bureaucracy's control was achieved in good part by the unit rule; thus in city-wide ballnting in New York City for convention delegates, oppositionists tallied over 25 percent. But, according tn the unit rule, Shanker's Progressive Caucus got the entire five-member NYC delegation.

Minority teachers with lesser seniority, as well as the increasingly non-white inner-city population, are among the main victims of cuthacks in spending in the large cities. Fundamental responsihility for these defeats lies with the Shanker administration and other municipal union bureaucracies, who have not lifted a finger to initiate the lahor mohilizations necessary to turn hack the assaults of the city bosses and defend the interests of the workers and the poor.

However, the answer of Shanker's liheral opponents was not class struggle, hut accepting layoffs and then wrangling over *who* loses their jobs. Seniority is a hard-won union gain that protects workers from arbitrary victimization. The demand for "preferential layoffs," in which minorities covered by "affirmative action" are maintained in their present proportion in the event of layoffs, is a dead-end solution that ahrogates union seniority principles and falsely hlames white male teachers for the discriminatory policies of the ruling class. The Shanker bureaucracy was easily able to withstand the challenge to the seniority principle at the convention, and was even able to posture hypocritically as union loyalists in doing so.

A related but somewhat different issue was the dispute over the Bakke decision. William Simons, AFT vice president and a member of Shanker's Progressive Caucus, bolted on this question to the opposition. While this was the closest fought issue at the convention the Shanker bureaucracy nevertheless won reaffirmation for its pnsition fairly handily, by nearly a three-to-one margin.

Allen Bakke was a white applicant who was denied admission to the University of Califnrnia (UC) medical school. The medical school maintains a quota system in admissions, and Bakke claimed he was denied entrance because of the racial quotas. The AFT national leadership entered the dispute on the side of Bakke, who was subsequently upheld hy the California Supreme Court.

Where quota systems to open up previously restricted fields to oppressed groups do not violate existing union seniority systems or contracts, they may be supported critically. This is the case with university admissions. Shanker's advocacy of "academic merit" as the central criterion only perpetuates class and race bias in higher education. Therefore, the opposition by teachers to the reactionary Bakke decision was entirely supportable.

However, the counterposed motions of the AFT leadership and its opponents both accepted the limitations on education mandated by rotting American capitalism. Quotas in education are at hest a lesser evil. What is necessary is a policy of open admissions to higher education, with a living stipend paid to all students. Only such a policy draws a sharp line, eliminating both class and racial stigma. However, within the hourgeois framework accepted by both Shanker and his liberal opponents, such a fight was ruled out.

The other area in which there was suhstantial debate was over the question of busing to achieve school integration. The AFT leadership pays lip service to husing hut claims that it is "disruptive" to the educational process. At its 1976 convention a resolution was passed dennting busing as only one of several remedies for segregation. The resolution, reaffirmed this year, was obviously designed tn duck the issue of busing.

At the cnnvention, opposition to implementing busing as "disruptive" was correctly laheled as a capitulation to racism. One hlack teacher complained that she had heen a victim of busing, pre-1954: "I rode 60 miles past three white high schools.... You support due process for Bakke, hut deny it for me."

Unfortunately, the two virtually identical motions in favnr of husing, suhmitted hy the Washington, D.C. and Hayward, California locals, were rendered unsupportahle hy their call for action by "local, state, and national authorities" against racists who attempt to disrupt busing. Preaching confidence in the cops and federal troops to defend racial minorities is a betrayal; instead, militants must demand the building of an integrated labor/black defense.

1968 and Today

The fundamental political division within the AFT, hetween Shanker's reactionary business unionism and the liberal moralism of the main opposition, has existed for at least ten years. It was first manifested prominently during the NYC teachers strike of 1968. In that year the Lindsay administration attempted to utilize a Ford Foundation-financed experiment in "community control," as well as the grievances of ghetto residents toward the racially insensitive Shanker bureaucracy, in order to strike a major blow at the union. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville community school board ordered the transfer, out of normal seniority lines, of a number of teachers, which included notable union militants, on allegations of racism. When the teachers called a strike in protest, almost the entire left capitulated to the prevailing hlack nationalism and scabbed on the strike.

Just as the anti-Shankerites were willing to throw away union seniority in 1968 ostensibly in order to redress racial injustice, so they are equally willing to do so today, in favor of court-ordered affirmative action schemes. The organized oppositions at the Boston AFT convention—the United Action Caucus (UAC), supported by the Communist Party (CP); the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)-dominated Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education, as well as the smaller Progressive Lahor Party "Red Line" group—were all run hy individuals and groups that supported the scabbing in 1968. Not surprisingly, their politics are virtually identical to the dissidents of 1968.

With the exception of supporting a tepid labor party resolution, which failed to even allude to the existence of classes in society and which neglected to call for ending all support to the capitalist parties, SWP supporters liquidated into the Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education. This caucus, which uncritically praised George Meany for his support to busing, limited itself tn building support for the resolutions on affirmative action, Bakke and busing cited above, which were submitted by Hayward Local 1423, of which prominent SWP supporter Jeff Mackler is president. Mackler & Co did not even support a slate in opposition to Shanker's Progressive Caucus for delegates to the AFL-CIO convention, fearing to alienate prominent Progressive Caucus members like Washington Teachers Union president William Simons.

The Caucus on Desegregation was the most active group in openly pandering to anti-uninn and nationalist sentiments. At an open caucus meeting held August 16, a black union official

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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U.S. Out of the Canal Zone Now!

Jimmy Carter has finally kept a campaign promise. Last fall the Democratic candidate shelved his liberal son-of-FDR pitch to protect his right flank from the reactionary furor over the Panama Canal which Ronald Reagan had touched off during the primaries. Like a reborn Teddy "Big Stick" Roosevelt, Carter pledged that in treaty negotiations with Panama he would "never give up complete control or practical control" over the canal.

And indeed in the two new U.S./Panama treaties awaiting ratification, Carter's negotiators have maintained the substance of "practical control." For the next 23 years the treaties ensure the existence of the U.S. enclave which bisects Panama, although its present 533 square miles will be reduced by 65 percent. The high-living, intensely chauvinist, Yankee colonial statelet and sprawling military base will remain planted in the middle of the squalid Panamanian slums that sprawl along either side of the Canal Zone. In the distant year 2000, Panama will take over operations of the canal, but the U.S. will formally retain the right to dispatch troops at will to defend its so-called "neutrality."

Emphasizing the point, Carter said that under the treaty the U.S. would retain "partial sovereignty" to the year 2000, and after that "the right to defend it with our armed forces and to keep it open, with first priority given to American warships." U.S. negotiator Sol Linowitz was quoted as saying that in the treaties "there are no limits prescribed" concerning the "actions the United States may take, before or after the year 2000, to maintain the 'neutrality' of the canal."

In Memory of Teddy Roosevelt's Big Stick

Despite support from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and endorsements by Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger (testifying that the proposed pact represents the bipartisan interests of the American bourgeoisie), Carter faces an uphill fight to win the 67 votes necessary for Senate ratification. All the right-wing yahoos have rallied round this three-quarters-of-a-century-old symbol of U.S. imperial arrogance and untrammeled military might. Reagan has denounced the president's efforts to sell the treaties as "a medicine show." Strom Thurmond, veteran race-baiting senator from South Carolina, is working with the American Conservative Union (ACU) and similar outfits to muster a huge lobby to block passage. The ACU is running newspaper ads that proclaim: "There is no Panama Canal. There is an American Canal in Panama."

Nor is opposition limited to the far-right fringe. Last year 38 senators sponsored a resolution opposing any dilution of American control over the canal. The House voted, 246 to 164, to deny funds for negotiations for the "surrender or relinquishment" of American power in the Canal Zone.

Specific interests such as the shipping corporations and their lackeys in the maritime union bureaucracies oppose the treaties because they may mean higher transit fees and cut into industry profits. Initially Panama will simply receive a cut (about one-third) of the canal toll revenues amounting to roughly $50 million each year. This jump from the present measly $2.3 million annual payments under the gunboat-imposed treaty of 1903 may well send up the toll rates. The fees have been increased only twice (both times by under 20 percent) since the canal opened in 1914 and represent little more than a financial subsidy at Panamanian expense to the international shipping industry.

But the broader opposition is essentially ideological in character, a jingoistic trumpeting of "manifest destiny," the Monroe Doctrine and every other symbol of U.S. prerogative in the Western Hemisphere. Daniel Flood, a Democratic congressman from Pennsylvania, described the canal as "American as apple pie." Robert Bauman, a Reaganite Republican congressman from Maryland bristled: "We bought it. We built it. We paid for it. It's ours. And President Carter is giving it away." Another conservative Republican senator, S.I. Hayakawa of California, was more frank: "We should hang on to it. We stole it fair and square."

Imperialist Diplomacy and Latin American Nationalism

After the ignominious American defeat in Indochina and the U.S.' loss of economic hegemony over its imperialist rivals, the Panama Canal remains as a symbol of the tarnished glories of U.S. imperialism and its dominance in the Western Hemisphere dating back to the Monroe Doctrine. American power in Panama stems from the treaty of 1903 which is still in effect. This treaty turned Panama which had just separated itself from Colombia through a "revolution" engineered by Teddy Roosevelt and backed by the Marines - into a semi-colony of the United States. Barely two weeks old, the tiny "republic" signed a treaty with Washington turning over the projected canal and a ten-mile-wide strip on both sides running its length to the imperialist colossus "in perpetuity."

Don Goode

Gen. Torrijos

The U.S. became vitally interested in constructing a waterway across the isthmus during the Spanish-American War of 1898, when the battleship *Oregon* had to sail all the way around Cape Horn from San Francisco to reinforce American strength in the Caribbean. Since that time the Canal Zone and most of the 40,000 U.S. citizens who reside there have been intimately linked to the ability of American imperialism to wage war.

Among the 14 military bases in the zone is Fort Gulick, which houses the infamous "School of the Americas." This murder academy (prototype of the counterinsurgency torture school shown in the movie *State of Siege*) has turned out thousands of officers, dictators and CIA agents for Latin America, including the killers of Che Guevara, at least six top members of the Chilean junta and Panamanian strongman General Omar Torrijos.

But Carter is no fool. He recognizes that the imperialist encroachment in Panama has been a major target of anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America for decades. Peaking after the U.S. Army's slaughter of 20 leftist Panamanian student demonstrators in 1964, tensions over the Canal Zone have poisoned Washington's relations with even the most right-wing Latin American regimes. Four successive presidents have sought to renegotiate the 1903 treaty while maintaining U.S. prerogatives. Torrijos, who came to power in a 1968 coup by the Panamanian National Guard, has been central to the U.S.' strategy. His populist/nationalist posturings, bolstered by glowing support from the Panamanian Stalinists and Fidel Castro, give him the stature necessary to sell the betrayal in his country and the rest of the hemisphere. Torrijos has already declared a national holiday to celebrate the agreement, which he described as "the triumph of this generation" (*New York Times*, 21 August).

Panama Canal Review

U.S. Navy ship being guided through the canal.

Bill Eppridge/Life

Demonstrators raise Panamanian flag during four days of demonstrations in 1964 in which 21 were killed by U.S. troops.

Carter's hopes for ratification hinge on his ability to convince the Senate that: 1) the treaty will ensure the U.S. privileged access to the canal, 2) the present arrangement is too politically expensive, and 3) the strategic importance of the canal itself has diminished sharply. With the advent of a two-ocean navy and greater reliance on strategic air power, its central military importance is considerably lessened. Moreover, technological improvements in commercial air transport will eventually overshadow shipping. To seal his case, Carter will no doubt point out that neither large aircraft carriers nor tankers can even fit through the canal.

The Spartacist League resolutely opposes these treaties. They are nothing but a swindle, another part of Carter's all-round efforts to politically and militarily streamline U.S. imperialism. We denounce Torrijos and all the Latin American rulers who support it. We demand nothing less than the immediate expropriation of the canal and the removal of all U.S. bases in Panama. The working class must take the initiative in kicking Uncle Sam out of the Canal Zone—abolishing American "sovereignty" and seizing the Panama Canal Company, its potential successor, and all other U.S. installations—as part of the broader struggle for workers power by expropriating the pitiful "branch office bourgeoisie" which currently ministers to imperialist interests in Panama ■

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism

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Now You See It–Now You Don't

SWP Double Talk on "Rights" for Nazis in Skokie

Lately the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) just can't seem to get its line straight. During the Angolan war, it explicitly refused to take a stand in defense of the MPLA/Cuban forces against the U.S.-backed South African invasion. Six months after the war was over, one of its house organs, *Intercontinental Press*, published a document from the SWP's shrinking (and now formally defunct) international faction of the United Secretariat (USec) in which it took credit for a position of military defense against the imperialist assault. Not a single word indicated that the line had been changed. The SWP's sordid record of abstention on Angola was simply disappeared from view as if it had never existed.

We were recently treated to another display of sleight of hand in the SWP's press. For the last two years this gang of social democrats has sought to secure its respectability in bourgeois "civil libertarian" circles through strident defense of the so-called democratic rights of fascist thugs and murderers. It has condemned the Spartacist League (SL) slogan of "No Platform for Fascists," consistently abstained from militant anti-fascist actions and even attempted to physically protect these vermin and their "rights" from outraged black, feminist and working-class militants. We have been told that efforts to deprive the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan of an opportunity to promote their genocidal creeds were "ultraleft" and that our characterization of these advocates of the death camp and lynching bee as human garbage was "infantile rhetoric."

Imagine our surprise upon opening the 29 July *Militant* to find the headline "Nazi Scum in Skokie" staring out at us! And doubly so to read that

> "Of course [!], the ACLU's position [of offering free legal defense of the Nazis' 'right' to march through this predominantly Jewish suburb of Chicago] by ignoring the fact that Nazis use their marches as a staging ground for violent attacks offers no guide for action to the outraged residents of Skokie . . ."

We were truly astounded to read that Chicago SWP honcho Andrew Pulley believes that "potential victims of fascism and ultraright terror 'have the right and the obligation to block these forces in the most effective way and by any means necessary'."

The *Militant* article reports a letter by Pulley to the Chicago *Defender*: "The real issue in the Skokie debate, Pulley wrote, is not the Nazis' right to free speech, but the need to counteract their violence 'by visible protest demonstrations, rallies and other public actions'." Yet only a week earlier, SL supporters at a Chicago Militant Forum challenged the SWP to defend its record of responding to fascist provocations with nothing more powerful than debates and petitions to the bourgeois authorities while actively defending the 'right' of fascists to recruit for their terror campaigns. This same Andrew Pulley responded

> "The best way and the most effective way that you are going to fight fascism today is not by focusing on the Nazis or any esoteric super right-wing group who do not play any decisive role in the racist or the ultimately fascist attack that is going down. The best way to fight fascism today isn't to demonstrate against the fascists, but to expose their ideas. And you have to debate them because they represent a certain viewpoint in this country."

At the July 22 forum, Pulley was only defending the established "wisdom" of this reformist cabal: stick your head in the sand and maybe the fascists will go away; if instead they bloody your flanks, hold a teach-in and plead with the police (themselves often fascist infested) to protect you. But if leftists, black or labor militants attempt to meet force with force and teach the cowardly race-hate terrorists a lesson they won't forget, according to the SWP's legalistic logic, this must be denounced as "ultraleft."

A pontificating sermon directed against the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League by Malik Miah on "Free Speech and the Fight against the Ultraright" (*Militant*, 1 August 1975) initially laid out the SWP's answer to revolutionaries who would take Trotsky's advice to "acquaint the fascists with the pavement":

> "The SYL, for example, puts forward the slogan, 'No platform for the fascists,' and denies what it calls the 'supposed "right to freedom of speech"' of fascist groups.
>
> "The 'no platform' tactic gives the racists and fascists a new weapon to use against their opponents. It allows these thugs to pose as a persecuted minority or as defenders of democratic rights. . . .
>
> ". . . an effective struggle against reactionary ideas and violence cannot be carried out if one begins by placing qualifications on democratic rights in the case of fascists."

More recently, a July 1977 SWP *Discussion Bulletin* contained a report on what is apparently considered an exemplary mobilization of "community defense" against Nazi death threats. For three months the Pasadena party branch in southern California sought liberal endorsements for its two demands on the city's mayor: ". . . that the community be aroused against Nazi terrorist attacks, probably through a public forum sponsored by the Human Relations Committee, and that a police department desk be set up to deal with right-wing terrorism."

While the fascists continued to rampage, the SWP continued its vigils in the municipal halls. The account of a meeting with an arrogant and hostile chief of detectives provides a starkly revealing glimpse of the deep contempt which the guardians of capitalist "law and order" have for these toothless reformists:

> "We pointed out that there had been six attacks in the past year and suggested that the Nazis be kept under observation. [Police Lt.] Robenson said the police had no more right to have a file on the Nazis than they would to have one on the SWP.
>
> "We pointed out that there was an important difference: The Nazis had committed a series of terrorist acts and now threatened death. We were not asking that anyone's free speech be violated but that physical assaults be stopped.
>
> "Robenson put that off with a patronizing smile and the comment, 'As long as there are gentle people like you in confrontation with people who are not so gentle, it is a problem'."

What lesson did the SWPers draw from this shabby treatment?: "We should have gone into the meeting with the cops with one or two civil libertarians so that elements like . . . Robenson could be hung with their own words."

WV Photo

April 30 demonstration against Nazis in Skokie.

So why all of a sudden do we discover these "gentle people," these housebroken ex-Trotskyist lapdogs, threatening to use "any means necessary" to stop "Nazi scum"? The answer is that the SWP, while pursuing openly reformist policies, also claims to represent Trotskyism. Moreover, as a "fraternal" supporter of the USec, the SWP seeks to avoid giving polemical ammunition to the centrist Mandelite majority of that pseudo-Fourth International, some of whose members have been maimed or killed in confrontations with fascists in Britain and France. Thus we are occasionally treated to the spectacle of Joseph Hansen writing in *Intercontinental Press* (25 November 1974) terming the SL/SYL's call for labor/black defense against racist attacks in Boston "a commendable standpoint" while the SWP itself adamantly refused to raise such a demand. The *Militant*'s fancy footwork over Skokie is a replay of this two-faced policy.

Apart from maintaining its "Trotskyist" credentials for international consumption, the SWP now finds that its "free speech for fascist" line stands in the way of its domestic appetites. If white liberals dismiss the fascists as harmless nuts, black people instinctively understand that the Klan and Nazis are a deadly serious threat. Even sections of the black liberal establishment do not defend the "rights" of these flaunting racist terrorists. For example, the leading black establishment paper in Chicago, the *Defender*, has criticized the ACLU for defending the Nazis. The SWP's civil libertarian line on the fascists is profoundly unpopular with even the politically raw, liberal black youth it seeks to recruit.

In the *Militant* article on "Nazi Scum in Skokie" Pulley is quoted as saying (in a "telephone interview"):

> "At the same time, it is the obligation of all those who hate what the Nazis stand for to unite massively with Skokie's Jewish community against this Nazi provocation. To default in this responsibility is to allow rightist outfits like the JDL [Jewish Defense League] to appear as the only serious champions of the efforts by Skokie's Jews to defend themselves.
>
> "This is why the Black community and the labor movement must be mobilizing today in solidarity with Jews in Skokie."

Our jaws drop in amazement at the effrontery of these doublespeakers! This is well and good for a "telephone interview," and makes it look like the SWP carried out a militant policy of mass protest against the threatened Nazi marches. But at no time did the SWP carry out such actions in Chicago (or anywhere else).

Twice in recent months there have been anti-Nazi demonstrations in Skokie, on the April 30-May 1 weekend and on July 4. The latter was little more than a publicity stunt by the JDL, but the earlier demonstration (called by B'nai B'rith chapters) drew several hundred militant community residents and leftists, notably the SL/SYL (see "Carter's America: Klan Burns Crosses on the Fourth," *WV* No. 166, 15 July). The SWP was not to be seen either at this rally or at small rallies by a hodgepodge of left-wing groups on both occasions.

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WV Photo

August 20 march in New York.

Anti-Communist Gay Rights Demos Flop

The "spirit of Stonewall," which, according to many gay activists, was about to usher in a new era of militancy, seemed nearly extinguished last Saturday (August 20). Whereas gay rights demonstrations a few months ago immediately following the defeat in Dade County, Florida of an ordinance protecting the civil rights of homosexuals drew hundreds of thousands of protestors, the August 20 demonstrations called in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco to demand "human rights for everyone" were able to muster only a few hundred at most. The Democratic Party hacks and hopefuls, who had swarmed like vermin over the earlier demonstrations, were, with very few exceptions, conspicious by their ahsence on the 20th. Liberal support for gay rights is a sometime thing.

The oppressed homosexual population is the most visible target of an ominous reactionary offensive against democratic rights. The current anti-homosexual backlash, the racist vigilantism against school busing, the "right-to-life" crusades against abortion, etc., are not isolated phenomena, hut represent a concerted rightist drive against even token democratic gains. Nor are they the excrescences of right-wing "ultras" isolated from the bourgeois political "mainstream," as recent Supreme Court decisions show. The forces of social reaction are on the march, and it is Jimmy Carter and his class who are calling the tune

The earlier gay rights demonstrations were massive outpourings of justified indignation by homosexuals and tens of thousands of supporters of democratic rights appalled by Anita Bryant's victory for bigotry in Dade County. The Spartacist League participated in these actions while warning against the politically amorphous "lifestyle radicalism" pervasive in the gay liberation milieu. While other avowed "socialists" were uncritically tailing the new "mass movement," we insisted that only the class axis in the fight against oppression could prevent gay activists from falling into the trap of Democratic Party "constituency" pressure politics. The August 20 demonstrations, in explicitly embracing the anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, became simply a vehicle for twisting the legitimate anger of homosexuals outraged by Bryant in support of an even more dangerous enemy: Jimmy Carter, who as U.S. imperialism's top cop is the world's most powerful foe of human freedom.

In New York, Carter's left-wing apologists got more than they bargained for. The demonstration in front of the United Nations was joined by a contingent of gay counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles—*gusanos*—doubtless a jarring experience for those who have insisted that the gay liberation movement is inherently revolutionary. The *gusanos* carried a hanner inscribed: "Ni Anita, Ni Fidel. Libertad al Homosexual Cuhano" ("Neither Anita nor Fidel, Freedom for the Cuban Homosexual") and distributed a leaflet which—ludicrously—deplored the fact that most Cuban exiles did not solidarize with their cause and called on them to include gay rights in "whatever political solution" they have for Cuba.

While most demonstrators apparently accepted these counterrevolutionary scum on the

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Militant Detroit CWA Operators Forced Back to Work

Fed up with rotten national and local contract settlements, approximately 500 telephone operators in eight southeastern Michigan cities wildcatted August 15 demanding that negotiations between the Communcations Workers of America (CWA), Michigan Bell and AT&T he reopened. But despite the operators' militancy the strike was broken three days later due to massive company scab-herding. On August 19 the operators in the isolated traffic locals accepted a company agreement of amnesty to strikers and returned to work.

The wildcat (in eight cities) Detroit, Allen Park, Livonia, Plymouth, Port Huron, Flint, Saginaw and Ann Arhor was provoked by the series of sellouts and maneuvers which marked the CWA contract bargaining this year at both local and International levels.

Over 100,000 jobs have been lost in phone since 1973 due to automation. For months the CWA International under Glenn Watts had been bombastically vowing that in this summer's negotiations it would settle for nothing less than a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to protect the union from further layoffs. Yet at the very same time the International was paving the way for betrayal by stipulating at the CWA convention last June that most of the "job security" issues would be handled on the local level. Since these key demands can only be won through the most determined national strike, Watts' plan delivered the kiss of death to the issue even before negotiations had been formally opened.

On August 6 the International agreed to a contract whose sole concessions to "job security" were a few more vacation days, a slight reduction in forced overtime and a severance bonus to senior employees to encourage early retirement. This settlement was so bad that even many of the kept local leaderships were forced to disavow it to retain a shred of credibility with their members.

Thus on August 14, a suspiciously coincidental series of local "spontaneous" strikes broke out in key centers of telephone militancy such as New York and Detroit. When these "strikes" were settled a mere seven hours later—on a Sunday morning before most of the members even knew they had begun—the ranks' frustration mounted further. The concessions won through this bureaucratic hoax were, of course, even more paltry than the ones the week before. In New York, for instance, Local 1101 "won" one more *unpaid* vacation day and a promise that members would he offered transfers *somewhere* in the continental U.S. as an alternative to heing laid off!

Women Operators in Militant Wildcat

While the International representatives have been tripping over themselves in praise of this latest "best ever" contract, few phone workers were huying the whitewash. It is significant, however, that of all CWA workers it was a predominantly female traffic department that alone dared to defy the hureaucracy.

The Michigan operators showed much militancy and ingenuity in organizing picket lines and dispersing them to other phone locations such as installation and repair garages. In some cases operators phoned "411" and operators in other area codes to suggest they join them in the strike. At the Michigan Bell headquarters building in downtown Detroit operators faced police tactical mobile units and attack dogs which had been called in to enforce the company scab-herding operation. One black operator who stepped out too close to a police barricade was arrested. With signs reading "Nobody Asked Me, No Contract!" and chants of "No Contract, No Work!" the operators protested the bureaucratic extension of the old contract until the ratification vote September 16.

WV Photo

Striking phone workers pickeled Michigan Bell headquarters in downtown Detroit last week.

The operators' wildcat gave the lie to the widespread feeling among male craft workers that women in phone are the union's Achilles' heel, a feeling particularly prevalent in New York where operators have yet to be organized. By setting up picket lines at craft locations the operators pointed the way forward to the kind of solidarity desperately needed and not often present in the CWA. And while many CWA craftsmen did honor the women's lines and several garages were completely closed down, it was craft scabbing at the main Detroit Bell Building which heavily contributed to breaking the strike.

A number of phone workers told *WV* that the problems in the area stemmed from the bureaucratic division of Local 4000 in 1968. At that time Joe Beirne, International vice president Hughes and the present head of craft Local 4001

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Alibis of a Social Democrat

Though attempting a more or less global critique of the Spartacist League program, Pearlman's real grievance is self-evidently the SL's refusal to implement his posturing left-reformist approach to the Boston school busing crisis of 1974-75. During this period, Pearlman urged that the SL should throw its small, largely white student Boston branch into physical confrontations with the enraged anti-busing racists. Simultaneously, he sought to soft-pedal the SL's revolutionary criticism of the reformist/Democratic Party bloc which had left the black masses defenseless before the vicious reactionary onslaught. The saga of Pearlman's opposition to the SL leadership over this issue, melodramatically titled "Why They Ran From the Black Struggle in Boston," comprises half of Pearlman's two-part article.

Though Comrade Pearlman's oppositional course in Boston proceeded primarily from parochialism and impressionistic impatience, the present article offers a sweeping indictment from the standpoint of the SWP of the SL program for the black struggle. For Pearlman, the SL's proletarian program and labor-centered strategy, based on the recognition of the social power of the trade unions, are counterposed to an "independent" black movement. They are counterposed because the only black movement which the SWP can imagine is the black nationalist radicalization of the late 1960's, with its separatist illusions and hostility to white workers and the union movement. With the SWP's avid concurrence, the black nationalist movement accepted the bourgeoisie's prescription that the advancement of racial minorities would come only at the expense of white workers, not at the expense of the ruling class. With this fundamentally despairing perspective, the black nationalist movement was sometimes effectively mobilized by the capitalists against the unions, whose present pro-capitalist leadership has been at best indifferent to blacks' efforts to resist the racist status quo.

The SWP reformists take the default of the labor movement as a given. For Pearlman, the black struggle equals "self-determination," and the rise of black separatist ideology was simply "a positive development." The SL of course recognized that the militant black nationalist radicalization possessed a positive aspect as an attempt to repudiate the reformist gradualism associated with M.L. King and the NAACP. The task of revolutionists facing that radicalization was to seek to win the best of the black militants to a revolutionary class perspective. From this crucial task, the SWP abstained.

The ideology of black nationalism assisted in the destruction of the Black Panther Party, which despite its petty-bourgeois/lumpen hustlerism attracted some of the most committed black militants. The "Off the Pig" rhetoric which seemed the just and logical expression of the seething rage of the besieged ghetto population only facilitated the murderous cop vendetta which decimated the Panthers. The extermination of the Panther cadres, combined with the absence of a revolutionary class perspective, facilitated the reconciliation of the surviving Panther leadership with the Democratic Party. Of course, the SWP need shed no tears over the destruction of the Panthers, which it always smugly dismissed as "ultra-left."

At 1974 Boston demo Spartacist League/SYL banner called for labor/black defense against racist attacks. AP

PART 2: The Slander of SL Abstention on Boston Busing

Abstention on Boston Busing?

Unlike the SWP, for whom the Spartacists were always an irrelevant "sect," Pearlman implicitly posits a more or less healthy period for our organization, roughly corresponding to that of his membership. Thus he betrays an amusing subjectivity. (We would note only that though Trotsky had more to do with the Comintern than Pearlman did with the SL, he tied the CPs' definitive degeneration to the German betrayal, not to his own departure!) For Pearlman, Boston was the center of the universe, and the SL's inability to intervene to change the balance of class forces in Boston was the definitive test of SL "abstention." He writes:

> "The Spartacist League reacted to the first shocks of anti-busing violence in a seemingly healthy manner. It issued, on September 22, 1974, an open 'Letter to Boston Trade Unions, Black and Socialist Organizations' titled 'Act Now! Defend Black School Children!' The letter was 'a proposal for a broad mobilization, initiated by the unions, black and socialist organizations, to build a mass popular demonstration around the common slogan, "Stop the Racist Attacks Against Black School Children." The Spartacist League, a labor-socialist organization, pledges to devote all available resources and energy to aid in the building of such a demonstration.' This pledge was to be put to a severe test in practice two months later.
> "Spartacist also understood that no socialist organization had the authority to initiate such a demonstration ..."

The unanticipated violence of the anti-busing reaction in Boston created an initial political vacuum in which the SL was the *only* group advocating a broad mobilization against the racist attacks. Needless to say, the SWP made *no response* to this call to action; its policy was passive propagandism in favor of federal troops—a liberal line counterposed to the fight for the independent mobilization of the workers and oppressed. On October 9, the SWP's local electoral candidates issued a press release; it is instructive to compare its thrust with the *New York Times* editorial of the same date:

> "We completely support the demands made by the leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston immediately to protect Black students from the escalating racist violence.
> "In this atmosphere, federal troops must be sent immediately to uphold the desegregation order and to protect the Black students who are implementing it. All necessary force must be used to smash the racist offensive and guarantee the safety and constitutional rights of the Black people in this city."
>
> *Militant*, 18 October 1974

> "Mayor Kevin White has now joined the NAACP in requesting Federal help in the form of United States marshals. Others in Boston are beginning to murmur quietly about the need soon for federal troops.
> "Mayor White should get the help he needs, whether it is Federal marshals now or Federal troops in the near future if the marshals coupled with the Boston police Department cannot restore order. What is at stake in Boston is not simply orderly integration of that city's school system, important as that is, but vindication of the rule of law."
>
> *New York Times*, 9 October 1974

From the outset the SL warned against the suicidal illusion that the imperialist army or the racist cops would "protect" the black masses. Programmatically, the SL fought for the slogan "Extend Busing to the Suburbs," a demand which would support a modest democratic gain (inner-city busing) while focusing attention on the discrimination against both black and white working people represented by the segregation and class privilege embodied in the lily-white middle-class suburban school systems. This demand laid the basis for winning support from the white working class for the integration struggle, thus potentially defusing the racist anti-busing mobilization centered on poor white neighborhoods like South Boston.

Despite small forces, the SL achieved some prominence as the only left-wing organization to come to the defense of the besieged black population of Boston. Pearlman tells the story this way:

> "A small local demonstration of Boston Blacks on October 12 accidentally catapulted Spartacist into the international press when an Associated Press photo featuring Spartacist banners was published throughout the world, including in the major European CP dailies. So the media reward those who know how to make signs and banners..."

The reality was not so "accidental" and explodes the Pearlman myth of SL "abstention." Our militant banner, "For a Labor/Black Mobilization to Defend Black Children and Columbia Point," was picked up by the media because the SL had the *only* organized leftist contingent at the demonstration.

Moreover, besides devoting our entire local resources (backed up by national leaders and black comrades from other locals) to agitating for a mass, united-front demonstration to stop the racist attacks, we offered active solidarity with the embattled black tenants in Columbia Point, a large housing project bordering South Boston which was harassed by white vigilantes and subsequently occupied by several hundred cops. Pearlman's article lauds this effort at community self-defense but makes no mention of any attempt by the SWP to intersect it.

This is because the SWP couldn't have cared less about black self-defense. While the SL was publicizing the siege at Columbia Point, the SWP was seeking a deal with black Democratic Party

politicians and community leaders whose only response to the crisis was to call on Gerald Ford to dispatch the U.S. Army to Boston. Reflecting the timidity of local black leaders and their hat-in-hand appeals for federal troops, the SWP fought to derail any serious militancy in the anti-racist struggle. Thus, at several mass meetings called by black and Latin student groups at the Boston branch of the University of Massachusetts in October, SWP national leaders counterposed a campus teach-in to building a demonstration against the reactionary anti-busing campaign.

The United Front and the December 14 Demonstration

While claiming that the SL "remarkably" was quick to pick up the busing issue, Pearlman alleges that:

> "Hidden, however, in this orientation were two fundamental assumptions that were to lead to the SL's criminal abstention from the busing struggle and the early liquidation of its prodesegregation work in Boston.
>
> "The first assumption was that a significant popular mobilization against the racists could be built only *through the unions*. In the SL's view, a mobilization of 'blacks for blacks' without labor-union participation would be 'hopeless'. And second, the freedom of all 'participating groups' in the joint action 'to raise their own particular points of view' was not, in the SL's opinion, to be satisfied through leaflets and banners. In the SL's view of the united front, this meant the 'freedom' of tiny socialist organizations with no mass influence (like the Spartacist League) to insist on having a speaker at every rally, *as a matter of principle*, in order to criticize other participating organizations from the podium.
>
> "... Meanwhile, however, under the sponsorship of Black Democratic State Senator-elect William Owens, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) had quietly put together some 300 endorsements calling for a December 14 [1974] 'National March and Rally Against Racism' (later titled the 'Freedom March for Human Dignity'). For many of us in the Boston SL, this development seemed to be a crystallization of much that we had been working for.
>
> "... But when the Boston Local executive committee phoned Robertson after attending the initial meeting of the Emergency Committee and advocated endorsement of the December 14 demonstration and participation in the committee, Robertson blasted, 'Betrayer!' and hung up."

Since the December 14 demonstration and the events surrounding it occupy a large place in Pearlman's polemic, it is important to set the record straight.

In the first place, the notion that the SL defines a "united front" in terms of our right to have "a speaker at every rally" is even more ludicrous than it is a slander –and it is both. Especially when fundamental differences in class thrust separate the forces participating in a common action, it becomes doubly unprincipled for revolutionists to lend their name to an action unless they have the possibility of making their criticisms clear. There can be no united front, for example, where a bourgeois politician censors the propaganda distributed at a demonstration. Yet at the mid-November planning meeting for the march which Pearlman refers to, this is exactly what happened. A member of Owens' staff laid down the law for the assembled fake-leftists (including virtually the entire Boston SWP branch). In return for personally sponsoring the march, Owens reserved a personal veto over all key decisions – the route of the march, tactical control, the speakers list, official propaganda, etc.

Furthermore, Comrade Pearlman's own motion at the Boston SL local meeting of 24 November 1974 makes it clear that the SL leadership's position was not insistence on "a speaker at every rally," but rather a demand for "written guarantees pertaining to veto power over propaganda and for an anti-federal troop speaker on the platform."

The SWP, meanwhile, conceded to YAWF the privileged access to Owens and accepted the bureaucratic fiat of this Democratic Party demagogue in return for an auxiliary student committee, the germ of the later National Student Committee Against Racism (NSCAR), to give it some organizational leverage. However, the subordination of the December 14 demonstration to an ambitious bourgeois politician looking for a "militant" reputation and backed up by a fake-leftist outfit with proclivities to adventurism (YAWF) very nearly led to a disaster.

In the middle of the march, when the police changed the parade route, Owens and YAWF engaged in a dangerous macho display. From the top of a car Owens shouted: "We'll go down Boylston Street at any cost." With several thousand sandwiched into a two-block area, penned in by the police in front, a solid row of shops on one side and a steep dropoff onto a turnpike on the other, the front line of YAWF marshals attempted to break through the police lines. They were brutally beaten back, with a number of arrests and bloodied heads. Not just the SL, but also the SWP, on hearing of plans for the confrontation, held back its forces and marched separately. But it was the SWP's own capitulationist policies, leaving total control of the event in the hands of Owens, that set the stage for this potential bloodbath.

Boston as the Center of the Universe

The next phase of Pearlman's internal struggle, as presented in his article, was a discussion of organizational priorities by the SL leadership. He writes:

> "In March 1975, a meeting of the Political Bureau was held, including Central Committee members and organizers from outside the New York national center, who were convened to decide organizational priorities for the coming period. I gave the report on Boston and advocated an upgrading of our intervention into the busing struggle. This viewpoint turned out to be a minority of one among the national leadership of the party... Robertson said that Boston had no labor movement, the situation for Blacks was therefore hopeless.
>
> "The SL could not conceive of the Black community along with allies, with little or no union support to begin with, organizing to defend itself and carry out desegregation. Robertson's conclusion was that the task of the SL was to organize 'the Red Army in Detroit' and come back and 'smash the Boston racists.' This slogan became the watchword of this Political Bureau meeting, which formalized the liquidation of the SL's Black work in Boston: 'No more Black comrades to Boston'."

Here Pearlman's Boston-centered approach to the party and to black work comes sharply into focus. As is often the case, the argument over priorities was expressed in decisions on concrete allocations of forces. The meeting's decisions included the projection of a weekly press that coming fall; the choice of local priorities, which centered on the reinforcement of major industrial Midwest cities where the SL had a trade-union implantation in basic industries – precluded the reinforcement of Boston. Pearlman has obviously garbled a good deal ("the Red Army in Detroit"?) but he is correct that the meeting reaffirmed the perspective for Boston as a small local involved mainly in student-centered work.

Nevertheless, Pearlman's article in effect admits that the prospects for actually realizing labor/black defense on a mass scale were not hopeful. "Boston's economy is built around light manufacturing, finance, commerce, and universities. No major union with a significant Black membership that could rally prodesegregation forces exists. Only the small Meat Cutters union publicly supported desegregation. The Fire Fighters and Teamsters, bastions of white workers under the sway of racist forces, passed antibusing motions; the Massachusetts state AFL-CIO passed an antibusing motion at its fall 1975 convention."

Truly the SWP is shameless. If the SL is "abstentionist" because it insisted that prospects for a small communist organization to affect Boston's poisoned racial situation were not hopeful, it must follow that the SWP, with its substantially larger forces (to say nothing of its presumably better line, in Pearlman's view) must have had a field day. Alas for Pearlman, he can make no such claim. The leadership which the SWP hailed and tailed led the so-called "mass pro-busing movement" straight into the arms of the Democrats and the cops. Two and a half years have passed since 14 December 1974 and the situation is worse than ever. The South Boston Marshals are stronger and black school children are still assaulted. The "mass movement" evaporated. The SWP's last hoped-for "mass action," scheduled for 24 April 1976, had to be canceled. The late, unlamented NSCAR began to consciously downplay Boston busing in favor of the South Africa issue, and in 1976 moved its national headquarters from Boston to New York.

For us, though certainly not for cynics like Pearlman, perhaps the most serious charge made in the article is the imputation that the SL pursued different policies in public and internally. He asserts that the SL leadership characterized the Boston struggle as "hopeless" privately, while in public:

> "the SL struggled, in print, for a 'Labor/Black Defense'. It attended NSCAR conferences and screamed about the betrayals of the SWP..."

This perverse distortion proceeds from Pearlman's parochial impatience, indignant that we did not posture that we could substitute ourselves for the broad mobilization of the organized labor movement and black organizations to defend busing. A historical example may help to illuminate Pearlman's fallacy. Trotsky called for the Communist and Socialist Parties to insurrect against Hitler's rise to power; in fact, the CP's default was the acid test which prompted Trotsky to revise his characterization of the Comintern. He castigated the mass workers parties for their betrayal, but did not call upon small organizations of revolutionaries to insurrect.

The notion that Boston was the best place for the SL to undertake black work was axiomatic to Pearlman because that was where he lived. Thus Pearlman and his sometime bloc partner in Boston, A. Lumumba, viewed as an attempt to liquidate black work the SL leadership's proposal to transfer Lumumba to New York both to play a role on the black commission and to become part of a long-time SL industrial fraction which has become known as the only consistent defender of a stratum of workers –overwhelmingly young and predominantly black and Spanish-speaking –whose low seniority is institutionalized in second-class status within the union. The presence of an articulate black comrade in this union fraction would have assisted the fraction's fight against discrimination against these mainly minority group workers, as well as facilitating his own political integration within our organization.

A. Lumumba was a talented comrade with a black nationalist background. Never more than partially won to Trotskyism, he stood partway between the SL and the kind of black radicalism characteristic of the Cleaver wing of the Panthers. Pearlman was able to pull Lumumba into a bloc against the rest of the Boston local leadership through a proposal for a local black fraction, counterposed to the perspective of transferring Lumumba to New York. Pearlman has no shame in solidarizing with Lumumba, who he says quit the SL "challenging the entire Spartacist theory and record on the Black question." The omnipresent "author's notes" which are cited as authoritative source material throughout the article make their appearance here as Pearlman quotes Lumumba as characterizing SL activity as "raising demands, but having no program."

In a footnote, Pearlman asserts that Lumumba "based his opposition on Trotsky's writings on Black nationalism." This is a rather egregious case of selective falsification. For a brief period,

continued on page 8

WV Photo

SWP called on Boston black community to rely on the bourgeois state for protection against racist attacks.

WV Photo

SWP groveled before the "leaders of the black community" such as Bill Owens of the Democratic Party. Above, Owens speaking at December 14, 1974 Boston demonstration.

Alibis...

(continued from page 7)

Lumumba did, indeed, latch onto Trotsky's misconception of a "black nation" in the U.S. to bolster his arguments against the SL. But this was only a brief resting place in his exit from the Trotskyist movement. Pearlman neglects to mention that, by the time he quit the SL, Lumumba's main source of "theoretical" inspiration was the virulent red-baiting black nationalist Harold Cruse.

The real political orientation of Lumumba was seen at what Pearlman refers to as a "Black community picnic" in the summer of 1975 at Carson Beach, "an action to open up that South Boston public beach to Black citizens." He does not mention that this action was also Lumumba's first venture into public political activity following his resignation from the SL. As the "picnic" turned into a melee between rampaging racists and leftist confrontationists, Lumumba devoted himself to physically assaulting white leftists.

Who Abstained in the Unions?

Pearlman's claim to the mantle of pro-busing advocate within the SL is also given the lie by the record of his trade-union work. Under the direction of the SL Trade Union Commission, Pearlman was active as an individual oppositionist in the teachers' union. The PB meeting which allegedly abandoned Boston blacks by refusing to reinforce the Boston local also authorized Pearlman to run for office in his union. Pearlman's impulse, however, was to *downplay* the busing question, focusing instead on a scheme for "one-to-one" quota hiring of minority teachers which, in the words of a TUC motion of 8 May 1975, "could be critically supported in the event of a vote in which all other choices beyond support or opposition had been eliminated (i.e., a referendum on racism), and otherwise should be opposed with explanations and programmatic alternatives." The TUC was forced to admonish Pearlman that:

> "Our position on busing and labor/black defense, and the need to link it to a systematic struggle against racism leading to class struggle behind the full sweep of our anti-capitalist program, must be the main theme of the Boston campaign. In particular, a sharp attack must be launched against the union bureaucracy for their open capitulation to racism."

As often happens to those who are sensitive only to the conveniences of the moment, Pearlman's opportunism refutes his claim that only he, and not the SL leadership, cared about the fight to defend school busing in Boston.

The Call for Troops

The dismal failure of the Boston liberal and black milieu to pose any perspective of real action in defense of busing independent of the Democratic Party, combined with the labor bureaucracy's craven capitulation to virulent white racism, left Boston blacks defenseless before the anti-busing onslaught. The so-called "mass movement" was simply coopted by the Democrats and its sole operative demand was the plea for "protection" by federal troops. The reformist SWP shared in the responsibility for this disastrous situation. In justifying the SWP's main line for Boston, the call for troops, Pearlman makes explicit these reformists' view of the capitalist state as effectively class-neutral:

> "'Super-Marxists' often recall only Engels and Lenin's dictum that the state, in the last result, is 'special bodies of armed men' and that therefore the police and army are the 'arms of the ruling class.' They forget that under bourgeois democracy the state also 'mediates' and maneuvers between classes and does not massacre Blacks and workers in every circumstance. They also forget that there are tactical differences between sections of the bourgeoisie that revolutionists must exploit."

UPI

Police escort buses arriving at South Boston High School.

On every major question the SL and SWP meet as enemies on the political battlefield, as Bolshevik against social democrat. This hostility is above all characterized by a counterposed program with regard to the bourgeois state, although the ex-Trotskyist SWP is usually not so explicit about its revisionism as in this passage. For Leninists, the state is an instrument of oppressive class rule, "a product and a manifestation of the *irreconcilability* of class antagonisms" (*State and Revolution*). But for the social democrat it is an institution that stands above the class struggle and mediates it; thus the reformists' program is to pressure the state to side with the workers and oppressed. The petty-bourgeois ideologists, says Lenin, "'correct' Marx in such a way as to make it appear that the state is an organ for the *reconciliation* of classes." It is significant that in order to attack the SL's opposition to the call for federal troops to Boston Pearlman is compelled to "correct" the ABC's of Leninism. He certainly proves, if nothing else, that he is no "Super-Marxist."

Pearlman thinks that supposed "socialists" should parrot the working people's suicidal illusions in the capitalist state; when "concrete experiences" demonstrate the cops' real role, then the "vanguard" can follow the masses in repudiating the attempted bloc with the imperialist army! This is "leadership," SWP style.

Though Pearlman's deepgoing estrangement from the SL program while in our organization led him into opposition over numerous questions, from tenant organizing to Ireland, he *never* approached the consistent reformism exemplified by the SWP and its "federal troops" betrayal. At the Black Commission held during an SL Central Committee plenum on 15 August 1975, Pearlman took exception to the Black Commission motion, which stated:

> "We support the self-defense of blacks when confronted with racist attacks upon [their] community. The effective suppression of racist terrorist organizations within their own communal base requires an integrated military force based upon the labor movement. To imply under the slogan of black self-defense the possibility of black military intervention into white racist areas is adventurist and a provocation to race riots in Boston today."

This motion was the basis for *WV*'s statement, which Pearlman quotes, that "only the social power of the trade unions and the presence of significant numbers of whites among the defenders provide a means for unlocking the intensifying racial polarization confronting Boston's black people."

Pearlman's countermotion, calling for "defensive activity by [black self-defense] organizations on or by buses going to predominantly white areas and in front of schools in such areas," was an exercise in tactically adventurist voluntarism. In fact, there was an organization in Boston at that time which was courageously carrying out substitutionist attempts along the lines suggested by Pearlman, but it was *not* the SWP. It would not suit Pearlman's present purposes to solidarize in hindsight with the anti-racist confrontationism of Progressive Labor, but Pearlman's uncritical reference to the showdown at Carson Beach (in which PL was heavily involved), like his earlier approving comments about YAWF and its provocative tactics on December 14, betray his real sympathies at that time.

Fruits of Betrayal: NSCAR's Demise

The occasion of Pearlman's last significant political fight in the SL was the 24 April 1976 "mass action" proclaimed by the SWP. Comrade Pearlman apparently does not feel impelled to provide his readers with any account of this fight. Though his motion shows his degeneration in the direction of SWP reformism, he may be embarrassed to put in print his characterization of the march as "reformist." Whatever his reasons, we are pleased to correct his omission:

> "*Motion* [Pearlman]: The policy of the local vis-a-vis the April 24 march should be:
> a no political support
> b to build this reformist march in our own way
> c to build our own contingent
> d In particular to recommend to the youth [organization] that campus fractions promote, as a priority activity, building the march as a step in the fight for busing but consistently criticizing its reliance on the government and calling for a class struggle contingent."

Pearlman's motion was defeated in favor of one put forward by the Boston local leadership:

> "That the April 24 demonstration called to demand 'use of city police, state police and federal troops' to enforce busing is a roadblock to the struggle to build a movement to defend the rights of blacks. It is an attempt to channel the struggle into reformist parliamentarism and pacifism. Therefore, we do not build the roadblock but mobilize our own class struggle contingent centered on: support busing, extend it to the suburbs, labor-black defense to counterpose a class struggle program to this march's program."

Poor Pearlman. He could not resist the lure of a roadblock built on sand. The April 24 march never came off and NSCAR went the way of all "mass movement" front groups; the SWP is left with little to tail but the ultra-establishment NAACP.

Pearlman's strutting and fretting cannot conceal the SWP's amusing dilemma: it does not really have a line on the black question! When the militant black nationalist mood held undisputed sway among black youth, the SWP proclaimed it unequivocally "progressive" and rushed to help break the 1968 NYC teachers' strike in the name of "community control" of the schools. Consistency would demand opposition to school integration and thus to busing, and indeed black nationalists, like Baraka's Congress of Afrikan Peoples, oppose busing as an attack on the all-black schools which they see as their potential bailiwicks for patronage.

But the SWP styles itself the champion of busing. Indeed, the decomposition of the black movement assisted by the failure of the SWP to fight to break black militants away from separatist utopianism and toward a class perspective left the SWP with little to tail except the pro-busing liberalism embodied in the stodgy pro-Democratic Party black "movement" exemplified by the NAACP. So the SWP must straddle the fence between "community control" and busing.

Thus an article on Boston in the 27 September 1974 *Militant* hid behind the call for voluntary busing:

> "The SWP candidates have spoken out in defense of the right of Black students to attend any school they choose and to use busing as a tool to win better education.
> "The socialist candidates have also spoken out in defense of the right of the Black community to maintain all-Black schools where it is felt that this is the road to quality education."

The article skirts the issue which drew the lines in Boston in blood: court-ordered busing. Its line is, in blackface, but a short step from the racist vigilantes' battlecry: "No forced busing!" Meanwhile, the campaign statement of Willie Mae Reid (*Militant*, 15 November 1974) *dropped* any mention of "community control" or other sops to the black nationalists, simply trumpeting the call for "desegregation" in the schools and throughout society.

Pearlman wisely confines himself to proving ad nauseum that the SWP is against the SL program of revolutionary integrationism, without bothering to explain what his party is really *for*. But he runs up against the problem again when he tries to explain why the SWP supports racially separate political units (sometimes) in the U.S. ("community control") while opposing them in South Africa (apartheid and bantustans). Why does Pearlman believe that a separate black government with its own police would be good in Harlem or Roxbury but is bad in the Transkei? "Self-determination" for America's ghettos could only produce the same conditions as in South Africa's bantustans (a compound for episodically surplus labor run by black puppets). The SWP social democrats have nothing to offer American blacks except NAACP liberalism and/or the reactionary utopian perspective of "community control" of their impoverished inner-city slums.

In embracing "consistent democracy" as the highest (read: only) principle for "socialists," the SWP rejects the elementary Marxist tenet that "right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and the cultural development conditioned thereby." In contrast, the SL fights to link the struggle for democratic rights for blacks to the material leverage of black and white workers expressed through the trade unions. It is only those, like Pearlman, who despair of the revolutionary potential of the organized workers movement mobilized around a class-struggle program, who dismiss the battle to break the unions from the racist, pro-capitalist status quo as abstract or "abstentionist."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Labor Martyrs of Capitalist "Justice"

Avenge Sacco and Vanzetti!

AUGUST 23 – Fifty years ago today Sacco and Vanzetti were executed in Massachusetts. They had not robbed the payroll of the Slate-Morrill Shoe Co. or murdered in the process, as accused, but were guilty of being Italian immigrants and anarchists. They symbolized the victimizations of the 1920's—when militant workers, above all "foreigners" and radicals, were brutally witchhunted by the forces of capitalist reaction.

Liberals take comfort in the illusion that the social-chauvinist frenzy of World War I and the Palmer raids are relics of the past. Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis now acknowledges that the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti was prejudiced and this month issued a proclamation declaring their names hereafter were cleansed of "any stigma and disgrace."

Of course the spectacle of capitalist politicians, lackeys of a social class and system as corrupt in ideology as its practice is filthy, "cleansing" the names of their victims is disgusting. The names of Sacco and Vanzetti have been and will continue to be an inspiration to those fighting for the emancipation of the working class, as James P. Cannon, founder of the International Labor Defense (ILD), wrote in his eulogy, published below, the day after their murder.

The flurry of pardoning those whose lives have been long since wrecked by capitalist injustices—Scottsboro Boy Clarence Norris, "Tokyo Rose" Iva Toguri d'Aquino—even as new frame-ups are in progress, is indicative. The watchword of this post-Watergate era of "human rights" is indeed brazen hypocrisy.

Sometimes it is cowardly hypocrisy. NYC mayor Beame, for example, canceled plans to declare August 23 "Sacco and Vanzetti Day" in order to avoid controversy and confusion over his vicious call for a return to capital punishment. And Massachusetts' Dukakis carefully stopped short of declaring the obvious innocence of the two martyrs, no doubt in order to avoid ruffling too many political feathers.

As the ILD fought for the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti on an international scale for years Cannon implored the working class to absorb the lessons of the case. He wrote in the October 1927 Labor Defender: *"It is the vengeful, cruel and murderous class which the workers must fight and conquer before the regime of imprisonment, torture and murder can be ended. This is the message from the chair of death. This is the lesson of the Sacco-Vanzetti case."*

Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco

The Spartacist League as well as the Partisan Defense Committee which is founded on the principles and in the tradition of Cannon's ILD, are committed to carrying on their class-struggle defense work to prevent the victimization and legal murder of present and future Saccos and Vanzettis, as an integral part of the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system which daily produces such injustices.

Sacco and Vanzetti are dead but their names will live forever and become a shining banner for the upward striving toilers of the world. They have been murdered by the assassins of the capitalist class. Their execution was a cynically brutal defiance of the worldwide demand of the millions of people that they be liberated or at least be given a new trial to prove again their innocence. It was a legal lynching, a fiendish act of class vengeance, cunningly prepared and planned and violently consummated by the willing tools of the capitalist class.

Sacco and Vanzetti died for the working class. Like their immortal comrades of Chicago's Haymarket they died as martyrs to the cause of labor. This was known or felt by tens of millions of workers in every corner of the globe who fought bitterly to the very last moment to vindicate the two martyred labor fighters. Their admirable loyalty and devotion to labor was the only crime they were guilty of; they were innocent of the crime charged against them by their executioners.

The last words of Vanzetti uttered a minute before the current of death silenced his voice were the echo of the deep convictions of the people:

> "I wish to tell you that I am innocent and have never committed a crime, but perhaps some sins. I am innocent of all crimes, not only of this one but of all. I am an innocent man."

The Massachusetts executioners have put to death two glorious spirits. These two fighters, living for seven years in the shadow of the electric chair, unceasingly tortured by their suspension between delay and death, calmly watching the relentless net of the capitalist lynchers closing about them, showed by their heroic conduct how the revolutionary fighters of the working class can die at the hands of their class enemy.

The noble dignity and courage which sustained them throughout the seven years remained with them to the end. They went to death calmly and bravely without fear or embarrassment. It was their murderers, the governors and the judges who hid their faces in fear and shame.

Yes, their names will live forever, for the electric current that killed them has burned their names permanently into the hearts of the toilers of the world. Their miserable executioners will be buried in oblivion while the names and struggles of Sacco and Vanzetti still remain a shining guide to the masses, an inspiration to the oppressed everywhere.

They are our noble and heroic martyrs. Their conduct up to the very last moment was in that spirit. Their voices are stilled but their silence thunders around the world. The workers of America who fought to free Sacco and Vanzetti must pay tribute to their heroic memory in every section of the country. The workers must gather at memorial meetings to pledge themselves to keep alive the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti and their fight; to pour their hatred upon the heads of the murderers; to build their strength to prevent new Sacco-Vanzetti cases and to obtain freedom for the class fighters who are also victims of the frame-up and still in prison.

The International Labor Defense will continue its work for that cause in the spirit of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Honor and respect to our fallen comrades! Remember Sacco and Vanzetti! Remember labor's deathless martyrs!

Skokie...

(continued from page 4)

Moreover, at a University of Illinois debate on "Free Speech for Fascists?" held May 24, an SWP spokesman explicitly defended his party's abstention from demonstrating against Nazi provocations, labeling the April 30 Skokie rally of 500 people – many of them survivors of Nazi concentration camps – as "a bunch of leftist groups and the JDL."

SWP supporters with even a vestige of fighting spirit must be choking on the concrete tasks of defending the "rights" of fascists: the black NSCAR member who had to attempt to stop disruption of a rabid race-baiting Klansman's speech at the University of Houston; the SWP trade-union supporter in the same city called on by the national party leadership to demand that her local take up the defense of a fascist (and non-union member) fired by the company; the SWPers in Detroit who recently had to restrain outraged feminists from dealing with a handful of fascist provocateurs at a pro-abortion rally. Even the ACLU has reported massive discontent and the resignation of 1,000 members in Illinois over its defense of the fascists.

Meanwhile, the party press is constrained to engage in deliberate deception in order to put a credible face on the SWP's treacherous policy in defense of fascists' "rights." The "Nazi Scum" article is a typical SWP response to such pressures, a blast of hot air directed at its critics. It demonstrates that not only the Stalinists but all reformists are forced to resort to conscious falsifications to hide their numerous betrayals, big and small. ■

Bomb...

(continued from page 1)

compelled to claw at one another for a new redivision of the globe are rooted in the contradictions of the capitalist process of production; there are no good and bad guys among these rival capitalist classes. Today all the imperialist powers engage in increasing economic nationalism, ranging from heastliness toward foreign labor, through the cutting off of foreign imports, to efforts to subvert and set against each other the Russian and Chinese deformed workers states. The task of Marxist revolutionaries, through two world wars and before the onset of a third, was long ago summarized by Marx: Workers of the World Unite! ■

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Mine Sellout...

(continued from page 1)

known Miller supporter, ridiculed the pickets and demanded to know why he was being kept out, he was told that if the miners weren't drawing pay, neither would he!

Unable to cajole or intimidate the miners into returning to work, the UMWA tops attempted to pressure district and local officials into doing their dirty work. Following the militant miners' march in Washington August 5, some of the district officials who organized the rally, claiming that the miners had made their point in Washington, convened meetings in Districts 29 and 17 to consider back-to-work resolutions.

The ploy was successful in District 29 (southern West Virginia) where some 9,000 miners returned to the job. But it was foiled by miners in District 17. After the majority in this district voted to remain out, District 17 president Jack Perry sighed, "Again, we've attempted and failed. That's the way it is" (*Charleston Gazette*, 11 August).

District 17 miners quickly insured that West Virginia was once again shut down solid. Roving pickets were dispatched to neighboring states. Last week the total on strike swelled to 80,000, principally through the addition of Alabama miners.

The 80,000 on strike last week represented the high-water mark of the wildcat. The strike has alternately expanded and contracted, as militant miners and strikebreaking bureaucrats have attempted to check each other's moves.

The key weakness of the strike, from its inception, has been the absence of an elected strike leadership that can authoritatively extend the wildcat nationally and counter the treacherous ploys of the strike's enemies, both inside and outside the union.

Elected committees to run strikes and other class battles are a crucial necessity for the working class. The absence of such a tradition in the UMWA is a legacy of decades of bureaucratic misrule by the Lewises, Boyles and Millers.

Without such organs, the spontaneous militancy of the workers is usually unable to withstand the superior organization of the bureaucracy. When District 17 local officials, at least some of whom sincerely wanted to extend the strike, called on the International to come to Charleston, they had no demands, no strategy and no visibly authoritative body of their own to counter the top officials. So the IEB quickly recaptured lost ground and passed over to the offensive. The rotten back-to-work maneuver was the result.

The strike is in mortal danger. Miners must regroup their ranks, elect strike committees to spread the strike nationally and reassemble under the banner, "No card, no coal." ■

AFT Convention...

(continued from page 2)

confessed that when white certified teachers in her local were laid off while some uncertified bilingual teachers were retained, she felt caught in a dilemma. As a trade unionist she wanted to defend the contract, which called for layoffs by seniority, but she also wanted to fight discrimination.

Caucus panelist Rohh Wright told her not to worry about defending the union: "Strict seniority makes sure that blacks never share in the good times." Wright added that union control was basically unimportant: "The school system in Boston is run by Judge Garrity, which I think is a good thing." Wright later offered, in an ultimate appeal to nationalism, "I have seniority over any white worker in this country, and so do all blacks and Native Americans, because they've been discriminated against since 1619."

Caucus leaders on the convention floor were equally uninterested in drawing a class line. Jeff Mackler indignantly demanded that the clause calling for "full employment" in the bureaucracy's seniority resolution be dropped. While this clause was indeed hypocritical, given the AFT hacks' toleration of mass layoffs in NYC, Philadelphia and other cities, Mackler's point was that full employment was irrelevant – what section of the working class got laid off was the issue at hand! Mackler also indicated a willingness to support Shanker's do-nothing busing resolution if it were amended to give a one-year trial period for non-busing alternatives to achieve integration.

The CP-supported United Action Caucus (UAC) managed to run a slate for AFL-CIO delegates, and put out a position paper on all the resolutions that were considered. However, the politics of the UAC were identical to those of the SWP-backed Caucus on Desegregation. It also capitulated to the AFT Black Caucus, and decided to support Simons, who ran on Shanker's slate but was endorsed by the Black Caucus.

But the slimiest action of the UAC was the letter in its convention newsletter addressed to "Dear President Carter." Complaining of cutbacks in education, it whined, "You must give strong leadership to bring our country out of this depression." The UAC went on to praise Carter for opposing the B-1 bomber and urged him to support a paltry $3 hour minimum wage and the Conyers Bill for a 35-hour workweek at 40 hours pay. This disgusting piece of reformist, social-patriotic garbage was signed, "Respectfully, United Action Caucus (AFT)."

"Human Rights"...for the CIA

From the beginning of the conference to the end, the Shanker bureaucracy gave maximum publicity to its virulent anti-communism and its close ties with the likes of CIA hack Irving Brown, a co-member with Shanker in the right-wing Social Democrats U.S.A. There were three showings of the "Voice of Freedom," a documentary starring reactionary Soviet emigré Solzhenitsyn. The AFT bureaucrats rammed through the pro-Matos resolution as well as a "human rights resolution" which condemned "totalitarian Communist regimes" and commended President Carter for his efforts "to promote and achieve basic human rights."

The fake left gave backhanded support to Carter's human rights campaign, claiming only that he ought to pay more attention to "human rights at home." SWP supporters told *WV* that they supported a resolution to that effect submitted by the Hayward local, which was silent on the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and urged the AFT to continue its "agitation for freedom for Russian and Chilean dissidents," thus liquidating the fundamental class distinction between these regimes. The CP-backed UAC opposed both human rights resolutions but promised only that it would issue a position paper criticizing the lack of human rights in the U.S. and propounding the need to "lessen tensions worldwide." Of the numerous "socialists" present, most of whom claimed to recognize the Soviet Union as some kind of workers state, not a single one took a stand in defense of the Soviet Union and Cuba against American imperialism.

The racial insensitivity and social conservatism of the Shanker administration have long made it a target of the just hatred of a substantial minority of teachers. But the liberal moralism of the fake left, which seeks only to redistribute the burdens of capitalist decay, is no alternative. The reformists not only capitulate to the same imperialist politicians as Shanker, but fundamentally share the same pro-capitalist viewpoint. It is not accidental that the SWP and the CP have served as loyal lieutenants to the labor bureaucracy whenever sentiment has arisen within the labor movement to address municipal cutbacks through militant strike action. The fake left, along with the reactionary business unionists, must be rejected as part of the battle to forge a class-struggle leadership. ■

Detroit CWA Operators...

(continued from page 5)

conspired to split the united traffic and plant local in order to break militant opposition to the 1968 contract settlement. While this act of bureaucratic fiat has reinforced the divisions within the workforce and has crippled solidarity to date, many phone workers still talk of that militant period in the union's history.

Operators on the picket lines at the Bell Building told *WV* that they objected to "the way the operators are always treated like stepchildren." AT&T has, of course, refined to a science the exploitation of the particular characteristics of women's oppression and the horror stories which routinely come out of the traffic department sound like something out of a Dickens novel. But the operators were referring to more than *company* policy.

The CWA bureaucracy has historically run the union like a private job trust for the skilled crafts, refusing to fight for the upgrading of women, blacks and other minorities or to narrow the wage gap between traffic and craft. This craven betrayal of the female workforce is one main reason why many women in phone now mistakenly look to government union-busting affirmative action programs as the road forward to their advancement.

After years of betrayal, cynicism in the union runs deep. Why the CWA is now commonly referred to as "Company Wins Again" could be seen from the local bureaucracy's determined effort to break the wildcat. Ann Welch, president of Local 4000, tried to get her members back into line by the following message on the union tape: "These illegal picket lines have never proved or gained anything.... Many members are under the impression that their wildcat strike will gain them some power to renegotiate the contract.... The only power you have is to vote on ratification.... I urge all members to return to work and use that power."

Moreover, veiled references to "outside agitators and false rumors" abounded as the strike went on. When operators put up picket lines at one garage, a craft Local 4001 shop steward tried to disperse them by accusing picketers of not being Bell employees and urging craftsmen to cross the lines. The red-baiting was aimed particularly at supporters of *Spark*, an economist-syndicalist outfit.

Union members must denounce such red-baiting tactics, which will be used as a club against all who dare to criticize the bureaucracy. Moreover, while the company has agreed that no one involved in the wildcat will be fired for participating, union members who honored picket lines of other locals have been written up for this in the past. And while the operator arrested on the lines may well be acquitted, it is company policy to fire anyone who gets arrested, whether the charges can be made to stick or not. Militants must insist that no reprisals or discipline whatsoever be taken, and that all charges against the operators be dropped.

The strike of southeastern Michigan operators is an index of the militancy and capacity for struggle of the CWA membership. But the mobilization of phone workers' enormous potential power is what the Watts bureaucracy fears most, for it would instantly loosen the International's hold on the ranks and cancel its cozy relationship with management. For the CWA to cease being known as "Company Wins Again," the present bureaucratic misleaders must be ousted and replaced by a class-struggle alternative. ■

Gay Rights Demos...

(continued from page 5)

grounds that they were not qualitatively worse than the various flag-waving Gay Christians or "Gays for Carter," Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), which had managed to stomach a march which was *merely* anti-Soviet, walked out when it become explicitly anti-Cuban as well. YAWF also managed a limp denunciation of the *gusanos* for being "arrogant and divisive" and for "daring to counterpose Cuba to the U.S." on the issue of gay oppression.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which had a hand in the various motley coalitions which planned the August 20 demonstrations, had no such problem with pesky scruples. Absolutely without peer in its capacity to grovel before anyone or anything, the SWP sailed right through the New York demonstration without a qualm—shoulder to shoulder with the *gusano* filth! When YAWF proposed that the *gusanos* be excluded, the SWP refused. A heated exchange between the two groups led finally to the YAWF walkout.

The SWP will no doubt protest that the urgent cause of gay liberation demands the most "broad-based" movement (even when the base consists of the foremost enemies of the working class). But in Boston, when a homosexual lobbying group called Gay Legislation threatened to denounce the demonstration which was being planned there (on the grounds that it might jeopardize its lobbying efforts with the government), the SWP immediately agreed to call off the proposed demonstration.

The Spartacist League fights to defend and extend the democratic rights of homosexuals. We likewise stand for the rights of homosexuals in the degenerated/deformed workers states, including Castro's Cuba, when they are persecuted by reactionary Stalinist bureaucrats. However, it should be obvious that this fight can never be advanced by embracing the "democratic" hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism's chief warmonger, whose "human rights" rhetoric is simply a code word for anti-Communism. While the SWP was busy setting this dangerous trap for gay activists, the Spartacist League took a modest step toward the construction of the proletarian vanguard party required to lead the working class in the decisive fight against all oppression, as we fused with the Red Flag Union, a former gay liberation group won solidly to the authentic program of Trotskyism. ■

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The fusion exemplifies the process by which the vanguard communist party will be built and underscores the role of the party as the tribune of all the oppressed.

As one RFU spokesman stated, "I am a communist who happens to be a homosexual. I have one and only one political identity—as a fighter for the proletarian revolution."

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National Front March...

(continued from page 12)

ment in Britain, the National Front eschews the swastika in favour of the Union Jack.

Fascism and the Death Agony of British Imperialism

The recent growth of fascist influence in England must be seen in the context of the acute crisis of British imperialism. There is the *beginning* of a felt realisation throughout all classes that none of the usual "solutions" proffered by either Labour or the Tories can offer the prospect of lasting social stability. The situation in Britain is not, at this point, like Germany 1929. But both the material reality and the popular consciousness of the present economic situation are palpably different from most other industrialised countries which have also seen a growth of fascist influence recently.

The first strongholds of the National Front were in the industrial towns of the Midlands—dreary cities long immortalised for their "dark satanic mills"—which had seen a certain concentration of immigration from the former colonies of the British empire. There has been racial conflict in such areas for over a decade now. International attention was drawn to this in 1964 when the foreign secretary-designate of the incoming Labour government was defeated in Birmingham by an openly racist Tory campaign ("If you want a nigger for a neighbour, vote Labour" said the stickers).

The growth of support for the National Front and its strident scapegoating has come primarily from Britain's decaying inner cities. Compared to Watts or the south Bronx, Britain's inner cities are almost liveable: the streets of Deptford are clean, the schools of Finsbury Park relatively orderly, the crime rate is still very low, and while old-age pensioners regularly freeze to death in winter in unheated flats (this is politely referred to as "hypothermia" in the bourgeois press), even the housing is relatively adequate. However, the population of these areas in Britain have experienced a steady *deterioration* in urban amenities (accelerated by the sharp cuts in social services accompanying the Labour government's Social Contract), and suffer most acutely the effects of a rate of inflation which is presently officially estimated at almost 20 percent per year. Real wages are declining markedly as unemployment soars.

The intense racism of a certain sector of "frayed white collar" workers and unorganised or backward workers generally, with the addition of some more articulate, rabidly right-wing petty bourgeois, is partly a product of and certainly a recruiting ground for the fascists who exploit the capitalist crisis by pointing a finger at the dark-skinned immigrants. Despite the fact that non-whites in Britain constitute less than 3 percent of the total population, the fascists depict them as the first wave of a massive influx which is flooding what was once a "green and pleasant land."

The fascist theme is hardly sophisticated: it is "they" (immigrants) who are taking all the public housing; "they" are taking jobs from Englishmen, etc., etc. The National Front et al simply capitalise on the racist hysteria stirred up by the bourgeois press about supposed hordes of East Indians arriving by the planeload, to be put up at ratepayers' expense at four-star hotels while others on the dole are holidaying in Spain. The demoralisation of large sectors of the "lower middle class" in Britain, who are saddled with mortgages and are largely defenseless against runaway inflation, and increasing lumpenisation of working-class youth due to rising unemployment constitute the potential social base for a mass fascist movement.

Racist propaganda of the National Party

John Sturrock/Report

While most of the recent activity of the National Front has centred on cultivating racism and promoting "send them back" as the solution to the crisis of British capitalism, this by no means exhausts the fascists' stock of social issues. Many articles in the National Front's *Spearhead* are clearly modelled on the Nazis' fake-radical social programme in appealing to the increasingly desperate middle class. Thus the NF calls for better housing programmes, improved urban services, full employment, and in local election literature last spring it began to attack the power of the banks.

Militancy vs. Adventurism in Combating Fascists

The recent round of battles between the radical left and fascist thugs is by no means unprecedented in Britain—in fact, the slogan of "no platform for fascists" is traditionally widely accepted by trade-union militants and in the workers movement as a whole since the 1930's. In 1936, when the blackshirted thousands of Mosley's BUF tried to march provocatively into London's predominantly Jewish East End, the massive response of the working class to the call of the centrist Independent Labour Party effectively blocked the fascists' path.

Despite hours of fighting, 6,000 foot police and the entire Metropolitan London mounted police were unable to clear a path for the fascists through the approximately *250,000* demonstrators. Attempting to lead the fascists down Cable Street, the police were met with massive street barricades and were driven back by showers of stones and bricks from the rooftops. Finally, the police were forced to tell Mosley's vermin that they could not go through, and the fascists had to crawl back to the empty streets of the West End to disperse. It was not the last attempt by Mosley to storm the East End, and it did not stop the BUF immediately, but it was a giant blow for the working class.

All of the various left groups pay lip service to the "spirit of Cable Street." But a group like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP, formerly International Socialists), which does not understand the difference between leading four to five thousand and leading 250,000 will never rise to lead a quarter million workers. Cable Street *should* be an inspiration, but it is necessary to understand that the same military tactics cannot be rigidly applied regardless of the political situation and the balance of forces.

While the slogan "No platform for fascists" remains relatively popular among the more militant layers of the working class, the important question is how this is to be carried out. The leaderships of the trade unions and the Labour Party, as well as the still significant Stalinists, characteristically rely on pray-ins and appeals to the local authorities (particularly if they have a majority of Labour councillors) to ban the fascists.

The major ostensible revolutionary groupings, on the other hand, notably the reformist-syndicalist SWP and the pseudo-Trotskyist International Marxist Group (IMG), attempt to substitute "far-left" physical confrontations with the fascists and the police who protect them for the hard fight within the ranks of the trade-union movement to establish the basis for mass class action to smash the fascist scum. Especially in the case of the IMG, this physical confrontationism goes hand-in-hand with pleas to the bourgeois state to ban fascist marches and meetings.

It is not necessarily adventurist for a few thousand leftists to attempt to take on a few hundred fascists. For example, Martin Walker of the National Front concedes that the 1962 Mosley campaign was "hammered into the ground" by successful leftist mobilisations. The point is to successfully *break up* attempted fascist mobilisations, not to engage in a string of inconclusive brawls. However, given the demonstrated determination of the state to protect the National Front in all these recent skirmishes with the left, most such attempts will only result in head-on confrontations with the police. In the absence of a mass working-class base for their activities, the attempt of even several thousand leftists to "take on" the cops of the bourgeois state will inevitably result in the victimisation of those subjectively revolutionary militants who engage in such confrontations.

Today it is the responsibility of revolutionaries to attempt to initiate the broadest possible class united front of all working-class organisations to combat the fascist provocations. The SWP, the largest group to the left of the Communist Party, does not attempt to initiate such mobilisations, preferring instead to act on its own in order to gain notoriety in the mass media. This publicity and posturing as a mass party cannot stop the fascists and only succeeds in effectively isolating the "far left" from the mass of Labour Party and trade-union militants.

The only criticisms which the IMG makes of the SWP role in the fight against the National Front are from the right: it attacks the SWP's "sectarian" desire to build its own group. The IMG proposal is essentially that all of the "far left" get together into a single all-encompassing swamp and carry out the same dead-end substitutionist policies that the SWP is pursuing in its own name today. This was the adventurist tack the IMG took in the June 1974 fiasco at Red Lion Square, where hundreds were beaten and one demonstrator was killed by the cops when protesters against a National Front march tried to break through police lines (see "Fascism: How Not to Fight It," *WV* No. 70, 6 June 1975).

The centrist-economists of the Workers Socialist League (WSL) who like to posture as a "real" working-class organisation in contradistinction to the other supposedly petty-bourgeois groups, fail to seriously raise the questions of the fight against racism and fascism in the one place where they have a real base (the Cowley car factory near Oxford), preferring to limit themselves to agitation around higher wages and other simple shop-floor issues. The flip side of the WSL's parochial economism is an all-sided political capitulation to social-democratic reformism.

If in the death agony of British capitalism the National Front or some other continuator of Mosley *does* succeed in finding a route to the ever-growing masses of the discontented, it will require a genuinely Bolshevik party to crush the contemporary Blackshirts. The Labour Party and its panoply of fake-Trotskyist satellites, the local "Eurocommunists," the hardline Stalinists as well as the syndicalist-reformist posturers of the SWP will all, in the final analysis, prove to be roadblocks to the victory of the proletarian revolution. And when the threat of fascism is posed in a more immediate way than it was in Britain in the 1930's, proletarian revolution will be the only alternative. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

British Cops Protect Fascist National Front March

LONDON, 19 August For the past week the attention of the British media has been riveted on two significant confrontations pitting thousands of leftists and immigrants against police defending the "right" of the fascist National Front (NF) to stage provocations by marching or assembling in heavily non-white communities.

Last Saturday (13 August), some 5,000 anti-fascist demonstrators battled 4,000 police (a quarter of the entire Metropolitan London police force) in an attempt to break up a march of 500 NFers through Lewisham, a largely Asian and West Indian neighbourhood in South London. This confrontation resulted in 214 arrests and 110 people hospitalized (including 55 cops), as police, equipped with riot equipment for the first time in England (although it is standard fare in Northern Ireland), successfully defended the National Front march.

Two days later in the Ladywood district of Birmingham a crowd of 2,000 leftists attempting to break up an election rally of 120 fascists was repulsed by hundreds of police in riot gear defending the meeting hall. The cops also repelled a subsequent attempt by the demonstrators to storm a local police station to release arrested militants.

These events parallel another large-scale confrontation in London last April when thousands of leftists unsuccessfully attempted to block a march of 1,000 fascists through a North London suburb. Thus far, all of these confrontations have been three-way standoffs: the left has consistently outmobilised the fascists, the police have successfully defended the National Front marches/meetings, and the fascist vermin have asserted their "right" to openly mobilise in working-class and immigrant districts of Britain's cities.

Despite the fact that the NF is still unable to defeat the "far left" in direct street confrontations, the past five years have seen the emergence of organised fascism as a serious, although still marginal, factor in British politics. The pre-eminent organisation of British fascism, the National Front, and a variety of smaller competing ultra-right sects have not grown dramatically in membership. However, since 1972 the NF has recorded a series of significant electoral successes (e.g., a total of 250,000 votes in last spring's round of municipal elections), in some contests outpolling the Liberal Party, traditionally the second bourgeois party in Britain.

In a 1976 parliamentary by-election in one district of Lewisham, the combined vote of the National Front and the National Party (a 1975 split from the NF), was 44.4 percent, more than the victorious Labour candidate. However, despite the sizeable number of National Front votes and the clear danger that this poses of the possible emergence of a mass fascist movement, these votes do not at this stage represent hard political support for the fascists. Rather they are predominantly "backlash" votes. Thus the various leftist groups, who generally have only a fraction of the electoral support of the NF, are consistently able to outnumber the fascists in the streets.

Mantle/Mercury

National Front, defended by one fourth of London police force, begins provocative march through Lewisham

Sunday Express [London]

London cops lead away anti-fascist protestor.

Origins of the National Front

While the National Front has emerged as a significant factor at the polls over the past several years, it is not primarily a legalistic, electoralist party. The central activity of the NF is recruiting white lumpens and petty bourgeois through provocation and intimidating marches in neighbourhoods with a large non-white immigrant population. Another favorite activity by these reactionary thugs is to attack left-wing newspaper salesmen by throwing ammonia in their eyes. A recent wave of firebombings of left and immigrant community bookstores is doubtless also the work of the Front or one of its smaller fascist satellites.

Despite their marginal impact on British politics as a whole, the fascist spectrum is a clear and present danger to the radical left and its ability to function. To ignore this threat is to invite disaster.

The National Front was founded in the mid-1960's as a fusion of a number of smaller fascist sects. A good portion of the central leadership and key local personnel of the NF (and of the National Party, now disintegrating) has a history of activity in groups which were or are openly fascist and "national socialist." This is possible in part because British fascism has a certain continuity and cohesiveness deriving from its origins in and inspiration from Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF), whose Blackshirts marched in the early 1930's and who, for a brief period, actually received significant bourgeois support.

Both National Front *Führer* John Tyndall and Martin Webster, its national activities organiser, belonged to Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement in the early 1960's. Colin Jordan, in turn, was trained by the Mosleyites. In trial proceedings in 1962, Tyndall was quoted as saying that, "I am convinced that a peaceful social revolution as set out in *Mein Kampf* is what Britain requires to carry her back to the place in the world I believe to be hers" (quoted in Martin Walker, *The National Front*).

Today the NF leadership disavows all such explicit public identification with Hitler and the Nazis, explaining remarks like the one quoted above as simple "youthful exuberance." Tyndall, Webster, et al., today are older and intelligent enough to realize that it is extremely unlikely that a British nationalist organisation can have a mass appeal if it is tarred with the Nazi brush. Anti-German British chauvinism (largely the legacy of two world wars) remains much too strong. In line with its appetites to build a mass fascist move-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 171

2 September 1977

Zionist Provocations Point to War

Begin-Carter Rift Over West Bank

U.S. imperialist chief Jimmy Carter must wonder if Israel is America's Frankenstein monster. Even before the electoral victory of the rabidly anti-Arab Likud government the U.S. bourgeoisie was demanding a more flexible attitude from its Zionist client state in negotiating with the Arab regimes. By electing the butcher of Deir Yassin, former Irgun terrorist and Likud boss Menahem Begin, as prime minister Israel has entered on a confrontationist course with at least the stated Near East policy of its imperialist godfather in Washington.

Flattery and Nose Thumbing Between Racists

The post-election pilgrimage of Begin to the White House was greeted with foreboding by the American bourgeois press. Even the *New York Times*, published in the world headquarters of the international Zionist movement and generally pro-Israel, ran on the cover of its 17 July *Sunday Magazine* a color photo of Begin which captured his maniacal, genocidal zeal with the ominous headline "The New Face of Israel: Can Begin and Carter Work Together on Mid-East Peace."

Carter, the product of Georgia Klan land, greeted this imperial wizard of the Zionist KKK, the Irgun, who is reviled throughout the world as a racialist murderer, as "a man who has demonstrated a willingness to suffer for principle, a man who had shown a superlative personal courage in the face of trial, challenge, disappointment, but who has ultimately prevailed because of the depth of commitment and his own personal characteristics." And Begin presented himself to the born-again Baptist president as though he had just stepped out of the Old Testament as the "spokesman for an ancient people and a young nation."

But Begin's Bible babble is not mere ritual, for he claims as Eretz Israel the land which Yahweh gave to the children of Abram "from the great river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates." Based on this tribal mythology Begin claims that the territories Israel occupied during the 1967 war are "liberated" portions of what rightfully belongs to the Zionists.

All of Carter's flattery could not budge Begin from the Likud's Near East platform, dubbed the "three no's": "No" to negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), whom the Zionist gangsters hypocritically denounce as genocidal terrorists bent on the destruction of the Jewish people. No withdrawals from the territories occupied during the 1967 war, especially the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. And "no" to a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank and Gaza.

Carter's stated position is the complete withdrawal of Israel from occupied territories with only "minor adjustments"; "secure and recognized borders," aimed at the Arab regimes recognizing Israel in its pre-1967 borders; and a Palestinian "national home" linked to Jordan. Carter is also willing to negotiate with the PLO if the PLO will recognize the sovereignty of Zionism in their pre-1967 borders. All the flattery exchanged between these two racialist heads of state did not disguise the gulf between their respective proposals for a Near East "peace settlement."

Begin could not come before his benefactors in Washington entirely empty-handed so he unveiled his own "peace plan." It demanded from Israel's neighboring Arab regimes a complete peace settlement including ending the state of war which has existed since 1949; full diplomatic and commercial relations; recognition of Israel's ever-expanding "boundaries" in return for a few kilometers of sand in the Sinai, and "minor adjustments" on the Golan Heights. If former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy "salami tactics" had brokered a "slice of peace for a slice of land," Begin demanded complete and unconditional surrender for a "slice of land."

William Karel/Sygma

Zionist leader Begin visiting Israeli settlement on the West Bank.

Carter, who often runs affairs of state as he ran his own election campaign, that is, by promising everything to everybody, promised that based on Begin's visit he was optimistic that "barring some unforeseen difficulties" an Arab-Israeli peace conference after a hiatus of four years would be reconvened in Geneva. In addition, Carter promised Begin more military largess in case all the peace plans and conferences came to naught and "recognized borders" needed to be secured by the more classical means of military might. This largess included 150 of the world's most advanced fighter planes, the F-16, financial assistance to develop a new tank and the sale of high-speed hydrofoil planes.

As if to thumb his nose at the imperialist Goliath in Washington and remind him of "unforeseen difficulties" to a Geneva conference, upon his return to Jerusalem Begin gave official approval to three "legal" settlements in the West Bank. They were the notorious Camp Kadum near Nablus, to which Begin made an emotional trek immediately following his electoral triumph; the Ofra settlement near Ramallah, inhabited by the fanatical Zionist clerical-fascist sect Gush Emunim (Block of the Faithful) and the Maale Adumim which is seen as an eventual industrial site as well as settlement.

The "Labor Alignment" government refused to grant the settlements official approval and consider them "legal" because they were situated in densely populated Arab areas reserved for transfer to Jordanian administration under the so-called "Allon Plan." Under the "Allon Plan," named after a Labor Party leader and former foreign minister, settlements were to be concentrated along the River Jordan which is the eastern boundary of the West Bank and a second border 12 to 15 miles west of the River Jordan. The settlement along these borders under the "Allon Plan" served more the function of military security than colonization of the West Bank. Begin's slogan for the West Bank is to give up "not an inch," and for him the settlements served both colonization and the eventual integration of the West Bank into a greater Israel as well as their more immediate "security" functions.

Carter, however, responded mildly to Begin's nose-thumbing. In a news conference on July 28 he agreed that "any move towards making permanent settlements in the occupied territories or the establishment of new settlements obviously increased the difficulties in ultimate peace." But, Carter insisted, "I think it's not fair to overly criticize

continued on page 8

Behind Bandaranaike Rout in Sri Lanka Elections 4

by Edmund Samarakkody

Maoists Campaign with Wallaceites

CP Fake Opposition Loses in ILWU Local 6

OAKLAND—Since the April convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) which set the retirement of longtime union leaders Harry Bridges and Lou Goldblatt, the ILWU officialdom has been preoccupied by squabbling over the succession at the helm and the consequent reshuffling of positions down the bureaucratic line. Recognizing the restiveness of the ILWU ranks over massive job losses, ambitious union politicians have tried to cash in on the dissatisfaction without breaking from the Bridges regime's policy of class collaboration and capitulation before employer attacks. But for the membership these clique fights will simply mean the same defeatist policies dished up with slightly new rhetoric.

This point was driven home by the just-concluded election in warehouse Local 6, the single largest ILWU local on the mainland. Called to fill the vacancy in the Local presidency created when Curtis McClain was elevated to International secretary-treasurer, the August 25 balloting drew a turnout twice the normal amount for recent years. For the first time in the Local's history, four candidates entered the running for the top slot. Notably, the election was marked by a failed bid for power by supporters of the Communist Party (CP), who ran Business Agent Joe Figueiredo as their candidate. Maoists also got into the act by campaigning together with a bunch of George Wallace supporters for General Executive Board member Bob Camara.

The winner was Keith Eickman, the former secretary-treasurer of Local 6 and McClain's long-time junior partner. But, significantly, Eickman received only 51 percent of the vote, far below what the McClain/Eickman bureaucracy had received in previous years. The upswing in membership interest clearly reflects alarm over savage management attacks. Thus in the last six months alone, formal charges have been filed against four of the union's business agents in the East Bay. Although charges against three have been bureaucratically suppressed, this provides a dramatic demonstration of growing membership unrest.

The past year has been one of snowballing defeats for Local 6 which have produced a crisis atmosphere. There has been growing unemployment in the Local, including at least 700 additional jobs lost in three key warehouse closings. In addition, a sprouting of runaway shops, heavily concentrated just across the state line in open-shop Nevada; a record number of disciplinary firings; decertification of ILWU warehouses; and the defeat suffered in the 1976 master contract strike, resulting in the mass conviction of ILWU members for strike activities for the first time in decades.

But if Eickman has nothing to boast about, his hardly impressive victory was certainly facilitated by the record of his reformist opponents. Their attempt to strike an oppositional stance was heavily compromised by their thorough complicity with that regime. For years the Stalinists have been loyal supporters of the Bridges bureaucracy. The CP has touted McClain widely in the pages of *People's World* (*PW*) as a model "progressive" trade unionist. It was with reluctance that the Stalinists entered the race, and *PW* didn't even mention the campaign.

Initially, Figueiredo echoed Eickman in praising the 1976 Teamster-ILWU northern California warehouse contract, hailing it as "the best in the history of both unions," and claiming that massive firings during the current year were in retaliation for the union's supposed victory the previous June. This patent absurdity did not wash, however, and when Camara began picking up support with demagogic attacks, Figueiredo was forced to change tack in mid-campaign, timidly complaining about an absence of leadership.

Figueiredo's vacillation was not surprising. The Stalinists were faced with the unenviable task of reconciling their new-found "opposition" with their previous enthusing over the administration's policies—none of which they repudiated—a point which Eickman exploited to great effect. During the Teamster-ILWU strike, the Stalinists had bitterly attacked the class-struggle Militant Caucus for demanding that the union undertake serious strike preparations, including the building of mass picket lines and hot-cargoing of scab goods by Teamster drivers and ILWU longshoremen. CP supporters ardently defended the bureaucracy's policy of leaky picket lines and impotent appeals to Democratic Party politicians to pass anti-scab ordinances. In a leaflet hypocritically entitled "Unity, Unity, Unity" the Stalinists attacked those who dared criticize the local leaders as "ultraleftists."

But "unity" with the bureaucrats did not pay off. That the Stalinists today are forced to distance themselves from Eickman & Co. is in itself compelling testimony that the bureaucracy's policies led to defeat and not to victory, and constitutes an equally damning condemnation of the Stalinists' own criminal complicity in that wretchedly conducted strike.

But their attempt to pass themselves off as oppositionists did not go smoothly. ILWU militants have ample firsthand experience with the CP supporters' treacherous leadership. For example, Stalinist Abba Ramos was one of the four business agents against whom charges were filed; Ramos was also forced out as business agent at Thrifty's because of widespread anger at his role in squashing a strike there. While Figueiredo got 25 percent of the vote, he did not do well where the Stalinists have prominent leadership posts. He lost both San Francisco, where he has been a top individual votegetter, and the Oakland division, where the Stalinists have stewards in a number of important houses. In Oakland and San Jose he even tailed Bob Camara, who finished third with 20 percent.

Camara's campaign was as unprincipled as Figueiredo's. He attacked the administration liberally for the union's defeats, although he himself has never voted against the leadership on a single major policy. Camara offered nothing but a return to the "old days" of Harry Bridges. Camara was endorsed by a clot around executive board members Jim Allen and Rose Sumter, who had supported racist George Wallace's presidential campaign in 1972 and 1976.

Spicing up the Camara camp was Warehouse United to Fight, a group backed by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). The presence of the rudderless and addled "Marxists" of the RCP in an alliance with the Wallaceites is on a par with their bloc with racist, anti-busing forces in Boston and Louisville, the logical outcome of their prostration before workerism and simple trade-union militancy.

A leaflet by the Militant Caucus

Letters

Comrades:

In your 27 May 1977 issue ["Butcher of Deir Yassin Takes Israeli Elections," *WV* No. 159] you have a statement that:

"Mussolini remarked to Rome's chief rabbi in 1935, 'For Zionism to succeed you need to have a Jewish state with a Jewish flag and a Jewish language. The man who understands this is your fascist, Jahotinsky'."

Where is this quote from? I know that Jabotinsky had a naval training station at Civitavecchia, etc. But where does he call Jabotinsky "...your fascist ..."

I'm putting together a book on Zionism and its relationships with the Nazis and the fascists, and would appreciate a citation for the quote.

Yours for socialism,
Lenny Glaser

WV replies: The reference for the quote is *History of Israel* by Howard M. Sachar (New York, 1976), p. 187.

To the Editor:

In *WV* No. 159 the article on Israel contains what I think are factual inaccuracies about the Zionist terrorist activities of the Stern Gang and Irgun.

Page 10, last paragraph: "The majority of the Irgunists led by Abraham Stern." This is incorrect. Stern broke from the Irgun as a small minority and remained that way until they reunited with the Irgun.

Same paragraph: "Those terrorists who remained in the Irgun worked closely with the British occupation forces ...*devoting most of their resources to aiding the British in hunting down Stern gang members.*" The underlined portion seems very unlikely. Even after Stern broke with the Irgun, they still worked together on specific raids, etc. The closest statement to *WV*'s comes from *The Modern History of Israel* by Noah Lucas who only says: "During this period the Irgun even established close rapport with the Criminal Investigation Dept. to the *detriment* especially of Stern followers" (page 213). That's all Lucas says on that subject and that is pretty vague. All other texts I've checked say nothing at all.

Yishud in *WV* for Israeli Jewry should be Yishuv.

A B

WV replies: On the split by Abraham Stern from the Irgun, Yehuda Bauer, an important Zionist and fairly reliable source, states in his book, *From Diplomacy to Resistance: A History of Jewish Palestine from 1939 to 1945* (1970): "Stern's view like that of his fellows in Poland –Dr. Israel Scheib, Menahem Begin and Nathan Yellin (Mor) – was that the political orientation focused on Britain should not be continued. Over against Jabotinsky's pro-British line he posited enmity for Britain on the basis of his policy. But in contrast to Begin he concluded that allies must be sought in the camp hostile to Britain, that is to say in Berlin and Rome. In June 1940 Stern and four other comrades were let out of prison and a bitter quarrel broke out between him and Raziel [military commander of the Irgun] against this ideological background. Stern forced Raziel to resign. Jabotinsky intervened and put Raziel back in his post. Stern, however, did not obey the instructions and Etzel [the Irgun] was split. At first most of the members of Etzel joined Stern's group (Etzel in Israel). But when Stern tried to translate his program into reality many left him and his organization shrank drastically in contrast to the Revisionist 'Etzel in the Land of Israel' [Irgun]."

Many sources confirm that the Irgun worked together with the British CID [Civil Intelligence Department] to get the Stern Gang. An article by Y.S. Brenner, "The Stern Gang 1940-48" published in *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 2 No. 1, October 1965, states: "Even the Irgun which now partially collaborated with the British did all in its power to prevent its former associates [the Stern Gang] from carrying out acts of sabotage. The Irgun had at that time a special branch to combat communism (formed after the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of August 1939) which had established some connection with the British CID. This branch was now also activated against Stern's splinter group, although of course they were right-wing and not left-wing extremists."

Another source is Yehuda Bauer's book, which states: "The tie between Etzel and [the British] army intelligence grew faster during the months of severe British defeats at the beginning of 1941. During the period the Stern people were informed on and some Etzel members received CID documents as anti-fifth column fighters" (page 135).

WORKERS VANGUARD

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entitled "Local 6 Election: No Choice" emphasized that all the candidates, including Figueiredo, had capitulated to Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. The leaflet noted that at this spring's International Convention, when the Democratic administration banned an official Soviet delegation to the convention, only the Militant Caucus insisted on the union's right to have the Soviet delegation present.

Capitulation to the imperialists' anti-Sovietism inevitably breeds red-baiting. It is not surprising that Eickman, who has adamantly opposed translation of union documents into Spanish and who has willingly accepted the support of outright chauvinists, engaged in substantial red-baiting. The Eickman camp mounted an extensive whispering campaign in which it accused Figueiredo of running simply on "party" orders.

Militants must demand a repudiation of this filthy tactic. Certainly, the history of the ILWU—notably the government's repeated attempts to deport Harry Bridges as a purported Communist in an effort to cripple a then-powerful and militant union—demonstrates the organic connection between red-baiting and union-busting.

But Figueiredo & Co. only facilitate red-baiting. The policies of the Stalinists—support to liberal Democrats, reliance on the bourgeois state, opposition to militant, mass strike action, as well as capitulation to Carter's "human rights" campaign—are identical to those of the McClains and the Eickmans. Of necessity, their occasional oppositional posturing appears as unprincipled maneuvering, and they are thus easy targets for the anti-Communist bureaucrats they conciliate.

Warehouse members of the ILWU, like those in the longshore and Hawaiian divisions, face the threat of the real disintegration of their union. The answer is neither McClain nor Eickman nor Figueiredo, none of whom have repudiated their past policies, but a leadership irreconcilably opposed to all varieties of reformism. In calling on ILWU members to join their principled struggle, the Militant Caucus concluded:

> "The lessons of the past should be clear. There is no middle ground. Either the union members will turn to militant class struggle in defense of our jobs or see our union torn to pieces by the bosses and their government through the McClain/Eickman/Figueiredo school of labor sellouts."■

Feds Invade the Coal Fields

Since the beginning of the coal miners' wildcat strike against medical benefit cutbacks nine weeks ago, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Arnold Miller has threatened and cajoled, pleaded and promised, in a still unsuccessful effort to sabotage and end the walkout. Last week, Miller's strikebreaking tactics reached a new low. The UMWA president dispatched a special squad of burly union "organizers" and armed strikebreakers to Cabin Creek hollow near Charleston to disperse militant picket lines and usher miners back to work. In a booming industry where union coal has fallen to just over 50 percent of the U.S. total and where union organizing drives have virtually ground to a halt, Miller uses his organizers as strikebreaking goons.

To coal miners, the picket line is sacred and the officially organized scabherding has met bitter resistance. The confrontation in Cabin Creek resulted in gunfire. As word of the shooting spread, nearly 30,000 miners in the Charleston area and eastern Kentucky stayed off the job and roving pickets were prepared to deal with bureaucratic scabherding. "We heard Arnold Miller's thugs were here," one miner said. "We're not going to give him 60 days so the coal companies can build up stockpiles and rob us of a contract," said another, referring to the UMWA's International Executive Board (IEB) order last week to return to work for at least 60 days (*Charleston Gazette*, 26 August).

State and county police, who normally prefer to keep a safe distance, have beefed up patrols in the Cabin Creek area. FBI agents have been dispatched, according to West Virginia governor John D. Rockefeller 4th, to enforce federal laws which prohibit crossing state lines with the intent to commit crimes. This means that federal agents are in the coal fields to prevent roving pickets, some of them from Kentucky, from closing working pits. Miners must demand: cops, FBI, goons, out of the coal fields!

There is widespread skepticism among UMWA members over the discredited Miller's threats to reopen the contract in 60 days and to strike the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) before the contract's December 6 expiration. But lacking a cohesive leadership to organize the massive hostility to the cutbacks, miners in most striking districts did return to work following the IEB meeting. Of the 80,000 UMWA members on strike at the peak of the wildcat, reportedly 24,000 are still out. But the strike is not necessarily over. Its ranks have swelled and receded several times over the last two months and could well grow again in response to further bureaucratic treachery or direct state attacks.

The IEB, which includes both of Miller's challengers in the recent presidential election, Lee Roy Patterson and Harry Patrick, is ordinarily a hornet's nest of bureaucratic in-fighting. The board has been unanimous, however, in repeatedly ordering the miners back to work without any pledge from the BCOA to restore full medical protection. In District 17, the center of the wildcat, Miller has lashed out at District president Jack Perry and vice-president Cecil Roberts, charging that they "have not done much down there to get the men back to work." In fact, Miller blamed Robérts for the shooting incident at Cabin Creek and the continuing walkout, stating that Roberts "was in the middle of it" (*New York Times*, 27 August).

It is true that some local bureaucrats, feeling more immediate pressure from the ranks, have been reluctant to denounce the strike openly. But Perry and Roberts have never openly endorsed the strike against the cutbacks, and both top District 17 officers were on the radio last weekend to call the miners back to work. Smarting under Miller's criticism and disillusioned by his inability to control a situation that continually puts them on the hot seat, Perry and Roberts have denounced Miller's "weak, ineffective and incorrect leadership" and called on the UMWA president to resign.

In addition to all their other enemies, the UMWA strikers have faced a growing barrage of anti-strike propaganda from the bourgeois media. Liberal dailies from the *Charleston Gazette* to the *New York Times* have portrayed UMWA militants as a strike-crazy, violence-prone minority hell-bent on walking off the job over any and every grievance.

Coal-mining man days lost to unauthorized strikes are up 50 percent from a year ago and resulted in a downward revision of 32 million tons in the 1977 production forecast. But UMWA militants know full well the cost of their struggles to themselves and their families. At the height of the wildcat, $17 million per week in wages were sacrificed to protect the health cards. But still they held out.

"No card, no coal" has become the miners' slogan. More than in any other industry, medical insurance is not a "fringe benefit" for coal miners. Explosions, poisonous gas, flash fires, cave-ins, flooding, Black Lung and dangerous machinery constitute everyday threats underground. The UMWA health card is the chief insurance for miners whose lives and livelihoods are risked with every trip through the portals.

In addition to this being literally a life and death issue, a victory over the BCOA's attempt to slash health benefits would strengthen the union's hand in negotiations over the upcoming contract. A defeat now will fuel the employer's offensive to break the miners' militancy and shackle the union to the Carter administration's coal-oriented energy policy, which demands labor peace.■

Stop Transit Cutbacks in NYC!

The quality of life in New York City grows ever more brutal, and last week for the millions of subway riders it got even worse. On August 28, late-night runs on four lines—the AA, N, B and GG—were eliminated, a change which brings enormous hardship to the working population of Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens which these lines served. To compensate for the cuts the A train and the F will run as locals at night, thus doubling travel time for many riders and making the already filthy, deafening and dangerous trip even more perilous. In addition, another 207 bus runs were ordered slashed by the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) on top of the 875 bus and more than 100 subway runs which have disappeared since 1974.

Thousands of jobs in the 35,000-member Transport Workers Union (TWU) have been lost in the past three years due to the cuts, and safety hazards from deteriorating equipment have also increased. Yet TWU International president Matthew Guinan had the gall to tell *WV* last week: "We're not fighting for more jobs. That's not the important issue"! But while the TWU bureaucracy is determined at all costs to head off the mobilization of the union's enormous social power, all its best efforts may not be enough to check the widespread anger now felt by the ranks.

At an August 25 union rally both Guinan and Local 100 President John Lawe were repeatedly booed when they counterposed appeals to Albany to the members' demand for strike action against the cuts. And while Guinan's lackeys had handed out hundreds of whistles to allow the ranks to blow off steam (literally), this gimmick backfired as members used the whistles, along with catcalls and jeers, to run the bureaucrats off the speakers platform!

As the TWU proved in 1966, transit workers have the power to instantly shut down New York City. Moreover the union has long had a paper position demanding free public transportation. This demand backed up by a solid strike for restoration of full transit service would find massive support among the population and quickly bring the bloodsucking EFCB to its knees!

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Behind Bandaranaike Rout in Sri Lanka Elections

by Edmund Samarakkody

We are pleased to present to our readers the following article by Edmund Samarakkody, the veteran Ceylonese Trotskyist and leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP), analyzing the significance of the July 21 parliamentary elections in Sri Lanka. Together with Comrade Samarakkody's article we are reprinting excerpts from the election statement of Meryl Fernando, the RWP candidate in these elections.

It is significant, as Comrade Samarakkody reports in his article, that Meryl Fernando received a higher vote than all other candidates of groups to the left of the CP/LSSP and received as well a higher total than the last time he contested the seat. This good showing can be ascribed to the RWP's sharp attack on bourgeois coalitionism and to the working masses' disgust with the betrayals of the LSSP and CP class traitors.

Despite continuing political differences between the RWP and the international Spartacist tendency, we strongly support the candidacy of the Revolutionary Workers Party in the recent Sri Lanka elections. The election statement's uncompromising declaration that "It is a lie if anyone says that a government of the workers and peasants can be formed in parliament" is a model of firm Bolshevik principle and an antidote to the LSSP's sorry history of pseudo-Trotskyist parliamentary cretinism.

The article refers to a wave of violence following the elections in which the UNP victors attacked their opponents, causing 34 deaths. Since then there has been a serious outbreak of communal violence in which 100 persons have been killed. The vast majority of the victims were members of the Tamil national minority. As we go to press the murderous pogroms are continuing and threaten to cause a mass flight of Tamils from majority Sinhalese areas, at a cost of tremendous hardship and bloodshed and with the predictable rise of separatist demands.

While the leaders of the reactionary UNP share heavily in the responsibility for the oppression of the Tamils (for example, passage of the 1948 Citizenship Act which made "stateless persons" of roughly one million Tamils on the island), it was the "progressive," "anti-imperialist" Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Sirimavo Bandaranaike which made arrogant Sinhalese chauvinism its trademark. By participating in the coalition government of "Madame B," the shameful LSSP and CP reformists took upon themselves joint responsibility for such oppressive measures as the institution of Sinhala as the sole official language, as well as for the monstrous crime represented by the government's brutal suppression of the 1971 uprising of unemployed youth.

Comrade Samarakkody and the RWP have also championed the democratic rights of the Tamils and defended the imprisoned youth rebels even at the height of Bandaranaike's witchhunt, when other supposed leftists such as the contemptible Bela Tampoe fell on their knees supplicating the blood-soaked prime minister.

COLOMBO, 12 August—Capitalist reaction in Sri Lanka has been dangerously strengthened through the unprecedented and resounding victory of the UNP [United National Party] in the recent State Assembly Elections.

Perhaps it is not incorrect to state that rarely in the history of parliamentary elections in a capitalist country has a reactionary bourgeois party won so much as 86 percent of the total number of seats, as was the case in regard to the victory of the UNP. And perhaps, it is also equally rare for reformist left parties, which have had parliamentary representation previously, to be electorally wiped out, as happened to the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party (CP) in this election.

Of a total of 166 seats, the UNP won 139, the TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front —Tamil bourgeois party) 17, and the SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom Party —the party of Bandaranaike] 8 seats. The ULF (United Left Front constituted by the LSSP, CP and PDP [People's Democratic Party—an SLFP splitaway group]) contested 133 seats and registered zero. The LSSP held 18 and the CP 6 seats in the previous parliament. What is especially significant is that of the 81 candidates who contested, as many as 64 lost deposits, many obtaining less than 500 votes.

And it is not without significance that of the other left groups (Bala Tampoe group, Healy group and the Rohana Wijeweera-led JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front]) it was the candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP), Meryl Fernando, that obtained the largest number of votes—2,800. Also, he was the only candidate of all left parties or groups to obtain more votes than on the previous occasion when he contested the same seat.

The question what happened and why in regard to the outcome of this election is by no means a mystery. The history of coalition governments of the so-called liberal bourgeoisie and reformist working-class parties has shown that, as night follows day, far from pushing back reaction through such coalition governments, the opposite happens. Such governments only open wide the door for the forces of reaction to come in an avalanche, and invariably through military/police dictatorships accompanied by bloodbaths for the working class and the left movement. This was precisely the lesson of Indonesia's NASOKOM (Sukarno-Communist Party coalition government in 1964) and Allende's UP in Chile (1973). Perhaps it is fortunate that it is only a sweeping parliamentary victory, and not the military/police coup and the bloodbath, through which the forces of reaction in Sri Lanka have been strengthened.

However, it may be that Sri Lanka escaped the rightist coup and bloodbath of Indonesia and Chile only because this was partially accomplished by the coalition government itself, through the 1971 youth massacre, and because the virtual shackling of the trade-union and the left movement was the reality through a five-year Emergency Rule. Nor is it unimportant that during this period there were real indications that Sirima Bandaranaike was contemplating the desirability of not holding elections and continuing her regime by tearing up the Constitution.

And it is not altogether irrelevant to note that the UNP leader Jayewardene (now prime minister) was parleying with Sirima Bandaranaike (about 1973) in the perspective of realising the "strong government" of the capitalist class under her leadership. Jayewardene abandoned the idea when he saw the signs of a possibility of an election victory for the UNP. He opted for elections, and was proved right. Without the risky operation of a Sirima Bandaranaike/Jayewardene coup, he won control of state power.

B H S Jayewardene

Junius Jayewardene

Brodie/Times [London]

Sirima Bandaranaike

Rejection of Bandaranaike Regime

In regard to the sweeping victory of the UNP, it was basically and unmistakably a negative vote. It had hardly any relevance to the false promises of the UNP to bring down living costs and to solve the unemployment problem, or to bring about a "just and righteous society."

The seven-year regime under SLFP leader Sirima Bandaranaike was unprecedented in the oppression and the sufferings that the workers, toilers and the middle classes had to endure through the failures, the misdeeds and corruption of this government.

In the interests of the capitalist class, it was correct for SLFP leader Bandaranaike to decide to pull up the capitalist economy of Sri Lanka by its bootstraps. Her policies were by no means madness without method. For its survival, the capitalist class had the need for drastic steps which could well bring about unpopularity. The crisis of capitalism in Sri Lanka in the context of the world crisis of capitalism was such that all welfare aspects introduced by all previous regimes had to cease. Subsidising of food and essential commodities had to be drastically pruned. Foreign exchange had to be conserved at any cost. This called for drastic cuts and even a ban on the import of a large number of consumer goods. All this and the frequent price increases of food, increase of train fares, bus fares, postal fares and of products of state corporations received the unqualified approval of the imperialist International Monetary Fund (IMF) and also of the capitalist class and vested interests in Sri Lanka, including the capitalist political parties, UNP and FP (Federal Party).

The other aspect of these oppressive measures was the need to suppress the masses. Hence the Emergency Rule for six years; hence the massacre of the youth; hence the illegalisation and break-up of strikes and victimisation of workers who resorted to strike action; and hence the continued oppression of the Tamil-speaking people who were severely discriminated against.

In this context, the clear rejection of the SLFP and the other partners of the coalition government was inevitable. Large sections of the masses—workers, peasants, youth, lower middle classes—consciously rejected the partners of this misrule. The rejection of these parties was of course justifiable and correct. The thinking behind this rejection was: "Down with the SLFP devil and its ex-partners the LSSP and CP." But the further thinking of the masses, "Let any devil come," was of course wrong and catastrophic.

Electoral Disaster for the "Left"

But what calls for explanation is why the SLFP, though it suffered severely, nevertheless managed to maintain a small base in the State Assembly, whilst the "left" parties the LSSP and CP were electorally wiped out. Forty-year parliamentarians like N M Perera, Wickremasinghe and P Kuneman of the LSSP and CP were defeated by large majorities, and by comparatively newcomers of the UNP. While the SLFP obtained about 1.5 million votes, the ULF got only 500,00 votes. It is further relevant to note that from as far back as 1936 left parties were continuously represented in parliament.

This, too, is no mystery. Faith in a coalition government with the SLFP came through the presence of the two working-class-based parties, the LSSP and CP. This was the case in regard to a large section of politically conscious workers and toilers, and also sections of the middle classes. In any event, the LSSP and CP were looked upon as their watchdogs, if not the champion of the interests of the oppressed sections of the masses.

However, the LSSP and CP, the "left" parties in the coalition were soon unmasked. While all three parties were equally responsible for the oppressive policies of the government, the LSSP and CP leaders in the cabinet and the coalition were not only acting as the devil's advocate, but gave their fullest co-operation for all the oppressive measures of the government. Thus, while the SLFP was of course seen as an oppressor, the LSSP and CP were in addition seen as betrayers of the workers and toilers.

The part played by the LSSP and CP in the massacre of the youth and the breaking of strikes could not be easily forgotten. It became clear to large sections of the masses that were staunch supporters of the coalition government at the beginning of the regime that it was the presence of the LSSP and CP in the government that helped the capitalist coalition government to strike such blows at the masses as no other capitalist government did, nor dared to contemplate.

Thus, the role of the LSSP and CP as oppressors and betrayers of the masses was prominently silhouetted in the electoral sky. This meant, not merely loss of confidence in the LSSP and CP, but even mass hatred and hostility to some of the leaders of these parties. In the view of large sections of the masses, the "left" and what they knew as the "left movement" has failed. Thus, whilst the hard core of the supporters of the left movement remained with the LSSP and CP and other left groups, it is a fact that large sections of the working class were not supporting the LSSP and CP and other left groups. While a section of the workers who had moved away from the left parties went consciously into the camp of a party they previously knew as a capitalist party—the UNP—the other section that decided to support the SLFP did so in the belief that the SLFP was a left party, which had a greater chance of defeating the UNP.

It was not at all a surprise that a considerable section of workers and toilers who were supporters of the LSSP and CP and who considered themselves as being in the left, decided to support the SLFP. This was the outcome of the policies followed by the LSSP and CP, especially from the 1960's. Having decided on coalition with the SLFP, the LSSP began to give this party a left or progressive coloration. For the CP, this was no new policy decision. This was indeed their political line from the time the CP was founded in 1940.

Thus it was that large sections of those who still considered themselves in the left, and part of the left movement that wanted to see the UNP defeated, rallied round the SLFP when it appeared to them that in the country as a whole the fight was between two parties—the UNP and SLFP. It thus followed that when votes were counted the LSSP and CP were, with exceptions, at the bottom of the list.

Tamil Separatists Strengthened

Another factor that calls for explanation in regard to the outcome of the elections is the unprecedented reality that the party of the Tamil bourgeoisie, the TULF, is the largest opposition party with its 17 seats. This has meant that the leader of the Tamil bourgeoisie is the Leader of the Opposition in the State Assembly.

The Tamil-speaking people of the two provinces, Northern and Eastern, and the plantation workers totalling about 2 million have remained an oppressed minority for several decades. They have been denied their language rights and discriminated against in numerous ways by all past governments, and in regard to the Tamil plantation workers, a large section are still denied their citizenship rights and remain in the category of "stateless" persons.

The SLFP/LSSP/CP coalition government not only failed to take any steps

Far Eastern Economic Review

Pieter Keuneman

to grant any real relief to the Tamil people in regard to their pressing problems, but even intensified their state of oppression through the implementation of anti-Tamil discriminatory policies, especially in regard to employment, education and land distribution. These anti-Tamil policies of the coalition government, of which the LSSP and CP were a part, helped to drive the Tamil masses into the camp of the Tamil bourgeois communalists (Tamil Congress and Federal Party) despite their record of betrayal of the Tamil masses.

In the desperate situation of the Tamil people they have been driven to demand a separate Tamil State, which is not at all a solution to their problems. It is in this context that the Tamil people registered their total loss of confidence in the Sinhalese-dominated bourgeois parties and governments, and what is more, in all left parties and the left movement. It is thus that the Tamil people rejected the parties of the previous coalition government, and also the UNP, and rallied round the TULF,

Far Eastern Economic Review

N.M. Perera

strengthening the forces of capitalism within parliament and outside.

The absence of a single representative of a left party in the State Assembly reveals a position of extraordinary strength to the capitalist class and vested interests. In any event, the new UNP government has greater parliamentary strength than any other previous bourgeois government.

All sections of the capitalist class and vested interests—industrialists, estate owners, importers, traders, hoteliers—and privileged sections like lawyers and doctors are overjoyed over the election to office of a UNP government. Bourgeois newspapers displayed screaming headlines: "Red Menace Eradicated!"

Post-Election Violence Fomented by UNP Victors

An indication of what the working class, the left movement and opponents of the UNP may well expect at the hands of the government became manifest during the first week after the victory of this party. Within a few hours after the formation of his government, Prime Minister Jayewardene resorted to the use of the Public Security Act to meet a situation of widespread violence created by the supporters of the UNP.

Known supporters of the UNP obtained control of public roads, commandeered government busses and other motor vehicles and went on a rampage, armed with death-dealing weapons -swords, bombs and firearms. These armed bands of UNP supporters struck at their opponents—cutting, maiming, raping and killing known opponents of the UNP and those associated with them during the elections. Widespread looting, destruction of dwelling houses, business establishments, motor vehicles, the destruction of farms and the killing of farm animals was a part of the reign of terror that was unleashed by the supporters of the UNP, lasting for nearly two weeks. It is estimated that there were over 200 deaths and that damage to property, which included the property and dwelling houses of thousands of poor people, can be well over a million rupees.

According to a press report during the pre-election period, Jayewardene had stated that if he became prime minister the first thing he would do was to send the police on holiday. It appeared as if

continued on page 10

RWP ELECTION STATEMENT:

Vote for Meryl Fernando!

The Revolutionary Workers Party has put forward Comrade Meryl Fernando to contest the Moratuwa seat in this National State Assembly elections.

Comrade Meryl Fernando was twice member of parliament for Moratuwa—1956-60, and 1960-64—which he contested as a candidate of the Lanka Samasamaja Party....

Comrade Meryl, together with comrade Edmund Samarakkody and others split from the LSSP in June 1964, when the N.M. Pereras, Colvin Silvas and Leslie Goonewardenas decided to betray the program of the party, and take it along the road of coalition (collaboration) with the capitalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Since then, comrade Meryl functioned within the LSSP(R), and subsequently, within the Revolutionary Workers Party of which he is a leading member....

The United National Party and Sri Lanka Freedom Party, whose respective candidates are among the contestants in this seat, are both capitalist parties that represent the interests of capitalists-imperialists in this country. The so-called United Left Front of the three parties, LSSP, CP and the PDP (People's Democratic Party, split-away group from SLFP), have been a part of the out-going capitalist coalition government led by Sirima Bandaranaike. All three parties are equally responsible for the oppressive regime of the last seven years, which brought so much misery to the people.

... It was the participation of the LSSP and CP in the coalition government that made it possible for the capitalist government to strike frontal blows at the living standards and democratic rights of the people....

In the days following April 5th, 1971 the government murdered in cold blood thousands of the youth when they revolted against government oppression. About 18,000 youths were kept in prison for several years. The regulations under the notorious Public Security Act brought about a virtual police state....

The right to hold public meetings, to issue publications and print newspapers, the functioning of trade-unions and other democratic liberties were severly curtailed, and the Tamils, including the Tamil plantation labourers were seriously discriminated against. The Tamil speaking people remain an oppressed minority....

The LSSP-CP-PDP United Left Front is not a left alternative to the SLFP and UNP. As was the case of the former SLFP-LSSP-CP front, this is another bourgeois coalition to form a capitalist government in parliament, which will serve the interests of the capitalist class. The program of the ULF has openly promised to give the fullest scope for the capitalist class to grow. It has promised to continue the use of the hated Public Security Act, and keep in tact the police-army repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state....

The only way out for the workers and toilers is the ending of capitalist class rule and capitalism itself, and the realisation of socialism. This objective can become a reality only by establishing a workers and peasants government. Such a government cannot be realised within the framework of parliament, but only outside it, and through the smashing of the capitalist state and all its institutions, including the capitalist parliament itself.

Whatever government that is formed in parliament after the election, SLFP, UNP or ULF, will remain a capitalist government. It is a lie if anyone says that a government of the workers and peasants can be formed in parliament. History of parliamentary elections in Sri Lanka as well as in all other capitalist countries, have amply proved this truth. And this is why comrade Meryl Fernando, if he is elected will not link up with any party or group to form a government in parliament....

Comrade Meryl Fernando does not seek to deceive the people about forming governments. If elected he will utilise the parliament to carry on a struggle against the oppressive policies of whatever capitalist government that happens to hold office, and against the oppression of capitalist class rule. Comrade Meryl Fernando will seek to link the struggle within parliament with the mass struggle outside. In this way, comrade Meryl Fernando will seek to show the way forward for the building of the new revolutionary leadership for the left movement, in the perspective of the struggle for the workers and peasants government and the achievement of socialism.

Revolutionary Workers Party
10 July 1977

Israeli Torture Exposed

The Israeli government and international Zionist lobby were stung by a major article in the 19 June *Sunday Times* [London] exposing the torture of Palestinian prisoners. The extensively researched "Insight Inquiry" struck at the root of Israeli pretensions to a "democratic" state resting on "civilized Western values." The testimony of 44 Arab victims of Israeli "justice" and of their lawyers, doctors, friends and families shows a regime which, for the Palestinians, is one of terror disguised but not mitigated by the trappings of bourgeois parliamentary rule and democratic jurisprudence.

Consider the case of Omar Abdel-Karim. He was arrested on 3 October 1976 on the Allenby Bridge, the main crossing point from the Israeli-occupied West Bank to the East Bank of Jordan. Accused of belonging to the Palestinian resistance, *fedayeen*, he was held for four months before the military authorities allowed Red Cross officials to conduct him to Jordan. At the time of his arrest he was 35 years old and generally healthy, and worked as a carpenter in a West Bank village near Bethlehem. This February he was carried into Jordan on a stretcher, a broken man who looked years older.

During those four months of horror, Abdel-Karim was methodically beaten and tortured to extract a confession of "terrorist" activities. He was held at two special interrogation centers and the prison at Hebron on the West Bank. At the detention center in Jerusalem known as the Russian Compound, his interrogators brutally beat him and hung him by his wrists. After a week he was transferred to a secret location (probably the ten-square-mile army ordinance and supply depot at Sarafand near Tel Aviv) where he was kept hooded except when undergoing "questioning." There he was tortured eight or nine times with electric shock.

At Hebron prison he was again beaten and humiliated, forced to lick his own blood off one torturer's boots. A bottle was forced up his rectum. He was suspended by his wrists from a pulley and beaten unconscious. His ribs were fractured. He was kept under a cold shower and jammed into a barrel of freezing water. Interrogators squeezed his genitals. His wife was brought to the prison and beaten in front of him. He was shut in a tiny cell and tear-gassed.

As the *Sunday Times* "Insight" team chillingly notes, Abdel-Karim's case is "typical" of the fate of many Palestinian prisoners. Forty-three others told the reporters of similar treatment at the hands of the Israeli military and border police. Half of them agreed to be publicly named although they still live in the occupied areas and are potentially exposed to reprisals. The British newsmen attempted to corroborate their accounts whenever possible. They also documented the pattern of superficial lies and haughty dismissal with which Zionist officials routinely respond to such charges. Only nine days before publication of the report, an Israeli press counsellor in London claimed: "Every case of alleged torture or mistreatment is investigated very thoroughly by the police and the courts." He made a *pro forma* admission that some police may employ what he termed "excessive zeal in interrogation."

The *Sunday Times* report blasted away this tissue of lies. It concluded, in part

> "Torture is organized so methodically that it cannot be dismissed as a handful of 'rogue cops' exceeding orders. It is systematic. It appears to be sanctioned at some level as deliberate policy."

Mouthpieces for the Begin regime screamed "slander" and "Arab propaganda." In particular, they rushed to defend the security courts. The Israeli embassy in London called the report "as vicious a slander as it is insulting to the only democracy and independent judiciary in the area." The Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem attacked the "slur on the courts" as "perhaps one of the more reprehensible aspects of the article."

Arab Red Cross and Red Crescent

Prisoners at Kfar Yona near Tel Aviv.

AN INSIGHT INQUIRY

The Insight team has carried out a detailed inquiry in Israeli-occupied territories into Arab allegations and official Israeli denials of the use of torture. It concludes in part: "Torture of Arab prisoners is so widespread and systematic that it cannot be dismissed as 'rogue cops' exceeding orders. It appears to be sanctioned as deliberate policy."

ISRAEL AND TORTURE

June 19 London Times article documented cases of torture against Arabs by Israeli military.

"Due Process of Law"

Israel has (according to its own reports) only 37 prisoners specifically detained for "political offenses." The government and its apologists around the world point with pride to this "evidence" of the open and democratic nature of Israeli society in contrast to the despotic, bloodthirsty regimes in neighboring Arab countries whose gallows, torture chambers and dungeons overflow with political prisoners. But nearly 60 percent of all prisoners in jail (3,200 out of 5,800) in Israel or the occupied areas are Arabs found guilty of security offenses.

The "Insight" team talked with six lawyers who regularly defend these suspected "terrorists" and reported

> "Their unanimous opinion is that the military courts [which try all security cases] collude in and knowingly conceal the use of torture by Israel's intelligence and security services.... Most convictions in those courts are based on confessions by the accused, most of those confessions, the lawyers are convinced, are extracted by ill-treatment or torture, almost without exception the courts reject that contention."

Last November Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, Jacob Doron, asked rhetorically: "What is wrong with the holding of trials and the conviction of those found guilty after due process of law?" "Due process of law" in the occupied territories begins with arrest by soldiers or border police, usually accompanied by military intelligence or Shin Beth, Israel's equivalent of the CIA. The suspect can be held up to 18 days before being taken into a military court. During that time he has no access to legal counsel. He can then be detained another six months, during which he is interrogated. At the end of this period, the prosecution is almost invariably equipped with a signed confession, which is sufficient for conviction.

In a handful of cases (such as Abdel-Karim's), the Red Cross succeeds in winning the release and deportation of prisoners after they have been physically broken on the wheel of Israeli "justice." The price the agency pays for these small concessions is total public silence about its extensive knowledge of the inhuman practices in Israeli jails.

The prisoners' lawyers can do little more than plea bargain in an attempt to secure lighter sentences. Two of the lawyers interviewed by *Sunday Times* reporters subsequently sent letters to the paper, which were published in the 10 July issue. Felicia Langer, a member of Rakah, the Israeli Communist Party, described a typical inquiry into complaints of torture:

> "I saw wounds on the bodies of my clients on July 2, 1974 in Yagur Prison. I asked for an immediate medical examination. The examination was not done until a considerable time later, after the marks and wounds were healed.
> "The two police officers who were assigned by Police Minister Hillel to investigate our complaints were hostile and biased. One of them told me that he believed that the wounds were inflicted by my clients with their own hands.
> "I submitted these facts to the High Court, but in vain. The result of the investigation was a complete acquittal of those accused of torturing my clients.
> "All my other complaints there have been hundreds have been described by the police as baseless, or as products of oriental fantasy.
> "The only reaction to my allegations has been the recent revocation of my licence to appear in courts martial and some other courts in Israel if the Minister of Defence decides that a certain trial is secret."

Another lawyer, Lea Tsemel, explained that she is forced to dissuade her clients from entering torture charges because "this could expose him to severer punishment." Lighter sentences are meted out to prisoners who are said to have "co-operated with the interrogators."

Journalistic Double Standard

The *Sunday Times* revelations are not really new. In the decade following the 1967 war and Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and Golan Heights, numerous accounts of terror against the Palestinian population of these areas have been available to the Western

press. Reports from various UN agencies, the Arab Red Cross and Red Crescent societies, Amnesty International, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the highly respected Israel League for Human and Civil Rights have all documented the forced deportations, indiscriminate army brutality, collective reprisals, destruction of homes, mass round-ups, subhuman prison conditions and torture designed to grind the Palestinian population into submission.

What is new is the very fact that a major Western bourgeois newspaper should prominently cover and verify these long-standing charges. In certain respects, it is analogous to the official *imprimatur* which U.S. congressional committees have recently given to reports of the long-notorious assassination, "destabilization" and domestic spying programs of the CIA. The *Sunday Times* article tore a gaping hole in the curtain of silence shrouding Israel's treatment of the 1.7 million Palestinians under its rule.

While the Israeli government suppresses local information about its atrocious treatment of the Arabs through domestic press censorship, the Western press *censors itself* in deference to the Zionists. Its pages are always open to accounts of torture and mass executions in Arab states but it maintains a rigid double standard with regard to Israel. The *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, for example, chose not to carry the *Sunday Times* report when it was first made available in this country. Instead the *New York Times* of 3 July highlighted Israel's flimsy counterattack, which criticized the reporters for not consulting "any authoritative Israeli source whatsoever," for not supplying "medical evidence" and for not mentioning that torture is a crime in Israel.

A fact-finding delegation of National Lawyers Guild (NLG) members who returned from Israel on July 29 was given a taste of the media's double standard during a press conference on August 1. Gunnar Sievert, a member of the delegation, recounted to *WV* how a Channel 5 television reporter demanded that they produce "material evidence" rather than the "hearsay testimony" of former Arab prisoners. But with the prisoners held incommunicado during interrogation, medical "evidence" dependent on the testimony of Zionist doctors and official inquiries in the hands of the military prosecutors, "material evidence" can be found only in the shattered lives and scarred bodies of the Palestinian prisoners, evidence which is reinforced by the very structure and methods of the security courts which hear the cases.

Sievert described the atmosphere of the military trials to *WV*:

> "The entire proceedings go on in Hebrew.... Neither the Arab prisoners nor their lawyers are permitted to be present when the charges are read or when the evidence against them is given....
> "The military courts are staffed by soldiers primarily...a minority of whom have legal experience. They're soldiers first and foremost.
> "Practically every confession in the military courts reads almost the same. It's as if the government were printing up forms for them to sign.... The confessions themselves are written in Hebrew.... Very seldom is there any acquittal."

Bar-Am/New York Times

Arab refugees in occupied territory board trucks for work inside Israel.

He related how the Israelis use the British Emergency Regulations to detain suspects for renewable six-month periods, citing the case of a faculty member from Birberzeit University, who has been held for 36 months without charges. The NLG investigation bore out the conclusions reached by the *Sunday Times* reporters. When they questioned Likud official and cabinet secretary Aryeh Naor about the "Insight Inquiry," Sievert recalled, he contemptuously dismissed it saying that the sole source was Felicia Langer, "acting on orders from Moscow."

Torture and the Zionist State

The existence of a substantial minority of non-Jews under the rule of "the sovereign state of the Jewish people" (as the Israeli courts characterized their state) is a standing challenge to the ideology of Zionism. As Noam Chomsky points out in his introduction to Sabri Jiryis' *The Arabs in Israel*:

> "Israel makes no pretense to being a secular state. Nor is it committed to equal rights for citizens. There is no such thing as 'Israeli nationality' in the state of Israel. There is a 'Jewish nation' but no 'Israeli nation.' Citizens are Jews, Christians or Muslims; their lives are governed by religious authority and religious law. In this respect, Israel is not unlike its neighbors, which no one would dream of calling secular states."

He describes the awesome power of the Orthodox rabbinate, which imposes its interpretation of religious law on the entire Jewish community while justifying the segregation and oppression of the non-Jews:

> "Where one can live or work, even the opportunity to play in the Israeli basketball league, depends on the decision of the Orthodox rabbinate as to who is a Jew, by the criteria that they have established, which require either conversion or a proper genealogy going back four generations."

While the bourgeois *Sunday Times* views Israeli torture as an aberration by a nation "with claims to Western values" and wants to pressure the Zionists to call off their most blatant atrocities, torture and brutality are part of a broader policy necessary to pacify the whole Arab population.

The Zionist colonizers of Palestine intended not to exploit Arab labor but to exclude it from a homogeneous Jewish society and economy. For a time they were remarkably successful. Of the approximately one million Palestinian Arabs who were present at the start of 1947 in the territory that became Israel, only 150,000 were left shortly after the consolidation of the Zionist state in 1948. Genocidal atrocities like the Deir Yassin massacre perpetrated by Begin's Irgun drove the Palestinian Arabs from their homes. Their lands were confiscated and taken over by the state or the Jewish National Fund (JNF).

While a high birth rate led to explosive growth among the remaining Arab population of Israel, they remained a largely passive minority until 1967. For 18 years (until 1966) the majority Arab state of the Galilee was an internal "occupied area." Long before the clerical-fascist Gush Emunim began its settlements on the West Bank, the Galilee was subject to a policy of "Judaization" through land restriction and Jewish settlement. Certain areas were closed to Arabs while they were prevented from leaving other areas without a military permit. By channeling development funds through semi-governmental Zionist bodies like the JNF and the Jewish Agency, the new rulers ensured that the Arabs would remain the poorest, least educated and worst housed section of the population.

With the massive land grab following the 1967 war, the Arab population under Israeli rule jumped from half a million to 1.7 million, and the government sharply escalated its attacks on the Palestinians. Even the blatantly pro-Zionist Western press could no longer ignore Israel's "Arab problem," although it chose largely to portray the Palestinian struggle as little more than the racist frenzy of maddened "terrorists." Thus, indefensible acts of terror against innocent Jewish civilians were equated with battles against the occupying Israeli army.

The Palestinian guerrilla groups have been ground to pieces by Israeli massacres, the "Black September" bloodbath carried out by the Jordanian army in 1970, the internecine civil war in Lebanon and the betrayals of their misleaders. But the population of the occupied territories remains desperately explosive, as evidenced by the continued strikes and demonstrations on the West Bank.

The barbarous abuse of Arab prisoners serves first to gather information on organized resistance to the occupation, secondly to extract the confessions needed to legitimize the pre-emptive arrest of suspected militants and finally and most importantly for the Zionist rulers, to terrorize the entire Palestinian population into passivity. The latter goal has become particularly important in recent years as Arabs in the occupied areas have become a more significant part (about eight percent) of Israel's labor supply. They are picked up early in the morning on a day-labor basis, trucked into Israel proper where they perform the dirtiest, most menial tasks at a fraction of official wage scales, and then returned to their homes at night.

While this super-exploited migrant labor force remains marginal to the overall economy, it symbolizes the greater weight of the Palestinian presence in Israel. This drives the clerical-fascist land grabbers like Gush Emunim to heighten their efforts to drive the Arabs out altogether while reinforcing the government's determination to use any means necessary to keep the Palestinians under heel.

Substantial sectors of the Jewish population in Israel are very disenchanted with the clerical nature of Zionism, especially since this clericalism has been accentuated with the Begin victory. The Begin government is a coalition of Likud and the Orthodox Jewish religious parties, including the fanatical Agudat Yisrael, which had refused to serve in previous Zionist governments because it considered them too secular. Recently, encouraged by the Begin victory, ultra-Orthodox Jews in Bnei Braq near Tel Aviv attempted to close off a busy thoroughfare, Rehov Hashomer, on the sabbath. After a passenger was killed and a driver badly injured attempting to crash through the chained-off thoroughfare, huge demonstrations took place, including a rally of Orthodox men numbering 10,000 and a counter-rally on a Friday just before sundown led by Hashomer Hatzair, replete with red flags and placards protesting religious coercion.

The clerical and racialist character of Israel is very much tied to the agrarian question. Despite the aggressive purchasing policies of the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund, on the eve of Israeli independence Jews, who constituted 33 percent of the population, owned only nine percent of the land. According to the United Nations partition of Palestine, the Jewish state was to receive 55 percent of the land, and even though this was expanded to 80 percent by the 1948 war, Jewish land ownership remained officially only nine percent. The rest of the land was confiscated through a variety of regulations, including the Emergency Regulations, which date from the British suppression of the Arab revolt in Palestine in 1938-39. These regulations provide for the imposition of martial law administered by military courts from which there is no appeal. They also provide for indefinite detention, restriction of movement, *destruction* of homes and other private property (whole villages have been leveled under the Emergency Regulations) and the confiscation of land. Galilee was ruled by the Emergency Regulations until 1966. Today they are used to govern the occupied territories, but they can still be imposed anywhere in Israel at any time by ministerial decree.

Marxists must demand the abolition of the Emergency Regulations and the "Law of Return." Only the Palestinian Arabs have a legitimate "right of return" a right to full repatriation and compensation, not merely with regard to the land "occupied" by Israel in the 1967 war but with regard to all the land confiscated by Zionism since its inception. The Palestinian "right of return" cannot be resolved through the creation of a Palestinian mini-state but only through the destruction of Zionism. Those (like Noam Chomsky) who despair of a proletarian perspective, yet seek a consistently democratic and binational solution to the Palestinian question, end up endorsing the mini-state "solution." This is because they equate the destruction of Zionism with the destruction of the Hebrew nation. They cannot conceive of the Israeli working class participating in the socialist revolution which destroys *both* Zionism and the Hashemites and opens the road to the democratic resolution of the conflicting national claims within the framework of the proletarian dictatorship. Stop the torture! Abolish the Emergency Regulations! Free all Palestinians imprisoned under the Emergency Regulations! ■

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Begin-Carter...

(continued from page 1)

Prime Minister Begin. The fact is that under the previous Mapai coalition, the Labor Government, that settlements have been built there—a fairly large number." Indeed, the Labor Alignment coalition not only endorsed 70 settlements in the occupied territories, including 40 in the West Bank, but provided financial support, construction materials and services to the so-called "illegal" settlement while calling for the Arabs' eventual removal.

With the cynicism befitting a small-town political shyster running for sheriff, Carter said of his fellow bourgeois politician fresh from elections in Jerusalem, "...he, like myself, has run on campaign commitments and I think he's trying to accommodate the interests of peace as best he can." And finally, while Carter claims to formally stand for Israeli withdrawal from most of the occupied territories, he told the news conference that he told Begin, "It would be easier for us to accept an increase in the population of existing settlements than it would be to accept the establishment of new settlements"!

But Begin's commitment to incorporating the West Bank and Gaza Strip are not mere campaign promises. He fanatically believes in and dedicates his life to the conquest of a racialist Jewish "greater Israel." As if to add insult to injury, on August 14 Begin announced that social services provided to Israeli citizens would be extended to the more than one million Arabs in Gaza and the West Bank. And three days later Begin's cabinet spokesman, Aryeh Naor, announced that three more settlements would be authorized in the West Bank.

David Rubinger/Time

Israeli encroachment (top) near Arab city of Hebron in the occupied West Bank.

Ten Years of "Creeping Annexation"

Begin claimed that his plan to extend social services to Gaza and the West Bank "has no political significance. It is not the beginning of annexation. It is grounded in humanitarian considerations." Amazingly this hypocritical "humanitarian" eyewash was echoed by a usually more sophisticated liberal bourgeois paper, the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (21 August). But even the Israeli Labor Party charged that this proposal was "creeping annexation," a charge justifiably leveled against many policies of the Labor Alignment government during the ten years that they administered the occupied territories.

The proposal to extend social services to the West Bank is no more "humanitarian" than Israel's "open fences" policy along the Lebanese border. The latter—the offer of medical services and jobs to Christian Maronites fleeing the still-smoldering communal war in southern Lebanon—is a "two-way" fence which permits Israel to ship military supplies across to Maronite militias fighting Palestinian commandos.

The offer of social services to the West Bank is not one that Israel can pay for out of her own coffers. The Israeli economy is still ravaged by its onerous military budget, inflation and unemployment (see "Crisis in the Zionist Bunker," *WV* No. 153, 15 April 1977). Right-wing economist Milton Friedman, fresh from instructing the bloody Pinochet junta in Chile in the arts of economic terror, is now advising the Likud finance minister Simcha Erlich. Erlich, apparently a precocious student of Friedman's "shock treatment," on July 17 announced a 25-percent increase in the prices of fuel, electrical power, public transport, water, telephone service and basic foodstuffs.

Israel expects to raise the funds for social services on West Bank residents by extending its taxes, the most burdensome in the world, to West Bank Arabs. Until now, West Bank Palestinian Arabs have rebelled from paying taxes to Israel which they rightly see as paying tribute to provide for their own military and political subjugation. Indeed, although not explicitly stated, West Bank residents will be taxed not only for social services but also for the "security services" of Israel's brutal military occupation.

West Bank/Gaza: Zionist Economic Colonies

Israel has become dependent upon further integrating the West Bank as an economic colony. Prior to the 1967 war Israel was experiencing an economic depression as severe as the one she is currently going through. Inflation skyrocketed, unemployment shot over 10 percent and emigration exceeded immigration—the latter being a potentially lethal threat to this fragile colonial-settler state. The 1967 war and the economic benefits of the occupied territories rejuvenated the Israeli economy, as Jamil Hilal states in "Class Transformation in the West Bank and Gaza" (in *MERIP Reports*, No. 53):

> "During the period from June 1967 to June 1974 Israel acquired a huge trade surplus with the West Bank and Gaza totaling Israeli pounds 2.155 billion [or $513 million]... The number of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza working in Israel has increased every year from 9,000 in 1969 to 70,000 in 1974."

Hilal goes on to report that they are concentrated in heavily unskilled work and receive on the average only half the wage that an Israeli worker receives for the same work. He also points out that:

> "discrimination against Palestinian workers from the occupied territories is not limited to wages. It extends to social and medical insurance as well. The Israeli state deducts up to 40 percent of the Palestinian worker's wages for these insurance funds, considerably more than the proportion deducted from an Israeli worker's wage. While the Israeli worker enjoys many benefits such as paid holidays, medical insurance and retirement benefits, the Palestinian worker has no right to any benefits at all. The Palestinian worker is thus forced to pay a large tribute to the Israeli state over and above the surplus value extracted by Israeli capital. Israeli sources suggest that the total of this tribute exacted by the Israeli treasury in the period 1968 to 1974 is no less than Israeli pounds 1.09 billion [$260 million]."

Neither Begin nor his Likud government will correct this gross injustice and official state thievery of Palestinian workers from the occupied territories.

Likud and the Labor Alignment are both committed to the economic subjugation of the West Bank and Gaza as colonies. However, their direct integration into Israel confronts the Zionist state with (1) the Palestinian Arab residents of the West Bank and Gaza, and (2) the opposition of U.S. imperialism. Both Likud and "Labor" are united behind the racialist Zionist policy of building a "Jewish state." Neither intends to add to the already large 400,000 Arab minority in Israel one million more Palestinian Arabs. Further, the slender resources of this Israeli state, even when augmented by U.S. imperialism and generously supplied from its military arsenal, cannot permanently suppress the escalating hostility and rebellion of Arabs in the occupied territories.

The "Allon Plan" attempts to get around this position by granting the densely populated areas of the West Bank extremely circumscribed political autonomy linked to the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan while Israel retains a monopoly of military and police powers and unfettered economic access to the West Bank. The "Begin Plan" is even more sinister. He hopes to exploit the new settlements, especially those by the more fanatical right-wing clerical sects in the densely populated areas, to both colonize a Jewish population and terrorize and drive out at least a part of the Arab population. Each settlement, especially those inhabited by the Gush Emunim, becomes a reduplication of the Irgun.

Sahm Doherty/Time

Carter with Syrian president Hafez al-Assad in Geneva.

Imperialist Clients in Four Wars

Vicarious "Third Worlders" who cheered for the Arab side in the 1967 and 1973 wars justify their support to the reactionary sheiks and colonels by claiming Israel is the direct extension of U.S. imperialism. Consequently any war against Israel is equal to directly fighting U.S. imperialism itself and is therefore necessarily "anti-imperialist." Evidence for this position is said to exist in Israel's dependency on American imperialism for direct financial subsidy and military hardware. But Jordan is even more dependent on Washington for direct financial subsidy, often channeled through the CIA, and for U.S. military hardware. Without the British and (since 1950) American support, Jordan, this artificial creation of British imperialism carved out of the Palestine mandate and based on Bedouin nomadic tribesmen, could not support its advanced air force and army.

Hilal notes in his introduction to "Class Transformation..." that Jordan, which annexed the West Bank in the 1948 war, also treated the West Bank as an economic colony and fostered its underdevelopment. Emigration was encouraged. Palestinian political movements including Baathists, Arab nationalists and the Communist Party were crushed. "After this repression, the Israelis encountered relatively little difficulty in establishing their control over the West Bank."

The 1967 war between Jordan and Israel was fought not for the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people but over who would be their masters and oppressors, the Hashemites or the Zionists. Clearly no support could be given to the Zionists who fought to turn the West Bank into their colony. But those who supported the Arab side supported not a war against Zionism but the continued unjust oppression of the Palestinians by the Hashemites.

The Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1967 and 1973 were not "anti-imperialist" on either side. They were not wars for national liberation. Instead, on all sides, they were wars for territorial expansion and economic subjugation. The policy of Marxists should have been revolutionary defeatism toward all the combatants in the 1948, 1967 and 1973 wars, where neither the cause of national liberation nor proletarian revolution would have been served by the victory of any side. On the other hand, Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 was a genuine blow against British imperialism; in that instance revolutionaries were duty bound to defend Egypt against the British/French/Israeli onslaught.

Then how is it that these client states of U.S. imperialism, Israel and Jordan, came to blows against each other? Was the 1967 war masterminded by a giant conspiracy in the basement of the Pentagon? In reality, although both Israel and Jordan were created, subsidized and sustained by imperialism, they both aspire to consolidate independent state powers. Proponents and opponents of the Palestinian mini-state in the West Bank and Gaza query whether it would be economically viable, but in fact neither Jordan nor Israel are economically viable without the West Bank, even as poor agricultural countries.

Their efforts to pursue their own

interests can at times clash with one or another imperialist power. Thus, President Eisenhower forced Israel out of the Sinai after its 1956 campaign because U.S. inter-imperialist rivalry with Britain and France in the struggle to control Near East oil stood higher than support to the military adventure of the Zionist state. Similarly, the U.S. probably opposed the 1967 war and certainly opposed the results - the Israeli occupation.

Even though the U.S. equipped and subsidized two of the adversaries, Israel and Jordan, it pours arms and money into such client states not to encourage Near East wars but in order to maintain "a stable balance of power" of reactionary regimes and the pursuit of and control over raw materials in the colonial world. The 1967 war and its aftermath introduced enormous instability in the Near East, resulting in the 1973 war where U.S. access to petroleum was actually threatened. American policy has been, while not abandoning military and economic support to its Zionist client state, to put pressure of varying degrees on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories, a policy articulated most forthrightly by the so-called "Rogers Plan."

U.S. Rulers Discover Palestinian Question

The Jordanian civil war and "Black September," when King Hussein struggled to crush the Palestinian resistance and almost brought down his throne, forced a re-evalution of Palestinian nationalism on the part of those academic-ideological apologists for U.S. imperialism who loiter in the antechambers of power waiting for some Pentagon aide or State Department official to beckon. In 1973 the Rand Corporation, the notorious CIA think-tank which sponsors "studies" on how to "pacify" Vietnamese villages and "destabilize" South American regimes, published *The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism*. Among the three contributors was William B. Quandt. The research for his contribution was sponsored by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.

Though paid for by the Pentagon, Quandt's study is objective and sympathetic. For example, he writes of the two most left-wing of the petty-bourgeois Palestinian resistance groups: "Like many radical movements, the PFLP [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] and the PDFLP [Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine] may count less for their armed strength than for the few well argued and courageous ideas that they have managed to introduce into the political arena." Quandt concludes that, the "real issue is whether the changes in attitude already apparent in the younger generation of Palestinians can lead to a viable bargaining position that could capitalize on the widespread effort in finding an acceptable solution to one of the issues in the Arab-Israeli dispute."

Quandt, a close associate of none other than that notorious anti-communist Kremlinologist Zbigniew Brzezinski, co-authored an article entitled "Peace in an International Framework," appearing in the Summer of 1975 issue of *Foreign Policy*. The article bluntly states: "...to assume that time is on one's side is always hubris, and in Israel's present case, a particularly dangerous gamble. The power and prestige of the Arabs have grown as a consequence of the new symbolic relationship created by the industrial world's dependence on oil...the U.S. is also keenly aware that its relations with the Arab world impinge on its status as a superpower, and its support of Israel cuts across American *raison d'état*." The article further states that: "Israeli policy should aim at trading the occupied territories for Arab acceptance of the old Palestinian mandate territory partitioned between Israel and what would probably be the PLO dominated state of Palestine on the West Bank in Gaza."

Brzezinski and Quandt collaborated on the Brookings Institute's report, *Toward Peace in the Middle East*, a document which has strongly shaped the Carter administration's Near East policy. Brzezinski is now assistant to the president for national security affairs and Quandt is on his staff as office director for Middle East and North African affairs. Carter's call for a Palestinian "national home" in the Near East ironically smacks of the language of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which gave official British approval to Zionist colonization.

The difference between Balfour's and Carter's declaration is that the former laid the basis for the Zionist dispossession of the Palestinian people, whereas Carter's "national home" offers the Palestinians a semi-bantustan in a very small portion of their former land. And unlike even the bantustans of South Africa, formal political autonomy would be granted not to them but to their hated Hashemite overlords.

Clearly this Balfour declaration for the Palestinians is an attempt to defuse the Palestinian question, to stabilize the precarious bonapartist regimes in Syria and Egypt and the non-regime in Lebanon, and appease the oil sheikdoms where immigrant Palestinians constitute something of an intellectual and technical elite (making them the "Jews" of the Arab East, who like American Jews constitute a strong and well-organized lobby). Like Zionism, Palestinian nationalism has become a pawn of imperialist domination and inter-imperialist rivalry in the Near East.

Zionist Deathtrap or Proletarian Dictatorship?

Like British policy in Mandate Palestine, the U.S. at different times "tilts" in a pro-Arab or pro-Zionist direction. Clearly the United States desires to maintain both its Israeli and Arab client states. But there is no question that U.S. policy, especially since the October 1973 oil boycott, is currently evidencing a "pro-Arab tilt."

The "Labor" Party, which in various coalitions and combinations governed Israel for 29 years, had as an essential part of its platform warm and close relations with its imperialist patrons in Washington. "Labor" was brought down not only by the stench of its own corruption as well as the "harvest" of its political line for the Hebrew peoples—war, insecurity, impoverishment—but also by the recent pressure of the pro-Arab U.S. tilt. Begin, while even more wedded to the capitalist system without the "Labor"-Zionist "socialist" pretense, and ever willing to accept from the imperialists whatever the imperialists are willing to give, nonetheless represents a distinct current of thinking within the Zionist movement.

Begin, who threw bombs at the British as an Irgun terrorist, will subordinate any alliance with imperialism to his Bihle-based fantasy of conquering a "greater Israel" through the deportation and exploitation of the Arah masses. He believes, like many Zionist leaders, that the U.S. is an unreliable ally in any case. Zionists, hoth left-wing "Labor" and right-wing "revisionists," pursue a reactionary foreign policy. Israel supported U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and Korea, Portuguese colonialism in Africa, apartheid in South Africa and the French in Algeria because they view themselves as the Portuguese settlers in Angola, the French colons in Algeria, the Boers in South Africa, the Syngman Rhees and Marshall Thieus of Asia.

One by one a weakened American imperialism abandons its clients, to disaster. But unlike the Portuguese or French in Africa, the Hebrew people have no formal imperial power in which to find shelter. Thus Israel is one of the few countries today offering asylum to Vietnamese refugees. For these refugees the Zionist rulers feel real empathy. Israel developed a submachine gun called the Uzi; they are now developing a gun for the Rhodesians under the name Ruzi.

In spite of the Boers' fascistic ideology, the Zionist rulers admire them for compacting their own sub-imperialist power in defiance of their original imperialist sponsors. South Africa differs from Israel in that the white-supremacist economy is based upon the super-exploitation of black labor, while the super-exploitation of Palestinian labor, while increasingly important, is still a subordinate part of the Zionist economy.

As against moralistic Third Worldism, we thus recognize a fundamental distinction between the Hebrew-speaking *nation* in Israel, whose bourgeoisie primarily exploits its own proletariat, and the white *caste* in South Africa which represents 20 percent of the population and enjoys a living standard twenty times that of the black toiling masses. This difference has a decisive effect on our program in the Near East and in South Africa. In South Africa we call for a black-centered workers and peasants government. In the case of Israel/Palestine we recognize the right of self-determination for both the Hebrew and Palestine Arab nations, which can be democratically achieved only within a socialist federation of the Near East. We would defend any black African country or nationalist movement in a military conflict with the South African imperialist state. By contrast, we take a defeatist position on hoth sides in the wars between Zionist Israel and the surrounding bourgeois-nationalist Arah states.

Despite a very different social and economic basis, Zionism has the same aspirations as the Afrikaner nationalists, as both racialist regimes rapidly develop a nuclear arsenal. Nevertheless, Israel is immensely more vulnerable relative to the Arab East than South Africa is to the rest of sub-Sahara Africa. In this respect, its strategic military position more resembles Rhodesia Indeed time is running out for the Hebrew working people of Israel. If they do not break with the racialist and genocidal ideology of Zionism, whose most fanatical exponent is now "their" prime minister, it will be they who will become its victim. The only hope for the national survival of the Hebrew people—that they do not meet yet another holocaust, this time in the "promised land" itself—is to find the road to proletarian internationalism with their Palestinian/Arab class brothers and workers throughout the world.

Israel out of the occupied territories! Down with reactionary Zionist and Hashemite states! For the right to self-determination for the Palestinian and Hchrew people, which can only be democratically realized through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East! ■

Israeli settlements in territories occupied since the 1967 war (diagonal shading). Large map shows Golan Heights, the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Box shows Sinai Peninsula.

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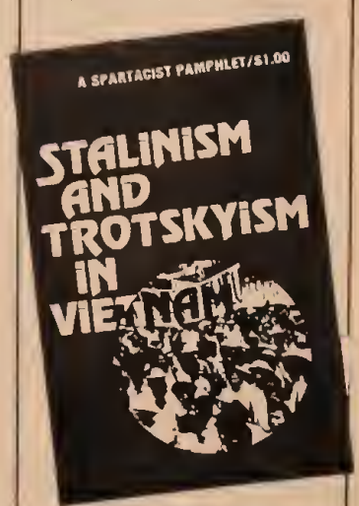

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Bandaranaike...

(continued from page 5)

Jayewardene fulfilled his promise! It is the fact that when these UNP bands were on rampage, armed with deadly weapons, the police were invariably onlookers, and the reports were that police did not entertain complaints, and in most cases had chased away victims or others who called to make such complaints against UNP supporters during these days. The serious nature of the violence unleashed could be gauged by the fact that the curfew that was imposed in several areas continued for about three days, and in some parts, there were 14-hour curfews.

Jayewardene Promises "Strong State" Anti-Working-Class Regime

The stage is now set for the realising of the "strong state" of the capitalist class, that is, the dictatorial rule of the capitalist class and the smashing of the trade unions and the left movement. In keeping with the manifesto of his party, Prime Minister Jayewardene has, through his policy statement officially announced his plans for the change of the constitution, to make the president the all-powerful executive head of state, who will have power to keep parliament suppressed, and to govern as a dictator backed by the armed forces.

In this same statement Jayewardene announced his decision to smash the trade-union movement under cover of seeking to democratise trade unions and to protect the workers from outsiders. And it is this role of destroyer of the trade unions and the left movement that the capitalist class and vested interests, especially, expect Jayewardene to undertake with speed.

In regard to "economic development," as expected Prime Minister Jayewardene lost no time in announcing that it will basically be the private sector that will be entrusted with the task. And in this regard the capitalists need not entertain any fear that the state will make any encroachments in this sphere. Nationalised enterprises which were anathema to the UNP will, where necessary, be dismantled and handed back to the private sector. This has already taken place in regard to four nationalised enterprises, and a start has been made to return land taken over under the land reform law to the former owners, under cover of setting right injustices and revengeful acts of the former regime.

Tamil plantation workers

The UNP government's aim of sustaining the Sri Lanka capitalist economy and class rule through a close link-up with foreign capitalists and imperialists is unconcealed. Meaningful steps to bring about the economic dominance of imperialism have already been announced. The notorious device of opening the doors to foreign capital through so-called Free Trade Zone areas is to be shortly undertaken. Under cover of providing job opportunities to the unemployed, foreign capitalists/imperialists will be allowed in selected areas, to establish industries under special privileges, such as freedom from export or import duties, and with rights of unrestricted export of profits and capital, and of course with guarantees against nationalisations. Incidentally, for the foreign capitalists/imperialists, Sri Lanka is at present the cheapest labour market in the whole of South, and Southeast Asia.

It is not without significance that the day after he assumed office as prime minister, Jayewardene, in answer to foreign newspaper correspondents, stated that there were no objections to Sri Lanka joining "ASEAN," the notorious anti-communist bloc (Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore). This political-cum-economic combine with the backing of U.S. imperialism was set up ten years ago to replace the then-notorious imperialist/military alliance SEATO, for aggression against Vietnam, other countries of Indochina and against Red China itself.

The new government's promise to bring down living costs is seen as empty of content in the light of the negligible price reductions in flour and bread (-/20 cts. per pound of flour and -/15 cts. per pound of bread). And as for the government's claim that it has fulfilled its promise to give eight pounds of cereals per week per person by its announcement of making available for purchase on the ration four pounds of flour and four pounds of rice, it is a fraud. While four pounds of rice was already available for each person on the ration under the outgoing regime, flour was freely available, though at a higher price.

In any event, it is already possible to discern the limitation to the government's exercise in reducing living costs through the reality that the meagre price reductions and the liberalisation of imports of a few essential commodities have called for release of additional foreign exchange of Rs. 700 million [ca. $100 million].

The truth in regard to the foreign-exchange problem is that it remains acute as ever before, and with the continuing crisis of Sri Lanka's economy, in the context of the continuation of the crisis of the world capitalist economy, it must necessarily become more acute in the period ahead. This means that Sri Lanka's capitalist economy could be bolstered up only through the more thorough exploitation of the workers and toilers for the increase of capitalist profits and for capital accumulation, and through drastic cuts in regard to mass consumption and social services.

And if the "strong government" of the capitalist class has been realised through the election of the Jayewardene-led UNP government, it means above all that it is a government of deepening crisis of the capitalist economy and rule. In other words, it is a government that from the outset is called upon to adopt more and more unpopular measures against the masses, to strike more severely at the living standards of the masses, whilst taking drastic steps to suppress the working class and toilers through dictatorial rule.

Crisis of Leadership in the Workers Movement

Undoubtedly, it is the gravest situation ever for the worker and toilers generally, and for the organised trade-union and left movement and for all other oppressed sections of the people. The question of defending the trade unions from the blows the government is striking, is even now sharply posed.

The quality of the traditional leadership of the trade-union and left movement, and the role played by these leaderships in the extraordinary strengthening of the forces of reaction, is now not altogether unknown to the masses.

While these parties need, for their own survival, to maintain a show of an oppositional stance in regard to a government which they characterised in advance, in the pre-election period as "fascist," yet the treacherous character of this leadership is already manifest. LSSP leader N. M. Perera started by seeking to become the constitutional advisor of Prime Minister Jayewardene by stupidly saying that the advancing of the day of summoning of the State Assembly was unconstitutional. Perera took the opportunity to sympathise with Prime Minister Jayewardene in his predicament, caused by the action of the previous prime minister, Sirima Bandaranaike.

In the same context, the LSSP daily paper *Jana Dina* in its editorial categorically stated that neither the UNP nor the UNP government was responsible for the pre-election violence and atrocities that were unleashed by the UNP supporters and often under the leadership of well-known UNP men! And it is not without significance that, as in the period of "responsive co-operation" [1960-64] Prime Minister Jayewardene publicly invited LSSP secretary Bernard Soysa to be a member of the commission he intended to appoint to probe into post-election violence! The LSSP has not made any comment on this invitation so far.

The LSSP/CP reformist leadership is totally incapable of mobilising the masses for any struggle, defensive or offensive, against the UNP government and the capitalist class. On the contrary, these parties and their camp followers, the "Vama (Left)-Samasamajists" (Vasudeva Nanayakara, etc.), are preparing to once again fool the workers and toilers. They have already commenced to keep the working class disarmed by talk of the need of an "anti-UNP struggle." They are seeking to continue the parliamentarist election front—the United Left Front—to prepare for the next elections. Opportunistically, these ULF leaders will protest at the wrongs of individual ministers and bureaucrats in the government. In any event, these reformists will seek to block the development of any anti-government, anti-capitalist struggle. Tailing the ULF reformists, the Vama-Samasamajists (Vasudeva/Wickremabahu) have already called for the transforming of the ULF into a "fighting front"!

Although the LSSP/CP coalitionists have been wiped out at the parliamentary elections, they will not disappear politically. They will continue their parliamentarist politics from outside. This means that the urgent task of mobilising the working class and toilers for struggle to defend their hard-won trade-union and other rights, and for struggle against the Jayewardene-led capitalist dictatorship, is beset with serious difficulties arising out of the class-collaborationist politics of the LSSP and CP. It is however inescapable that the real mobilisation of the workers and toilers for struggle in the period ahead can never become a reality except to the extent that the more politically alerted and advanced sections of the working class succeed in developing the struggle to drive out of their positions of leadership the LSSP/CP reformists and in the process succeed in forging the new revolutionary leadership, i.e., the building of the Revolutionary-Leninist-Trotskyist Party which is the condition for success in struggle against the UNP government and the capitalist class in the perspective of overthrowing capitalism and the realisation of socialism. ■

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SL, RFU Fuse...

(continued from page 12)

they should be the natural inheritors of the RFU. "One of the groups that courted the L&RU," he added, "was the SWP, and it took diligent efforts on our part to convince them that we were in fact their opponents." He went on to describe the impact the fusion would have on other groups who had similarly expected that flattery and claims that the gay question was "strategic" would recruit the RFU: "We dealt a significant blow to those rather faltering efforts to set up an IMT [International Majority Tendency] franchise in this country. We helped insure that the FSP will never leave Seattle, and we put another nail in the coffin of the RSL."

Another SL speaker drew a parallel with the fusion between the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile (OTR). The OTR fusion was similarly a victory for program. When the SL took the position of principled opposition to Allende's popular-front government, we acted on the most basic principles of Leninist class independence. We did not know, when we counterposed ourselves to the opportunist left "mainstream" which tailed the Chilean masses' illusions in Allende, that there was an OTR which would live through that experience also opposed to the popular front.

RFU spokesman Gene Shofner added that "in talking to comrades of the OTR I learned what a principled commitment to program really means. Because the gay question is a harder question in Latin America." Comrade Foster also stressed the importance of the OTR's eager acceptance of the RFU fusion: "If you have a test of a Marxist in the Latin countries—whether someone is a genuine communist—it is the woman question, the family question, the gay question."

"Built Through Fusions"

The fusion conference compared the RFU's evolution with other fusions through which the SL has been built, finding similar characteristics of revolutionary will, critical intelligence, political honesty and emphasis on programmatic clarity. For the RFU, the Communist Working Collective, the Buffalo Marxist Collective—groups which emerged from a Stalinist or New Left milieu—there was a moment when they had to face the question of Stalin vs. Trotsky. In these milieux it was suspect even to read Trotsky. The comrades did not particularly want to become Trotskyists, least of all Trotskyists like the most orthodox and intransigent SL. But they wanted to be Marxists and knew that revolutionaries do not shrink from political struggle. A documentary history of the L&RU/RFU's evolution is planned as part of the SL's *Marxist Bulletin* series.

It is more than two years since the SL first confronted the L&RU. And even when the political differences were far-reaching, the collective did not back away from political struggle. One member of the SL delegation noted that these comrades, unlike most of the New Left, came to grips with the key questions facing Marxists: "The permanent revolution, the Russian question, the party question, democratic centralism. Is there a specific program for gay liberaton?... The very basic question of divisions in the class and how Leninists deal with them. These are the key questions. And it is because the RFU took these questions on and tried to solve them—didn't go around them—that you were able to come to Trotskyism."

When the RFU comrades through their study decided that Trotsky was correct on the Russian question, they considered themselves Trotskyists. But they had not yet absorbed fully an understanding of program. It was only when the group recognized that it could not maintain a democratic-centralist organization without a solid programmatic foundation that the comrades made the connection between the primacy of program and the subjective desire to build a Leninist vanguard, in which disciplined political functioning proceeds from essential programmatic unity.

"This party has been built through fusions," Foster noted. The RFU fusion is more than the recruitment of a dozen talented and dedicated individual cadres, for the RFU is more than the sum of its parts. With this fusion the party acquires the collective experience, history and leadership of another organization. The RFU fought its way out of the New Left/gay milieu with demonstrated commitment and a leadership of proven capacity. The SL as a fused organization will include that leadership on our leading bodies.

The Proletarian Party Is the Tribune of the People

The history of the L&RU/RFU was a struggle to transcend a central political contradiction. Its cadres were sectoralists committed to a gay "constituency" who also believed it was necessary to build a revolutionary vanguard party. How that contradiction was resolved in favor of Leninism was an important focus of the fusion conference.

Comrade Shofner explained that "the real break for people who have suffered from a sectoralist worldview comes over the question of who are our people, who we are struggling for." From its earliest encounters with the L&RU, the SL insisted that only through the instrument of the proletarian vanguard party could the oppressed win their liberation. Comrade Foster told the conference participants, "Communists stand for the historic interests of the proletariat as a whole." A Leninist party is not a federation of special interest groups who come together to figure out a program. The party must contain elements from all sectors of the oppressed, but they come together around the program of proletarian revolution. The SL rejects the polyvanguardist notion that the party imitates the divisions of capitalist society within itself. One speaker noted that constituencies are "infinitely sub-dividable," recalling the "Stonewall 77" Conference where the exasperated FSP wailed: the reason you guys are going with the monstrous, bigoted Spartacist League is because you're *male* homosexuals, and only we lesbian mothers, who are the most oppressed, can really be revolutionaries.

Foster summed up: "It's only because we're communists that we can be tribunes of the people. Because all the fake-lefts have their own little sector which comes first. The trap is to become a tribune of *your* people and nobody else's."

The fusion conference was a dramatic confirmation of how the living Leninist organization transcends the divisions of capitalist society in struggle against it. The discussions of personnel allocations and organizational priorities demonstrated concretely that the RFU fusion would enable the party to better address its most pressing tasks, not only through directly utilizing RFU comrades to strengthen many apsects of party work but particularly by releasing other party cadres to sink roots in the black industrial proletariat.

It is not an irony, but the logic of Leninism that the fusion enriches not only our struggle against the special oppression of homosexuals but also our capacity to take up the fight against the special oppression of blacks. The RFU has become part of the proletarian tribune of the people and a force for revolution internationally. Comrade Foster's closing remarks stated simply what the fusion means to the combined future of the SL and RFU:

> "Comrades: I think it has been evident for some time, and reaffirmed this weekend, that this will be a very good fusion. The comrades of the RFU are exceptionally good comrades. They represent an enrichment of the Spartacist League, and it will enable us to pursue very important tasks. More than that, however, I think the party will be acquiring a banner of decency. It will be a statement not simply to homosexuals but to all the oppressed as to the nature of our party and what it stands for. It is also a statement of our intention in the future under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Friedrich Engels said, 'Freedom is the recognition of necessity,' and the necessity is a revolutionary party. So we have a job at hand; let's get on with it." ■

Fusion Declaration...

(continued from page 12)

> the party and program they represent. The sexual identity or personal characteristics of the individual are not the concern of others. By being a representative of the communist vanguard one makes oneself a walking target for the bourgeoisie, one invites harassment even above and beyond that suffered by the oppressed masses. Therefore, it is the obligation of the party to do everything in its power to shield its supporters from such victimization."
>
> —"Closet Rule Frame-Up," *Red Flag* No. 2, July 1977

* * *

> "The SL and the RFU...seek to intercept the left wing of the gay liberation milieu in order to win the most advanced elements to the program of Trotskyism. At the same time, revolutionaries do not seek to build the gay 'movement'....
>
> "The SL won the RFU not by tailing its polyvanguardism, but through a sharp struggle to break the group from sectoralism and to win it to a defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism."
>
> —"Gay Liberation and the Left," *WV* No. 168, 29 July 1977

* * *

III. The SL-RFU fusion demonstrates the power and correctness of the Trotskyist analysis in drawing the class line on the Russian question, against which a small minority broke from the RFU to anti-Soviet Shachtmanism:

> "The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 was a monumental historic advance; all opponents of capitalist exploitation and oppression must learn its lessons.... An important revolutionary act, guided by the principle that the state has no business interfering in private consensual sexual relations, was the abolition of reactionary anti-homosexual legislation. The revolution laid the material basis for replacing the stultifying enslavement of women in the nuclear family with personal relations freed from economic coercion and philistine moralism. Thus, the Bolshevik program held the key to ending the oppression of homosexuals."
>
> —"Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals," *WV* No. 169, 12 August 1977

* * *

> "To briefly summarize, our position is that of Trotsky's Fourth International supplemented by the correct extension of Marxism to the understanding of the other so-called socialist countries which is the unique contribution of the international Spartacist tendency. We call for the unconditional military defense of the gains of the October Revolution—the elimination of the bourgeoisie as a class, the creation of nationalized planned economies and the monopoly of foreign trade in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers' states—against imperialist attack and against capitalist-restorationist counterrevolution. But we stand in uncompromising opposition to Stalinism in all its nationalist varieties. We call for workers' political revolution to overthrow the ruling bureaucracies, to regenerate Soviet democracy (the democratic rule of the working class through freely elected workers' councils, or 'soviets') and to give birth again to proletarian internationalism. This revolution, we believe, can only succeed under the leadership of Trotskyist parties of the working class, united in a revolutionary international."
>
> *Red Flag* No. 2, July 1977

* * *

The SL and the RFU, having arrived at agreement concerning the essential programmatic elements necessary for the early construction of a party capable of leading a socialist revolution, resolve to merge their human and technical resources and create a common leadership of a common organization.

14 August 1977

Building the Leninist Vanguard—

From the Gay Left to Trotskyism

Spartacist League/ Red Flag Union Fusion Forum

The Red Flag Union, formerly the Lavender & Red Union, and the Spartacist League/U.S. announce the principled Leninist fusion of their respective tendencies behind the program of revolutionary Trotskyism.

For the RFU fusion is the culmination of two years of political struggle and reorientation which brought it from being a "gay liberation communist" organization sympathetic to Maoism to a definitive break both with sectoralism and with the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country."

The fusion exemplifies the process by which the vanguard communist party will be built and underscores the role of the party as the tribune of all the oppressed.

As one RFU spokesman stated, "I am a communist who happens to be a homosexual. I have one and only one political identity—as a fighter for the proletarian revolution."

- **Permanent Revolution vs. Socialism in One Country**
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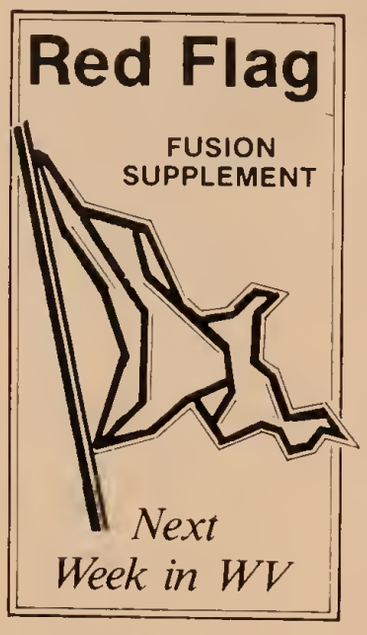
WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist League, Red Flag Union Fuse

The Red Flag Union (RFU, formerly Lavender & Red Union [L&RU]) and the Spartacist League merged their organizations and political futures at a two-day fusion conference held in August outside Los Angeles. The conference was the culmination of several months of intense organization-to-organization discussion and collaborative political work. For the RFU comrades, the conference symbolized the final step in their march from the gay liberation milieu to the nucleus of the international Trotskyist vanguard.

At the fusion conference, formal and informal discussions reviewed the RFU's evolution and examined the tasks which would face the fused organization. The relaxed atmosphere testified to the rich political process which had brought the two groups to the conference with determination and mutual political trust. Even before the sessions opened, it was clear that the decisive political fusion had already been accomplished. Thus, the document (published in this issue of *WV*) adopted by the conference as the codification of the programmatic basis for fusion was drawn from the public press of the two groups.



For months, the RFU increasingly had been hailed with the accusation, "You guys sound just like those damn Spartacists!" And indeed they did. By the time of the fusion conference, after months of intensive and productive collaboration with the SL, the opportunists' charge had begun to sound comfortable as well as correct to the RFU.

The RFU's commitment to serious fusion discussions with the SL proceeded from the recognition of the centrality of program. But when these discussions were begun, there was no way to foresee the explosive protests that brought hundreds of thousands of demonstrators into the streets to protest Anita Bryant's reactionary anti-homosexual crusade. The two groups' aggressive efforts to develop jointly an effective communist intervention into that episodic burst of outrage in the gay communities provided an unexpected testing process for the programmatic agreement emerging in the discussions. Together the SL and RFU wrote leaflets, gave forums, participated in demonstrations—forging the bonds of the future fusion in the heat of living political struggle.

This collaboration was a real test for a group shaped in the New Left/Maoist gay left, a petty-bourgeois milieu characterized by polyvanguardism and lifestylism. Any who wanted to cling to the gay milieu as a "sector" for a polyvanguard (an amalgam of separate interest groups based on sectoral "transitional" programs) would logically have found on the streets of San Francisco—where well over 100,000 marched against the Dade County initiative—a confirmation of a gays-first orientation. But the SL and RFU closed ranks around the Trotskyist program. As part of the fight for homosexuals' democratic rights, the two organizations waged a hard political battle against a panoply of opponents: from the "lifestyle" radicals and their opportunist tails, like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), to the philistine anti-homosexual Stalinists.

As the fusion discussions progressed, a few members of the RFU pulled back from the road to Trotskyism, hiding behind the Stalinophobic RSL's refusal to defend the USSR against imperialism. The RSL capitulated to this small minority's lifestylism by making a principle out of gays' "coming out" (this from an organization which does not defend busing or the Equal Rights Amendment!). The insistence of the SL and RFU majority that revolutionists must seek to be known by their program, not by their sexual orientation or any other personal or secondary attribute, was the subject of heated debate at the RFU's "Stonewall 77" Conference, where the political lines were definitively drawn. On one side stood a rotten bloc of the lifestyle radicals, the "Trotskyist" apologists for "Third World" Stalinism like the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) and the RFU's Shachtmanite minority; on the other, the RFU majority and the SL. The real political fusion had occurred with the RFU's principled fight against its own right wing.

"Who Would Have Thought...?"

All who attended the fusion conference—the SL delegation as well as the RFU and its invited friends—understood that the fusion was a victory for revolutionary program and Leninist principle. "Who would have thought six years ago that we would be fusing with a group of male homosexuals?" asked George Foster in his opening remarks. He noted that there was a firm programmatic reason the SL's consistent rejection of the workerist opportunism which tailors its politics to the backward consciousness of the working class as it exists under capitalism. "We opposed this," he noted, "not because we knew that some time in the future we'd find an RFU...but because it is anti-Marxist and wrong."

The SL's principled approach stood in sharp contrast to the patronizing cynicism of the other groups which attempted to recruit the RFU, clearly the most advanced and politically serious of the gay left collectives in the U.S. "It must seem as if this fusion (and the existence of the SL in general) violates what to the reformists must seem a law of nature," said Foster. "Our opponents must feel there is no justice in the world."

RFU spokesman Michael Weinstein noted that all the opportunist groups tailing the gay left milieu had assumed

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FUSION DECLARATION

The Spartacist League/U.S. and the Red Flag Union (formerly Lavender & Red Union), a collective which developed out of the gay liberation/Maoist/New Left milieu have reached programmatic convergence on essential questions facing revolutionary Marxists:

I. Trotskyism is the revolutionary Marxism of our epoch, today embodied in the program of the international Spartacist tendency. The urgent task is the construction of the Trotskyist vanguard party to resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

A brief summary of a programmatic model for a principled internationalist regroupment was recently presented in *Workers Vanguard*:

1. No political or electoral support to popular fronts; for conditional opposition to workers parties in open or implicit class collaborationist coalitions;
2. Uphold the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution; for proletarian leadership of the national-social struggle;
3. For military support to petty-bourgeois nationalist forces fighting imperialism, but absolutely no political support to such forces; for Trotskyist parties in every country;
4. For unconditional defense of all deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism; for political revolution against the bureaucracies, no political support to competing Stalinist cliques and factions;
5. Against violence within the workers movement;
6. For communist fractions in the unions, based on the transitional program;
7. For the communist tactic of the united front from above; for the tactic of regroupment to unite subjective revolutionists in the vanguard party; for intransigent exposure of centrism;
8. Rejection of the claims of ostensibly Trotskyist internationals to speak for the Fourth International, destroyed by Pablo in 1951-1953;
9. For the reforging of a democratic-centralist Fourth International which will stop at nothing short of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

II. In particular, the principled Trotskyist fusion of the SL-RFU affirms the Leninist position on special oppression, democratic rights and the vanguard party. The special oppression of homosexuals, unlike that of blacks in the United States, is not a strategic question for the proletarian revolution. At the same time, the defense of democratic rights—which are indivisible and include full democratic rights for homosexuals—is essential to the intervention of revolutionaries in the class struggle.

These positions were codified during the fusion process in the press of both organizations:

> "The oppressed of society are generally painfully aware of their own special oppression; in fact, the radicalism of the 1960's made a principle out of the separate organization of strata of the oppressed: blacks, women, homosexuals, for example. But it is only when consciousness of oppression transcends the subjective and partial and becomes class consciousness that an effective fight against the common enemy—the capitalist system—can be waged on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed.
>
> "The vanguard party of the working class is the force which integrates the will to resist all forms of degradation by the capitalist system. The vanguard party must be the 'tribune of the people,' championing the rights and aspirations of all the working people and specially oppressed.
>
> "Unity of the opponents of social oppression can be achieved only on a clear class program, which has no place for Stalinist conciliationism of backward prejudices or for the comforting illusion of 'personal liberation' within this viciously racist and sexist capitalist society."
>
> "Stop Anita Bryant," *WV* No. 162, 17 June 1977

* * *

> "A communist who is homosexual or any communist, does not for the most part have the luxury of 'coming out.' A communist seeks to be identified exclusively in people's minds in terms of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 172 9 September 1977

Proletarian Justice For the Bloody Assassins!

Carter's "Human Rights" Means Videla/Pinochet

As Jimmy Carter signs the new Panama Canal treaty September 7, it is only fitting that his Latin American cohorts have been invited to Washington to celebrate with him this imperialist swindle. Fresh from the torture cells of Chilean concentration camps and the blood-drenched vacant lots of Buenos Aires come Carter's "partners in hemispheric cooperation"—the Videlas, the Pinochets, the Banzers—whose very presence at the ceremony tears off the "human rights" mask of U.S. foreign policy. And to top it off, these butchers have organized their cabal for the week of September 11, when left-wing militants throughout the world will commemorate the fourth anniversary of the murderous Chilean coup.

Chile's General Pinochet, Argentina's General Videla, Bolivia's General Banzer, Brazil's General Geisel, the Dominican Republic's Mr. Balaguer—every one of these jackals should be swinging from a street lamp, sharing the fate of the Bolivian butcher Villarroel, who met his end in this way in 1946. There is not a single major European capital in which this conglomeration of jackbooted dictators would dare to show their faces today. Only in the imperialist citadel of Washington, and only because of the wretchedly reactionary leadership of the American labor movement, is this counterrevolutionary gathering possible. If these swine were all to arrive in Paris at the invitation of the French government, they would be greeted by enormous mass protest. Demonstrators in Washington September 7 must show that in the U.S., too, these scum inspire popular hatred.

Equally important, however, is to denounce the imperialist swindle which this malodorous bunch is being called in to rubber-stamp. Carter's deal with "progressive" Panamanian strongman General Omar Torrijos leaves the U.S. in control of the Canal Zone until the year 2000, including the presence of several large military bases, and thereafter sanctions American "protection" of the "neutrality" of the Canal—all in exchange for a few million dollars a year. Yet in spite of the fact that thousands of Panamanian students have demonstrated against this robbery, because it is endorsed by "anti-imperialist" Major Torrijos, and evidently by his mentor Fidel Castro, *the sponsors of the September 7 protest have not said a word against Jimmy Carter's Canal treaty in their demonstration call*! Thus the cheerleaders for "Third World" Stalinism, normally unconditional supporters of every anti-Yanqui fad among Latin American nationalists, are led by their tailism and reformism to a de facto endorsement of the imperialist deal. Not the Spartacist League, however, which is marching with and will defend our banner: "U.S. Out of the Canal Zone! No to Carter/Torrijos Imperialist Rip-Off!"

Paris Match

Goose-stepping Chilean troops pass in review before Pinochet.

Imperialist "Human Rights" Hoax

With this collection of strutting despots as a target, people may lose sight of the fact that the main enemy is at home. New Leftists, Stalinists and other reformists who only a few short years ago placed total blame for the Pinochet coup at the feet of the CIA now look to Carter to secure "human rights" in Latin America. But the man who U.S. officials say "may not receive General Pinochet" commands the most deadly imperialist juggernaut which threatens humanity today—the "democracy" which firebombed Dresden, atom-bombed Nagasaki and carpet-bombed Indochina. A new smile in the White House doesn't change this fundamental fact.

While the killing goes on in dungeons throughout the continent, invariably by U.S.-trained and supplied police, the State Department PR men are trying to sweep away this brutal truth and replace it with the "spirit" of the Carter regime. Thus Roslynn Carter junkets to Brazil and Ecuador spreading good-will among the priests and exchange students. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance "brings the human rights theme" to a meeting of the Organization of American States in the island of Grenada, whose dictator has a group of thugs called "Volunteers of Human Rights." While Assistant Secretary of State Terence Todman is in Chile, Pinochet proclaims the "abolition" of the DINA, earning the congratulations of Washington. And after an hour's talk with Videla, Todman reports his confidence that "Argentina is overcoming the abnormal conditions which surrounded the coup."

These sentiments are reflected as well in the bourgeois press. In Santiago, *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis photographs Pinochet kissing babies, lauds his new "popularity" (!) with the (literally) starving masses, discovers a "sharp decline in disappearances and killings of political activists," and reports there will be elections...in 1985!! In a statement that would make his assassinated "comrades" Salvador Allende and Orlando Letelier turn over in their graves, Spanish Socialist Party leader Felipe Gonzalez reportedly told Onis in Santiago that he sees evidence of "gradual progress" and that "the situation is not as black and white as is pictured abroad" (*New York Times*, 1 September).

According to the *Times*' man in Santiago (and Pinochet's man on the *Times*) there are only 400 political prisoners left in Chile's jails. This whitewash job is a new low even for the newspaper which prints all the news that fits in with its class interests. Only a year ago conservative estimates listed 4,000 prisoners languishing in a string of concentration camps which stretched from burning desert hotboxes in the north to freezing antarctic hovels in the south. What has happened to these people? Are the bunks at Dawson Island empty now? Open it up for inspection! What happened to the prisoners at Tres Alamos and Cuatro Alamos? And Chacabuco? Pisagua? Penalolen? Despite wide publicity given to a limited "amnesty" of some 300 left-wing prisoners in November 1976, the remaining thousands are unaccounted for. One can only hope Onis is lying through his teeth and that the 4,000 have not simply joined their 30,000 comrades slaughtered since the 1973 coup!

Castro/Torrijos, Castro/Pinochet

Conjuring up images of Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy, Carter is using the occasion of the Canal treaty to proclaim a "new era" in U.S.-Panamanian relations which will "serve as an example to the world." The relation, of course, is pure and simple bribery, and the only reason Carter gave an inch is because the Panama Canal is no longer strategically vital to the U.S. (with a two-ocean navy and the inability of big ships, military or commercial, to pass through it). And in any case,

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Red Flag

In this Issue—

Special Fusion Supplement

Defend Teacher Seniority Rights!

Chicago Busing Plan: Racist Tokenism

CHICAGO, September 4—Public schools open here this week in a tense atmosphere. Following a summer which witnessed growing fascist mobilizations and a national convention of Nazi groups, a police riot in the heart of the Puerto Rican community and a pogrom-like mob assault on black motorists in the all-white Marquette Park area, Chicago is rife with racist hysteria. Meanwhile, a program under which barely a thousand black students have volunteered to transfer into schools in white neighborhoods has sparked a rabid anti-busing movement patterned on Boston's ROAR.

This program—called the "Permissive Transfer Plan"—is, in fact, a sop to the racists, an open abandonment of state-enforced integration of the school system. It allows students from certain schools, designated as "overcrowded," to switch to "below capacity" schools. Younger students will be bused, and free transit tokens provided for high school students. Board of Education leaflets to parents describe the plan as an antidote to overcrowding and pointedly avoid any mention of integration.

Of course, the most overcrowded and dilapidated schools are those in the sprawling black and Latin ghettoes, and thus a very few minority students (about 1,200 out of a total student enrollment of over half a million) will be attending previously all-white schools. This is sufficient to stir the wrath of militant bigots, who fear the slightest change in the rigid residential segregation which has been the hallmark of this Midwest industrial center for generations (86 percent of all black students attend schools officially recognized as segregated, for example).

The Board of Education and the administration of mayor Michael Bilandic, heir to the Democratic Party fiefdom of the late "Boss" Daley, have merely resuscitated a 14-year-old transfer plan and presented it as a "desegregation" measure in order to avert potential cuts in state funding. This cynical ploy assures continued apartheid-style education while maximizing the potential victimization of those black students who opt to transfer. Racist demonstrations and threats of violence have been sufficient to restrict the number of volunteers to about 13 percent of the approximately 9,000 students eligible to take part in the program.

"Voluntary busing" places the burden on minority students and parents, forcing them to choose between attending their present crumbling ghetto schools or facing the bloodthirsty mobs on the Southwest Side while the cops stand idly by (or even join the racist mayhem as they have in the past). The Chicago plan is fully consonant with the Carter administration's opposition to "forced busing" and with the liberal capitulation to segregationist forces across the country.

At an August 31 Board of Education meeting, Spartacist League spokesman Bernard Vance pointed out:

> "What integration takes place this fall will not take place because of the Board's efforts but in spite of it. The working rule of the Chicago Board of Education is 'separate but equal' in the time-honored racist traditions of Chicago schools. The Spartacist League asserts that separate is not equal—it is the rule of racist segregation! We demand full integration of the Chicago schools and of the schools in the wealthy white suburbs."

Vance ended with a call for "the organized labor movement to mobilize massive integrated labor defense guards to defend black students against racist attack."

Forced Teacher Transfers Attack Union Rights

The racist Democratic Party machine inherited from Daley has shown that it is unwilling to implement even a minimal plan for desegregating the schools. However, faced with the threatened loss of funds from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), it was more than willing to launch a full-scale attack on the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU). Under the guise of meeting HEW guidelines for integration of the teaching staff, the Board has violated transfer and seniority rights in a despicable attempt to cover up its own refusal to make any effort to break down the ghettoization of the school system.

Last winter a federal judge ruled that "the school board was guilty of assigning teachers by race" and ordered immediate and massive involuntary transfers of teachers (*Chicago Tribune*, 6 August). After years of assigning black teachers to predominantly black schools and white teachers to white schools, the Board of Education ordered the transfer of 1,700 teachers on June 11. Nine hundred teachers appealed their transfers and 400 appeals were granted. In late August another 800 teachers were ordered transferred. Of the 800 newly transferred, 257 are teachers with high seniority.

The CTU correctly regards this as a deliberate attack on the union. The transfers, coming at a time when the union contract is expiring and negotiations between the union and the Board are due to begin, are a clear provocation and an attempt at union-busting.

WV Photo

Jesse Jackson speaking at August 27 demonstration in front of Chicago police headquarters.

Although the CTU leadership had agreed in June to waive certain transfer rights in the interest of integration, it has filed suit against the blatant violation of teachers' seniority and appeal rights in the last minute transfer orders. This suit is supportable, unlike an earlier class action suit filed by 36 teachers as an anti-integrationist protest.

In the past the CTU leadership has refused to take a position on busing and has capitulated to cuts in the budget for substitute teachers, summer programs and textbooks. The CTU must mobilize both to actively support and enforce integration of the Chicago schools and to militantly defend itself against the school board's attacks on past contract gains. Seniority is the only existing form of union job protection and is vital to prevent management victimization through "merit" plans, arbitrary transfers, etc. Full integration of the teaching force must be achieved under union control and would naturally follow the integration of student bodies.

WV Photo

SYL spokesman at Chicago Board of Education meeting last week.

Racist Frenzy Builds

Numerous anti-busing groups have sprung up in recent months. The most virulent and outspoken of these calls itself "Operation Resist." Its base is in the all-white, Southwest Side area surrounding Bogan High School—a school which is not even included in the "Permissive Transfer Plan." On August 28, 150 of these fanatical racists, carrying signs reading "Stop the Buses" and "We Will Fight Before We Integrate," marched to Marquette Park, the scene of fascist rallies and escalating attacks on blacks in the past years.

The intensity of the peril to Chicago's black population posed by these lynch mobs is underlined by the current scandal over remarks made by Chicago policeman Aloysius Majerczyk at a recent Board of Education meeting. Majerczyk stated openly what blacks in Chicago have long known: the cops are on the side of the white racists. He threatened that a "blue flu epidemic" might be the response of the police force if the cops are called in to curb "violence caused by integration" (*Chicago Tribune*, 28 August).

In response, Jesse Jackson, black capitalist preacher and head of the reformist People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), called a demonstration at the main police headquarters demanding the firing of Majerczyk. Other demands included a call for more black cops and a plea for a "parent's patrol squad" to insure that the racist Chicago cops are doing their job. Jackson has not been the only one to counsel reliance on the police to protect and defend black school children. In addition to the Chicago Urban League and the NAACP, virtually every pro-integrationist organization in the city has demanded more cops. Especially prominent in raising this treacherous demand was the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), a group dominated by the reformist politics of the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The position put forward by Jackson amounts to a plea to cleanse the racist police force by removing Majerczyk and replacing him with a better cop. Jackson's call for more black cops implies that black police will be better than white police, ignoring the fact that under capitalism the role of every cop, black or white, is to preserve the status quo which locks in blacks and Latins at the bottom.

A meeting of the Board of Education on August 31 became a forum on the busing issue. The racists of "Operation Resist" showed up in force to heckle

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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West Germany Ending Nazi Trials

Bonn Harbors Escaped SS War Criminal

BERLIN, August 29—On August 15, Herbert Kappler—the former Gestapo chief in Rome who was responsible for the murder of 335 hostages in 1944—escaped from a military hospital in the Italian capital. After nearly 30 years in jail, Kappler was freed by his wife and fascist accomplices, evidently with the tacit approval of the Italian government and "circles in Bonn." The former SS-*Obersturmbannführer* and convicted mass murderer is now a free man in West Germany.

The Andreotti government in Italy, under pressure from an enraged public—there has been a storm of protest from relatives of the victims of the Gestapo massacre—and dependent on Communist Party support in parliament, has requested Kappler's extradition. However, this request was haughtily turned down by West German authorities, on the grounds that the constitution forbids the extradition of German citizens!

Indicative of the prevalent reactionary political atmosphere in the federal republic is the fact that instead of arresting and deporting Kappler, the government has expressed "concern" for this war criminal's safety and given him police protection. While harboring this Nazi murderer, West German "justice" is relentlessly destroying the imprisoned anarchists of the Red Army Faction (RAF—referred to in the bourgeois media as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang") through solitary confinement and has launched a campaign of persecution and character assassination against the left-wing lawyers who have defended the RAF.

Kappler: Nazi Mass Murderer

Who is Herbert Kappler? A member of the Nazi party from 1931 on, he rose quickly in the Security Service (SD) of the Third Reich. In 1939 the high SS official was transferred to Rome, and in 1943 he was appointed chief of the Gestapo there. When in March 1944 some 32 South Tyrolese members of a German SS police regiment were killed by Communist-led partisans, Kappler ordered ten hostages shot for every dead SS-man. When a 33rd policeman died of his wounds, the Gestapo chief ordered an additional ten murders. In all, 335 hostages were eventually shot. The "liberal" German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (22 August) described the bloody fascist massacre:

> "Kappler's men drove the prisoners in groups of five to ten into the dark of the catacombs, which were feebly lit by torches. The Italians were forced to kneel in a row; a policeman then walked behind each one and shot the victim in the neck with his carbine. Kappler was prominent throughout the action, wanting to 'set an example' for his reluctant men.... Repeatedly Kappler leaped to the fore to encourage his increasingly exhausted riflemen. One of Kappler's officers, *Obersturmführer* Wetjen, could no longer stand the death scene and wanted to stop shooting. Kappler spoke to him in a fatherly manner, gave him a hand and they shot two prisoners together."

In the same article, *Der Spiegel* rehabilitates the blood-stained SS officer with disgusting cynicism. Hitler's execution order "must have been a real blow to him," they write, since he no longer saw "how much he had come to resemble a primitive Gestapo executioner"!!

Unfortunately, following the collapse of the Nazi puppet regime in north Italy, Kappler did not share the fate of Mussolini, who was strung up on a Milan lamppost. An Italian military tribunal in 1948 condemned the Nazi police chief to life imprisonment, but only on the basis of the five "extra" executions. Apparently for these military judges, Kappler was only guilty of exceeding his orders, and the shooting of the hostages in itself did not represent a crime!

After years in Gaeta military prison, Kappler, ostensibly suffering from cancer, was transferred to a barely guarded military hospital near Rome. This was the first success in the joint effort by a dozen German Nazi veterans' associations, which had the backing of "every federal chancellor since Adenauer and of every foreign minister since Brandt" (*Der Spiegel*, 22 August). In November the supreme military tribunal in Rome ordered Kappler's release on medical grounds. However, this decision was later reversed in the face of massive public protest.

Following Kappler's transfer to the military hospital, his wife, whom he had married in 1973, received regular access to him. But she certainly did not act alone in arranging the dramatic escape which involved a secret air journey to avoid detection by border police. Even the staid, conservative *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (20 August) wrote: "...the *hypothesis of a plot* arises, and no secret is made about suspicions of collaboration between the security services of both countries [Italy and West Germany]" (emphasis in original).

The explanation offered by an ex-SS officer concerning the background to the escape has the ring of truth. The escape "was ostensibly organized by a 'Committee to Free Herbert Kappler.' This was affirmed by former SS officer and founder of the organization, Jürgen Marloh, in an interview with the Milan *Corriere della Sera*. He declared that his organization has friends in both the Italian and German secret services. In the early 1960's 'circles in Bonn' had been agreeable to Kappler's liberation. He himself, as he stressed, had discussed this question with federal chancellors Adenauer, Erhard, Brandt and Schmidt" (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 24 August).

The attitude of the Italian government has been to let things blow over. Its demand for Kappler's extradition was aimed solely at dampening the public outcry. Meanwhile, Andreotti's projected meeting with Schmidt was put off until the fall, in order to prevent the "unfortunate incident" from interfering with Italy's desire for West German loans to bolster her sagging economy.

Der Spiegel

Herbert Kappler in Rome military courtroom in 1948.

Capitalist Class Justice: Protection for Fascists....

The West German bourgeoisie has accepted the Nazi bloodhound Kappler as one of their own. Thus Christian Democratic Union (CDU) chairman Helmut Kohl remarked with satisfaction, "The drama has come to an end." And Kappler is by no means an exception. For years, former federal attorney general Bochar and the son of Rudolf Hess have run a campaign to free the one-time Hitler deputy. Recently U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance entered his name in the lists for this neo-Nazi cause, by sending a letter to Franz-Josef Strauss, the reactionary former West German defense minister, stating that he would work to free Hess.

The standard practice in trials of Nazi war criminals in the federal republic speaks volumes about bourgeois "justice." Since its founding in 1958, the "Central Office for Exposing National Socialist Crimes" has submitted 3,838 requests for judicial inquiries, but less than ten percent (352) have ever come to trial. Of the 832 Nazis involved, only 560 were found guilty and of these only 128 received life sentences. Today thousands of "old" fascists are loose in West Germany. To top it off, on 31 December 1979 the statute of limitations runs out for all Nazi war crimes, and henceforth thousands of concentration camp commanders and guards, SS members and other fascist murderers will have nothing at all to fear from the "democratic state"—a vile insult to the surviving victims of brown-shirt barbarism.

To distract attention from their plans to cancel all future Nazi war crimes trials, West German authorities have brought up a handful of the more notorious butchers. August 2 marked the end of a Hamburg trial against former SS *Obersturmführer* Gerhard Maywald, accused of participating in two massacres near Riga which took the lives of 6,000 Jewish victims. The court's verdict was that Maywald had merely "aided and abetted" the murder of 320 Jews from the Riga ghetto. According to the judge, "those who selected do not thereby become perpetrators," so Maywald was given only four years in prison. Moreover, he was released on his own recognizance pending appeal—so that, as a result of the "due process" of bourgeois justice, this fascist mass murderer, also, remains a free man.

And not only Maywald. In 1976 former Gestapo officer Wolfgang Abel, who had murdered 150 Russian Jews, was let off due to the expiration of the statute of limitations. Also last year, SS *Unterscharführer* Willi Sawatzki, who burned 500 Jewish children alive in Auschwitz, was freed for "lack of evidence." Nazi "doctor" Kurt Born, who sent several thousand mental patients to the gas chamber, was excused because he "lacked a sense of right and wrong"! The list could be extended endlessly.

As a rule, only a few subordinates are

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Der Spiegel

Demonstration against anti-red laws.

UFW Boss Hails Marcos' Dictatorship

Chavez: Farm Workers' George Meany

FRESNO, California—Facing an enormous mural depicting Cesar Chavez carrying a child at the head of a campesinos' march, the United Farm Workers (UFW) held their third constitutional convention late last month. Militants who still hoped that UFW president Chavez represented a break from the mainstream business unionism of the AFL-CIO certainly went away disappointed. Chavez' commitment to class collaboration was saluted through written messages from both George Meany and Jimmy Carter. Personal testimonials were also delivered by U.S. secretary of labor Ray Marshall, assorted labor dignitaries, the inevitable priests and the Fresno chief of police.

The key issue at the convention was the UFW's organizing drive. Preceding a deal with the Teamsters last March—which gave jurisdiction over field hands to the UFW, and cannery workers, machine operators, etc. to the Teamsters—the UFW had been reduced to only 12 contracts, and its very existence was threatened. The convention credentials committee reported contracts at 84 ranches and negotiations proceeding at 90 more with growers whose workers have voted for UFW representation.

In the wake of these limited successes, Chavez steered the convention into an endorsement of his pacifist legalism. In fact the strategy he outlined for organizing thousands of unorganized farm workers represents a retreat even from the minimal struggles of past years. "Because we are now legal, much of the fight is being transferred from the picket line and the boycott to the hearing room and the courts," he reported.

According to Chavez, the key to what has been achieved was the union's successful lobbying for the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA). This is a myth. The ALRA purported to guarantee farm workers the right to choose a union through state-supervised elections, but it did not prevent massive intimidation and violence by police, grower and Teamster goons against UFW supporters. And when the UFW continued to win representation elections despite this brutal harassment, the state legislature allowed the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) to run out of money. Although funding was later restored, Chavez' report chronicled how the ALRB had consistently intervened against the UFW. It was not until the Teamsters, under enormous pressure, halted their jurisdictional warfare that the UFW's fortunes improved.

WV Photo

Cesar Chavez speaking at UFW convention in Fresno, August 26.

Nonetheless, although admitting that under its past and current administrators the ALRB had "accomplished just the opposite" of its stated intention to protect farm workers, Chavez termed it a "good law" and touted it as a model for a national farm labor act. The UFW leaders claim that its provisions are more pro-labor than the National Labor Relations Act. In fact both these laws outlaw organizing strikes and hot-cargoing by labor, the militant tactics essential for a real organizing drive, and should be rejected by farm workers.

The UFW leadership formally opposed President Carter's immigration plan, which Chavez in his written convention report correctly termed racist. In the past Chavez has lined up with chauvinists, calling on the hated Border Patrol and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (*la Migra*) to drive undocumented workers from the fields. The UFW even briefly organized "union patrols" to seal the border. Forced to reverse himself under heavy pressure from rank-and-filers and Chicano organizations, Chavez still lacks a strategy to defend both the legitimate demands for job security by UFW members and the rights of undocumented workers. Moreover his enthusiastic welcoming of labor secretary Marshall, Carter's spokesman at the convention, made a mockery of even his formal opposition to Carter's chauvinist policies. UFW members must demand full citizenship rights for undocumented workers and an organizing drive on both sides of the border.

For years Chavez was widely hailed as a "progressive" by liberals and the fake left; hundreds of idealistic youth served the UFW as voluntary organizers. But to anyone with any acquaintance with the union, it has become abundantly clear that Chavez' policies do not differ in any important respect from those of reactionary labor chief Meany, and there has been a mass exodus of disillusioned volunteers, not unlike the situation in the Mine Workers under Miller.

Referring to charges by some volunteers that he had used red-baiting techniques, Chavez blasted those "who come with their own political and social values and have attempted to convince the workers to adopt them." If there was any doubt as to the meaning of these remarks, UFW public relations director Marc Grossman dispelled it in a *Los Angeles Times* (27 August) interview: "If any s.o.b. comes in with his own political or social agenda and tries to impose that agenda on this union, then we will kick them out."

Grossman made good on his threat by autocratically expelling our reporter from the convention. A simple question about the status of the Texas Farm Workers was sufficient to provoke this political censorship. (The Texas Farm Workers aroused Chavez' ire by occasionally defending their picket lines, an act so distasteful to Chavez that he cut off all support to their organizing drive.) After verifying that *Workers Vanguard* was indeed the newspaper of the Spartacist League, Grossman returned and ordered the reporter ejected, adding that "this is our convention" and that he didn't want any "commie freaks" inside. Grossman, of course, conveniently overlooked the presence of reporters from the Communist Party, Workers League and the *Guardian*, who have generally functioned as reliable toadies for the Chavez regime. *WV* and the Spartacist League have repeatedly exposed the betrayals of the UFW leader rather than covering them up, and this is what drew the bureaucrats' ire.

While booting out communists, the Chavez bureaucracy had nothing but praise for two invited representatives of the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines. After a visit to that country this summer, Chavez returned full of enthusiasm for his hosts. The presence of spokesmen for a regime which has outlawed picketing and strikes and has engaged in widespread torture of oppositionists is an insult to the UFW's Filipino-origin members and the working people of the brutally exploited island "paradise" of "free enterprise." Several convention delegates privately confided their distress at the visit, and a spectator shouted out, "Down with the military regime in the Philippines" before being hastily removed by union security guards.

Despite its recent limited victory, all the gains of the UFW's 15-year struggle remain endangered. Many of the growers where the UFW has won bargaining rights are refusing to negotiate in good faith; giants like Gallo still have no union contract. There are 200,000 unorganized farm workers in California alone, a figure which dwarfs the UFW. Low-paid labor in right-to-work states and the threat of mechanization on the large ranches further jeopardize UFW jobs.

Whatever gains farm workers have made is the result of the militancy and determination of the membership—not because of the intervention of the bourgeois state, but in spite of it. Chavez has continually crippled this struggle through his pacifism, support for bourgeois politicians and embracing of chauvinist policies. If the UFW is to go forward, it can only be through militant organizing strikes backed by labor boycotts of scab products, and not by Chavez' recipe of god, country and Meanyism. ■

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Chicago Busing...

(continued from page 2)

pro-integrationist speakers. Francine Fatima, the group's leader, denounced the voluntary busing plan as "the first phase of a plan to disrupt the family under the guise of relieving overcrowding." As her appeal to motherhood and the "legacy" of "neighborhood schools" came to an end, her supporters burst into a chorus of "God Bless America" and walked out of the meeting.

Cecil Lampkin, a spokesman for the SWP-led NSCAR, rose to plead for "protection" from the bourgeois state:

> "We must protect and defend those black students by any means necessary—any means necessary. If the police can't do it, the National Guard. If the National Guard can't do it, bring in the federal troops."

Apparently, the SWP hopes that Chicago's black and Latin populations will forget not only the daily brutality of the Chicago cops—the murderers of Black Panther leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton and more recently of two innocent Puerto Rican youths in Humboldt Park—but also the "protection" experienced when the National Guard occupied the South Side and West Side ghettoes in 1967 and 1968, or when federal troops invaded Detroit's black community in tanks, armored cars and helicopters in 1967. The SWP itself has learned nothing from the dismal failure of its legalist strategy in Boston.

On the other side are a number of Maoist sects whose opposition to busing is increasingly indistinguishable from the ultra-reactionaries. On Sunday the National Workers Organization, a front group of the Jim Crow-Maoist RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party), held a large rally at the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry to protest what they termed the "city's divide and conquer schemes." Taking their stand with the frenzied racists, they even oppose the Permissive Transfer Plan with its "voluntary transfers" and free tokens.

The African Liberation Support Committee, dominated in Chicago by the Maoist Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO), also opposes not only genuine integration but even the Board's transfer policy. It organized its own antibusing march on August 20, explaining in a leaflet that "forced busing and...divide and rule tricks" are used by the bourgeoisie to "lay the groundwork to bring in fascism." If they wanted to know the real trajectory of fascism in this country, these front men for the U.S./China alliance should observe the Nazis and Klansmen marching through the streets against "forced busing."

The Spartacist League has always stood forthrightly for united class struggle in favor of the integration of oppressed minorities. Unlike the black nationalists, Maoists and the SWP, we counterpose a struggle for full racial equality to the dangerous fantasies of "black community control." At the same time, we recognize that the decadent capitalist system has no place for blacks and Latins except at the bottom. We have thus fought at every turn for the politically independent mobilization of racial minorities and the labor movement to link the fight against racial oppression to the struggle for a workers government. While supporting every real step toward integration, however minimal, we strongly oppose reliance on capitalist courts, cops and politicians. Only the working class and the oppressed masses can defend their rights and historic interests. ■

NO. 3
SEPTEMBER 1977

RED FLAG

Special Fusion Supplement to Workers Vanguard

Red Flag Union, Spartacist League Fuse

From the Gay Left to Trotskyism

This is the last issue of *Red Flag*. It is published jointly by the comrades of the former Red Flag Union (RFU) and the Spartacist League (SL) as part of the recent fusion of the two organizations. It is a moment of great satisfaction for the former RFU comrades as it marks a decisive step in our development as revolutionary Marxists.

The *Red Flag* and its predecessor, *Come Out Fighting*, have reflected our political development from parochial gay activism to a class-struggle perspective. We know that some of our readers will regard our fusion with the SL as a big mistake and, worse, a betrayal of the interests of homosexuals. But we also know that many who approved of our open affirmation of communism and followed with interest our break with Stalinism will hail the successful outcome of our three-year struggle to become Leninists.

When we began the Lavender and Red Union (L&RU) in March 1974 we did not know that we were founded on a political contradiction. Even before we launched a publication in May 1975, we defined ourselves as "a Gay liberation-Communist organization ... based in the Gay community of Los Angeles."

We spoke as gay liberation activists who felt a "cultural and political identity with our people and work for our liberation" (*The Political Perspective of the Lavender and Red Union*, March 1975). At the same time, we knew that "there is only one way for all working and oppressed people to achieve liberation and that is through the socialist revolution." We knew that without a revolutionary party there could be no revolution. And we said so: "The L&RU is committed to helping to build a Vanguard Communist Party" (*Political Perspective*).

Thus we attempted to reconcile with a hyphen two fundamentally different political perspectives: the sectoralist view of the gay liberation milieu and what we imagined to be the communist approach. And while we had a pretty good idea of what the gay movement was, we were (like most of the New Left) dead wrong about communism, which for us meant "Third World" Stalinism/Maoism.

But despite our acceptance of Maoist ideology, we were still a collective of gay men committed to the liberation of "our people." We could not explain why "our people" were locked up in Mao's prisons and mental wards, and why homosexuals were persecuted in the countries we called "socialist." After all, if it were true that socialism held the key to unlocking the homosexual oppression of centuries, why had it not worked in Cuba?

And the Maoist movement, with its backward "workerist" prejudices, didn't want us. The Maoists regarded homosexuality as decadent and sick, while the gay milieu had no use for uncloseted communists. We were isolated in "our" milieu and increasingly sharply critical of the "Marxist-Leninist" left.

It was partly our deep distrust of the "revolutionary" organizations which led us to declare for autonomous gay organizations that could at some time in the future (presumably when the left became less backward) link up in a vanguard party. Unlike many feminist and gay groups, we never viewed this "autonomy" as a principle. On the contrary, we considered it to be necessitated by the Maoist left's default on gay oppression. In February 1976 we characterized our position as a "strategic retreat." We became increasingly self-conscious in our efforts to resolve our built-in contradiction, aware that the L&RU was moving "into uncharted territory." In "Update: On Autonomy" (January 1976) we summarized:

> "There is a basic contradiction in the formation of an organization like the Lavender and Red Union. On the one hand we are seeking to unite with others to form a new communist party. On the other hand we are fragmenting the struggle by forming ourselves into an autonomous organization whose primary focus is to work within the Gay community. How do we explain this?"

Well, we couldn't. We could not advance toward a coherent explanation of our own leftward-moving course until our dismay over China's nakedly counterrevolutionary foreign policy, intersecting our long-standing dissatisfaction with parochial "gay liberation" activism, prompted us to undertake a serious investigation of Trotskyism.

We almost didn't make it. The L&RU was innoculated against Trotskyism—and not simply by New Left ignorance and Stalinist political censorship. We identified "Trotskyism" with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The L&RU, like all those in the New Left who subjectively wanted to make a revolution, stood significantly to the left of the reformist SWP. If "Trotskyism" meant the SWP's tailing of pacifists, nationalists, feminists, liberals, we wanted none of it. Perhaps most disgusting was the SWP's hypocritical patronizing of homosexuals. Now posing as the "best builders" of single-issue gay lifestylism, the SWP had a well documented recent history of victimization of homosexuals in its own organization.

The idea that Trotskyism could be the continuation of Leninism did not seem remotely plausible to us until we encountered the Spartacist League in March of 1976. The SL confronted our positions sharply and honestly. Unlike the other left groups which professed a commitment to defending the rights of homosexuals, the SL did not capitulate to the sectoralist politics of the L&RU/RFU (see article on page 8). As we attended SL classes and argued with SL comrades, we began to understand that the wretchedness of the Maoist left was a consequence of Stalinism, the narrow nationalist and class-

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SL/SYL contingent at June 26 rally against Anita Bryant crusade.

WV Photo

Homosexual Oppression and the Communist Program

The Red Flag Union and the Spartacist League have completed a fusion of our organizations on the basis of decisive programmatic agreement that developed during fusion discussions and in the process of joint political work. Before those fusion discussions began the RFU had adopted much of the Trotskyist analysis: the permanent revolution; the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the nature of Stalinism; the crisis of revolutionary leadership and the need to reforge the Trotskyist world party, the Fourth International (see "Fusion Declaration" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 171, 2 September). But programmatic stumbling blocks remained.

Much of the unclarity centered on the nature of the revolutionary program itself. As might be expected in a group shaped in the gay liberation milieu, this centered on the question of sectoralism. Thus as late as May of this year, *after* we had taken a theoretical position that homosexual oppression was not a "strategic question" in the revolutionary process; *after* we had criticized our sectoralism; *after* we changed our name from Lavender and Red Union to the RFU; and even after we had published an article which in the abstract offered a Marxist definition of program—then we offered our "L&RU Program for Gay Liberation." And we summarized this "program"—actually a shopping list of demands—in the slogan, "Gay Liberation through Socialist Revolution!"

While explicitly sectoralist groups such as black nationalists or "socialist-feminists" obviously present sectoralist "programs," many avowed socialist groups, as a result of their appetites to chase after every constituency that's "in motion," end up presenting "programs" for each separate group, and often "programs" at the implicit expense of other courted sectors—a direct contradiction of the role of the vanguard party to represent the historic interests of the proletariat and therefore to defend all of the oppressed. The most notorious of the "polyvanguardists" is of course the Socialist Workers Party with its "revolutionary programs" for women, blacks, Chicanos, homosexuals, etc. In the SWP's case this is conscious revisionism in the service of opportunist appetites. But the RFU was not trying to tail its "constituency," and we even thought we had rejected sectoralism. In our case, we were groping for a communist program and had not yet broken from the idea of being the left wing of the gay milieu. Through discussions and political struggle—something quite different from Maoist "crit/self-crit"—with the SL we came to see that our central slogan represented a programmatic distillation of sectoralism. To resolve the outstanding differences the RFU had to come to terms not only with the revolutionary approach to homosexual oppression but also with the meaning of program for communists.

Sectoralism and Program

In June 1977 we accepted orthodox Marxist views about revolutionary program in an article entitled "Introduction to the Revolutionary Program" (*Red Flag* No. 1, June 1977):

> "The program is the basic document of the party, the concentrated written expression of its analysis of the world, its aims, and the methods by which those aims are pursued. It includes a concrete plan of action and demands. It is the summation of the common understanding that is the basis of the party's unity and all its actions.
>
> "The concrete demands, which are also the party's key slogans, form the bridge between the presently felt needs of the masses and their historic role, between their currently limited and even backward consciousness and their objective tasks in changing the world."

Furthermore, our study of Trotsky had convinced us of the idea that building the vanguard party could be accomplished only on the basis of firm programmatic agreement:

> "Finally, the program is the basis for the cohesion and discipline of the party, without which it is inconceivable that revolution can be accomplished. Trotsky put it very well in some conversations with American revolutionaries about the draft of the transitional program. 'Now what is the party? In what does the cohesion consist? This cohesion is a common understanding of the events, of the tasks, and this common understanding—that is the program of the party'...."

Yet our residual sectoralism narrowed our programmatic focus to the attempt to find the road to liberate homosexuals. Our article entitled "What Is the Importance of Gay Liberation?" (*Come Out Fighting*, May 1977) was devoted to arguing that homosexual oppression is not central to the class struggle. We were unequivocal about the relative social weight and importance of homosexuals and blacks in the U.S.:

> "A strategic question is any contradiction that poses a fundamental block to the unification of the working class and is incontestably a principal obstacle to revolution; without its correct resolution, the seizure of power, the beginning of socialist revolution, cannot be achieved.... The Black question is a strategic question, and the Gay question is not."

But we had not yet drawn the full programmatic implications from this understanding. We were still influenced by sectoralist pressure from our milieu; we wanted to find "programmatic" guarantees that gay oppression would not be perpetuated after the socialist revolution. We were also trying to forestall the charge that we were abandoning the cause of gay liberation.

At the end of this long article we put forth the "L&RU's Program for Gay Liberation," the "exact programmatic demands we will raise." This special "program for liberation" included a number of democratic demands relating to gay oppression under capitalism. But then, "under workers rule," we called for "nationalization of, with state support for, gay bars, baths, community centers, clinics, restaurants, publications, etc."—a sort of community control of the gay ghettos. All of these demands, we said, "can be summarized" in the slogan "Gay Liberation through Socialist Revolution." After we coined the slogan, it was adopted by a variety of fake-left groups.

It took a certain amount of political courage for us to raise such a slogan in opposition to "gay is good," for example. Our intent was to distinguish ourselves from the reformist right wing of the gay movement by explicitly rejecting the notion that homosexual oppression could be eliminated under capitalism.

Letter to the PSO

EXCERPTS

August 18, 1977

Potomac Socialist Organization

Dear Comrades,

...Through careful and honest analysis of the limitations of our own practice and under the impact of decisive world events, we were won to the program of Trotskyism, whose only genuine representatives at this time are the international Spartacist tendency. This process has recently culminated in the principled fusion, based on programmatic unity, of the RFU and the Spartacist League/U.S....

Having recently completed a long journey which began at a place akin to where the PSO finds itself now, we do not envy you the difficult contradictions which must plague your group.... Recent events such as the purge of the "gang of four" and restoration of the chief "capitalist roader" Teng, the annointing of the former October League as the official holder of the Chinese franchise on the American left, must be inexplicable.

It is difficult to harbor a belief in socialism in one country, or to claim to be able to distinguish the "socialist road" from the "capitalist road," when you cannot point with certainty to a single example of a country which is following the communist path....

In the face of a series of incomprehensible political defeats and betrayals a year and a half ago the RFU reluctantly took up the study of the Trotsky-Stalin debate. The L&RU/RFU like the PSO understood that without revolutionary leadership the working class was doomed to defeat. We sought, however, for a long time to avoid the central issues which divided the left by submerging ourselves in the gay movement. We based our work in the gay community on the belief that in the absence of a communist vanguard it is the responsibility of each oppressed group to fight for its own oppressed sector. The PSO exhibits sectoralism of a different type. It avoids the struggle for political clarification by submerging itself in the trade unions, which is sectoralism of a different but ultimately no less backward type, i.e., economism.

The L&RU/RFU was doomed to political extinction when we took up the study of Trotskyism. Ostracized from the outset by the Maoist milieu because we were homosexuals, disillusioned by the sharp rightward turn in Chinese foreign policy and the wilting of the Portuguese revolution, limited in our trade union work to militant trade unionism and eventual inevitable reformist betrayals by our lack of a strategy and program, had it not been for our introduction to the Spartacist League and Trotskyism our most probable course would have led us to political degeneration....

The L&RU/RFU had to overcome deeply rooted prejudices to even embark on a study of Trotskyism. Up to that point we held the popular Stalinist belief that Trotskyism was defeatist and counter-revolutionary. This opinion was based in part on the justifiable unpopularity of the pseudo-Trotskyist, reformist SWP in the left wing of the anti-war and women's movements. But such prejudices and the lies and falsificiations on which they are based cannot go unchallenged....

With comradely greetings,
Walt S.
Michael W.

But the slogan was a reflection of our sectoralist political background. For sectoralists, the communist movement is seen as an amalgam of various oppressed strata rather than as a solitary movement with a singular program. In this context it seemed logical that the task of the "revolutionary" elements among each oppressed group should be to call on their constituency to support the socialist revolution. But the sum total of individual programs which address the various forms of capitalist oppression is not a communist program.

The program of the revolutionary party must express the *objective* historical interests and tasks of the international proletariat. There is only one communist program. Thus, the purpose of Trotsky's Transitional Program is to mobilize the entire working class—to bridge the gap between felt needs and objective tasks, between consciousness of oppression and the need to take state power under the leadership of the proletarian vanguard.

There is no special revolutionary program for homosexuals. The communist program includes demands which address the special oppression of homosexuals. But unlike sectoralists, revolutionaries understand that the fate of homosexuals—like that of any other oppressed group—is determined by the course of the class struggle.

Revolutionary Marxists approach the question of homosexual oppression as the only consistent defenders of democratic rights for all the exploited and oppressed. These rights are indivisible and can be secured only with the proletariat in power. The slogan "Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals" means a commitment not only to fight against such abuses as job discrimination and legal inequality, but also to mobilize the power of the working class in defense of homosexuals' democratic rights. It is not a separate demand for homosexuals, but a demand in the interests of the entire working class.

The Trotskyist program is not only the Transitional Program, which Trotsky described as "a program for action from today until the beginning of the socialist revolution"; it is also everything the party stands for—on *both* sides of the proletarian revolution.

The Program and the Revolution

The socialist program is committed to the eradication of homosexual oppression, which is linked to the special oppression of women. The sexual division of labor based on child-rearing became a source of social oppression in class society. The nuclear family conditions sex roles which are inherently oppressive to those who deviate from the accepted sex role norms. While proletarian rule will do much to end homosexual oppression, the final eradication of all ideological oppression of homosexuals cannot occur until the family is replaced in socialist society.

Unlike the oppression of women or blacks in the U.S., the oppression of homosexuals is not directly based on the economic *institutions* of capitalism. Black workers, for instance, are disproportionately concentrated in the least skilled, lowest paid layers of the working people and among the unemployed. Thus, the overturn of capitalist productive relations will be a decisive and immediate step toward ending their oppression. Much of the oppression of homosexuals is situated in the realm of discriminatory denial of democratic rights. Homosexuals (like blacks and women, for that matter) will benefit immediately from the victorious proletarian dictatorship's assault on discriminatory laws and practices. But they will still continue to suffer from pervasive hostile social *attitudes* deeply ingrained in the residual nuclear family sex role norms of the culture of a transitional society.

The new transitional society can no more legislate away such attitudes than it can eliminate the family by legislation. To arrive at socialism requires a tremendous leap in the productive forces and the gradual development of real social freedom. The withering away of the family as the basic institution defining sexual relations will result in the eventual disappearance of male chauvinism, and with it of generalized anti-homosexual prejudice.

The Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Program

The ultimate abolition of the family has been part of the Marxist program since the Communist Manifesto. The Russian Revolution of October 1917 provided the example of how even a backward, largely peasant country began to create the basis to replace the family. In the first few years of the proletarian dictatorship, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, anti-homosexual laws were struck down and many measures were undertaken with the goal of liberating women from household slavery: kitchens, child care, laundry, dwellings and schools were collectivized. This task was pursued even under the harsh conditions of war and famine.

But the Bolshevik program also recognized that the revolution isolated in Russia could not advance to socialist society. For that, there would have to be revolution in the West. And so the Bolshevik program was necessarily *internationalist* at its core. It was Stalin who concocted the rationale for the consolidation of a bureaucratic caste in Russia with the nationalistic program of "Socialism in One Country." The revolution degenerated, and with that came Stalinist class collaboration and terror. The nuclear family was reinforced, and laws against homosexuals were reinstituted.

The Russian Revolution demonstrates how the proletariat led by its vanguard party moves immediately to establish institutions appropriate to its rule. So it establishes soviets (workers councils) while it seeks to lay the basis for replacing the nuclear family. But where capitalism is overthrown by peasant and petty-bourgeois forces, such as in China or Cuba, under the class collaborationist program of "Socialism in One Country," the bureaucracy fosters institutions appropriate to the peasantry and Stalinism—institutions which replicate the product of the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution: prison camps for revolutionaries and "deviants," the strengthening of the nuclear family.

Many New Leftists fall into the bourgeoisie's trap of equating Leninism with Stalinism; the degenerated workers state in the USSR is seen as the "natural" outgrowth of the Bolshevik revolution. In actuality, the revolution fell prey to a political counterrevolution. The goal of abolition of the nuclear family which had hitherto been a hallmark of the communist program was replaced by the Stalinist program of the family as a "fighting unit for socialism." No "autonomous gay movement" could have exempted homosexuals from the consequences of the Stalinist political counterrevolution, which exterminated the "Old Bolsheviks," liquidated the workers councils, reversed the drive toward progressive social institutions and turned the Communist International into an instrument of class collaboration and "peaceful coexistence."

It was only when the RFU came to grips with the continuity of revolutionary Marxism—Trotskyism—that we were able to explain the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and its consequences for homosexuals in the "socialist" countries. Because the Spartacist League uniquely understood the Russian question and the primacy of program, it could play the decisive role in the transformation of the comrades of the RFU from gay left activists into revolutionary communists. ■

Who Lost Out...

(continued from page 8)

Vietnam, etc. are "state capitalist") would appeal to gay activists who had been viciously trashed by the Maoist left. Everyone knows that Stalin, Mao, Fidel and the rest oppressed homosexuals, so why should a gay collective hold out for defending the "socialist countries" against imperialism? Since homosexuals are persecuted in these countries, how could there be anything about them that is worth defending?

But the RFU's commitment to the Trotskyist program was more than skin deep. Unlike the RSL—which split leftward from the social-democratic International Socialists in 1973 and made a pretense of breaking from its Shachtmanite past in favor of Trotskyism—the RFU rejected moralistic Stalinophobia. We recognized that the RSL's position not only demonstrates a total inability to deal with the real world but also sets the RSL on a fusion course with U.S. imperialism against the deformed workers states, just as it facilitated Max Shachtman's degeneration toward eventual support for the "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba.

It was clear to us that the SL struggled to develop the continuity of Trotskyism in methodology and program. The extension of Trotsky's methodology on the analysis of the Russian state to Cuba was a central position of the Revolutionary Tendency in the SWP—forerunner of the SL—and today distinguishes the genuine Marxism of the SL from its ostensibly Trotskyist competitors.

The RSL also banked on convincing the RFU that SL was "anti-gay" because—unlike the tailist RSL—it did not make abstract calls to build the gay movement or glorify "gay rage." The cynical RSL also hypocritically sought to scandalize the SL for its so-called "closet rule" that disciplined communists do not risk victimization for their extra-political conduct, for instance public avowal of homosexuality (see *Red Flag* No. 2, July 1977/*WV* No. 169, 12 August). The Shachtmanite spoilers were keenly disappointed to find that we were quite as prepared to suspend our freedom to "come out" as we were to commit our lives and political future to the revolutionary party. A small minority of the RFU which could not make the leap from the gay milieu to the communist vanguard congealed around the RSL's Stalinophobic line and left our organization.

The public announcement of fusion discussions between the RFU majority and the Spartacist League took place at our "Stonewall '77" conference last June. The sharp political polarization which occurred between the SL/RFU and the assorted reformists and centrists only confirmed our confidence in the outcome of these discussions. Early on, it looked as if the room parted down the middle. The SWP, FSP, Socialist Union, RSL, etc. grouped themselves on one side and formed a tacit anti-Spartacist bloc. IMT apologists for "Third World" Stalinism clapped for RSL Stalinophobes and SWP social democrats as one after another they expressed the same tailism of "separate organizations of the oppressed" and shuddered when the SL and RFU countered with the necessity of a conscious vanguard united around the Trotskyist program. A rotten bloc united only by opportunism and real hatred of the Bolshevik politics of the SL railed against our course; their frustration and fury at the exposure of their bankruptcy only deepened our determination.

The principled programmatic fusion of the RFU and the SL is a small but important step toward the construction of the Leninist vanguard party. It is a confirmation of the SL's struggle for revolutionary regroupment through programmatic clarity. It is a blow to the fake-left opponents of Marxism. It is a reaffirmation of our commitment to the liberation of all the exploited and oppressed, through the struggle for the reborn Fourth International—party of the world proletarian revolution—and the socialist future. ■

Trotskyism...

(continued from page 5)

collaborationist ideology of a bureaucratic caste committed to "Socialism in One Country." We understood that the "socialist countries" were not socialist, but bureaucratically deformed workers states. The persecution of homosexuals was a part of the Stalinists' betrayal of the Bolshevik program of laying the material basis for the withering away of the oppressive nuclear family. The SL's insistence on the primacy of program and party (see article on page 6) made possible our principled fusion on a programmatic basis.

But programmatic decisions also meant a split for the RFU. When the majority of our organization adopted the Trotskyist position in defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism, a small faction formed, made a bloc with the Stalinophobic Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) and eventually quit. Thus it was in political struggle against our own right wing that we fused politically with the SL, understanding that the program of Trotsky was the revolution defended.

We know that more important struggles and tests lie ahead. But we hope that *Red Flag* readers understand our evident communist pride. More than three years ago we set out to contribute our efforts to the construction of a vanguard party, and we have accomplished the first crucial step toward that goal. With this fusion we bring the collective experience of the L&RU/RFU to the SL. As part of the SL we continue to fight on behalf of our people—not only oppressed homosexuals, but all the oppressed and exploited of the world—armed with a revolutionary program that can lead the proletarian revolution to victory. We encourage our readers to subscribe to *Workers Vanguard*, the only authentic Marxist weekly in the world, which has incorporated the *Red Flag* editor onto the *WV* Editorial Board. And we are confident that those who desire to find the revolutionary course will come to look to the Spartacist League, the nucleus of the vanguard party in the U.S. ■

RFU Rejects Pabloists, Shachtmanites

Who Lost Out...and Why

As the Lavender and Red Union/Red Flag Union (L&RU/RFU) evolved out of the New Left gay movement, we got a lot of attention from the self-styled "Trotskyist" groups. An assortment of opportunists assumed that a gay liberation collective in rapid motion wanted nothing more than a new home and a more systematic rationale for lifestyle radicalism. They could not imagine that the L&RU/RFU—cohered in the petty-bourgeois sectoralist gay left—would solidarize instead with the "hard line" proletarian program of the Spartacist League. In the process we explicitly rejected the "constituency" politics of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the polyvanguardist impressionism of the centrist "International Majority Tendency" (IMT) of the United Secretariat (USec) and the strident cynicism of the Stalinophobic Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) as roadblocks to the construction of an authentic Leninist international party.

Each of these outfits thought it had the inside track. The SWP, for whom principle is synonymous with "sectarianism," may be forgiven for assuming that the disciplined, polemical, "orthodox" Trotskyist SL could exercise no real attraction for a grouping drawn from the petty-bourgeois lifestylist gay milieu. The SWP wanted a ready-made gay cadre to build an ersatz "mass movement" in the homosexual "constituency." And it hoped the L&RU would oblige. After all, hadn't the SWP made a name for itself as the foremost proponents of "autonomous" exclusionist organizations of the oppressed? And isn't the reformist SWP bigger than the pathetic centrists and the "irrelevant" SL?

Alas for the SWP. The L&RU had long since begun to understand that pitting "autonomous" sectors of the oppressed against each other could liberate neither homosexuals nor anyone else. We were far too committed to the struggle to fundamentally reconstruct society to be satisfied with reformist small change. We evolved toward Trotskyism partly because we already recognized that the gay movement offered no program for advancing the struggles of the oppressed. We did not have to wait until the SWP took a cue from Carter's anti-Soviet crusade and made "human rights for gays" its rallying cry to decide that the SWP was not for us.

Our fusion with the SL must be more than annoying for the SWP, for it undercuts the SWP's cherished slander that the SL abstains from the struggles of the oppressed. To the SWP, anything that is not cynical tailism of exclusionist sectoralism and lifestylist illusions must be abstentionism. The idea that the SL can recruit some former gay activists by fighting for a unitary proletarian program violates all the SWP's laws of nature. The idea that a fusion can be accomplished on the basis of programmatic agreement rather than mutual capitulation probably gives Jack Barnes a headache.

Incarnations of the IMT

Between the reformism of the SWP and the Trotskyism of the SL lurk numerous denizens of the centrist swamp. Most have been having their troubles recently, and not the least of their difficulties is the success of the SL in becoming the recognized and credible revolutionary alternative to SWP reformism.

The supporters of the Pabloist IMT have an additional difficulty: their international mentors' penchant for infanticide. The European-based IMT is in bloc with the SWP, which despite its social-democratic appetites still pays lip service to the centrist USec. So Ernest Mandel and his cohorts of the IMT leadership look with disfavor on SWP left critics and others who want to constitute an IMT-loyal grouping in the U.S. Hence the IMT leadership's practice of killing off its centrist American offspring. These latter make sporadic attempts to stop the hemorrhaging of demoralized elements and pull together a pro-IMT "regroupment." These efforts are confounded by the fact that all the groupings are strongly parochial, and have major idiosyncratic differences.

WV Photo

Red Flag Union Stonewall '77 Conference in Los Angeles in early June.

Largest and most stable among these groups is Seattle's Freedom Socialist Party (FSP). An organization which split more than ten years ago from the SWP, the FSP claims to be the first "socialist-feminist" Bolshevik party in history, raising the woman question to "equal and interlocking" status with the class question.

Ever floating out there in Pabloland is Milt Zaslow and his "personal" group, the Socialist Union, based in Los Angeles. And from New York there is the loosely knit Marxist Education Collective (MEC), with Murry Weiss as "respected teacher" and Art Felberbaum as the Orwellian "coordinator." The MEC waxed indignant when we characterized them as "stage-managers" for a pro-IMT lash-up; meanwhile, Murry and Myra Weiss went to Seattle to make a guest appearance at the FSP convention and Felberbaum went on national tour.

The L&RU/RFU looked like a wonderful showpiece to bring under the Pabloist umbrella. Having long since despaired of the revolutionary potential of the working class in the advanced countries, the IMT abandons the Leninist conception of the party and substitutes a kind of federation of special-interest groups which when stuck together make up something called the "broad vanguard." The program of the "party" that services this "vanguard" consists of tailing the false or partial consciousness of whatever looks like it is in motion. As a representative of an oppressed grouping, the L&RU/RFU would have been a great catch.

Zaslow seemed to think so too. He did not seek to recruit us to the Socialist Union, but urged we contribute to a projected journal and help form a new Pabloist section in the U.S. He anticipated there would be many differences among the participants, but this was fine; in fact, the more muddled the merrier for Milt, who insisted factions were positively desirable in the early stages of party-building.

When the RFU leadership came to New York to look over the MEC and the SL, we gave a forum under MEC auspices. The meeting became virtually a platform for the SL program as the RFU speakers solidarized with the SL's unique position on the USSR and the deformed workers states. Differentiating ourselves from the Pabloist view that Fidel Castro is an "unconscious Marxist" who led a socialist revolution and established a healthy proletarian state in Cuba, we explained that in Cuba a nationalist formation leading a peasant mass overthrew capitalism and established a deformed workers state which requires a political revolution to open the road to socialist development and proletarian internationalism.

While our leading spokesmen were in New York giving a forum at the MEC, Felberbaum was in Los Angeles talking to our membership. He didn't like what they told him. He was upset that the group's change of name, reflecting a desire to emphasize our "red" politics more than our identification with the "lavender" milieu, would make us unrecognizable as the homosexual component of a future Pabloist lash-up. But what really threw a monkey wrench into the MEC's schemes was the RFU's consolidation around the SL's Russian question position, as Felberbaum found out.

Of all the American IMT sympathizers, the most eager to recruit us was the FSP. These "socialist-feminists" naturally made their appeal to the RFU's sectoralism. They criticized precisely the side of our politics which was drawing us closer to Trotskyism: our deepening understanding of the primacy of the class question. They attacked us for "overemphasizing" the proletarian character of the revolution at the expense of the "autonomous" organization of women and homosexuals. For the FSP, communist consciousness is osmotically gained through the experience of one's own oppression; hence the most oppressed are necessarily the most revolutionary. To the FSP we were therefore more revolutionary as gay activists than as communist cadres.

The FSP castigated us for not applying Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution to the contemporary U.S. Trotsky's theory holds that in the backward countries a victorious proletarian revolution is needed to address not only socialist tasks but also the democratic and national tasks once associated with bourgeois revolutions. For the Pabloists, "permanent revolution" becomes empty jargon, useful only for associating Trotsky's name with the most absurd anti-Marxist positions. The FSP thoughtfully provided a perfect example when it published an account of Murry Weiss's speech to the FSP convention:

> "'...radical action and thought in the '60's as expressed in the Black, feminist, and gay movements was a manifestation of the *permanent revolution* in the United States,' Murry said. He showed how 'the extension of the revolution into new areas of cultural and social life, which in a schematic sense was not scheduled until after the revolution, occurred here before the revolution and is erupting in our world right now. It is not waiting!'"
>
> —*Freedom Socialist*, Spring 1977

In other words, the revolution is an unstoppable objective process which doesn't have to "wait" for the construction of a revolutionary proletarian leadership. This is the fundamental methodology which distinguishes Pabloism from Leninism. It leads the Pabloists to continually tail groups that can never lead a proletarian socialist revolution (the Communist Party in Portugal, Fidel Castro, the black nationalists, etc.), all the while claiming them to be "objectively" revolutionary.

When FSP members were confronted with the RFU/SL fusion, they could only wail that the SL was not "gay liberationist." We responded that we were no longer "gay liberationists" but communists seeking the program which will lead the proletariat toward state power. We did not want a "program" that splits the working class into separate parts and pits one against the other.

Latter-Day Shachtmanites

To the American IMT clots, the RFU/SL fusion represents a significant loss for the Pabloist smorgasbord. But the group that is the most immediate loser is the frenzied Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). For the RSL to have won a dozen new members to its shrinking sect would have been not merely a gain. It might have meant a respite from the RSL's frantic spiral down toward oblivion.

What makes the RFU/SL fusion so frustrating for the RSL is that these latter-day Shachtmanites probably imagined the RFU was in the bag. The RSL certainly figured that its Stalinophobic position on the Russian question (the USSR, China, Cuba,

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Escaped SS War Criminal...

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found guilty but not the principal war criminals of the German bourgeoisie. Today ex-Nazis occupy influential positions in German economic and political life. The head of the Association of German Industry, for instance, is the former SS officer Schleyer. Former chancellor Kiesinger and former West German president Lübke were also Nazis. And the Bundestag (lower house of parliament) includes numerous "old" Nazis in its ranks. For example, CDU deputy Wissebach is a member of the "Hess Mutual Aid Society of Veterans of the Former Waffen-SS."

But German justice deals with anti-fascists, even mere liberals, quite differently. In 1971 when Beate and Serge Klarsfeld tried to abduct and deliver to France the former chief of the Paris Gestapo, Kurt Lisschka, who had been condemned to death *in absentia* by a French court in the 1950's, the Nazi hunters were found guilty rather than Lisschka. Serge Klarsfeld was sentenced to two months probation for "coercion," and Beate Klarsfeld to two months jail for "bodily injury."

In any case, the new brownshirt commando groups are much more dangerous than the nostalgic veterans' groups, which regularly hold their reunions under the SS runes with official permission. In Nürnberg, for example, the Hoffmann "Defensive Sports" group legally holds paramilitary maneuvers. And hand-in-hand with the deadly activities of these fascist scum goes publicity aimed at salvaging the "honor" of the Nazi regime. The latest example is the recent "psychological" film, "Hitler—A Career," now showing all over West Germany, which is ultimately an apology for the Third Reich.

The West German bourgeoisie is conscious of the purposes of this campaign, and tolerates the fascist commando groups even if it doesn't need them right now. It counts them among its own, to be unleashed against the workers when the proletariat can no longer be restrained with the means available to bourgeois democracy.

...and Witchhunt Against the Left

Because it is bourgeois *class* justice, the judicial machinery uses a double standard: protection of the fascists and a witchhunt against the left. A recent decision which provoked a large outcry was the ruling by a Hessian court refusing to grant tenure to Silvia Gingold, a teacher who is a member of the pro-Moscow German Communist Party (DKP). Gingold, the daughter of an Auschwitz survivor, lost the case on the grounds that the DKP was allegedly "hostile to the constitution," even though the party itself is not illegal. Thus the Damocles' sword of *de facto* illegalization hangs over all working-class organizations to the left of the Social Democrats.

Another main target of the witch-hunters has been the lawyers who have represented the RAF defendants or other anarchist groups at one time or another. Simply because of their defense of their clients, these lawyers have been accused of complicity in terrorist activities, and are threatened with jail sentences, exclusion from political cases and even disbarment. The most recent victim of the systematic slander and persecution campaign is RAF lawyer Klaus Croissant, who was forced to flee to France in July. In response to a press conference by Croissant accusing West Germany of trying to kill the remaining RAF prisoners, the influential *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (3 August) charged the lawyer with "openly becom[ing] an organizer of terror"! While the bourgeois press sheds bitter tears over the death of Dresdner Bank chief Jürgen Ponto (assassinated in late July), it says precious little about the August 15 bombing attack on the Stuttgart offices of RAF lawyers Croissant, Müller and Mewerla.

But it is not just a question of McCarthyite repression, character assassination, blacklisting (the infamous *Berufsverbot*) and the like directed against left-wing radicals. The West German bourgeoisie already has the blood of several anarchist prisoners on its hands: Holger Meins, 1974; Siegfried Hausner, 1975; Ulrike Meinhof, 1976—as well as Katharina Hammerschmidt, who died of a tumor due to lack of medical treatment in jail. And now there may be still more deaths. After a brutal attack on the RAF prisoners by several dozen guards in the Stammheim jail, on August 8 the court reversed a previous decision allowing the prisoners to be together for an hour at a time, and sent them back to total solitary confinement.

In protest, 30 or 40 anarchists in Stammheim and other prisoners went on a hunger strike, and since August 9 also have refused to take liquids. (At present they are being forcibly fed.) Although information is hard to obtain because of a press blackout, it has been reported that RAF leaders Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ennslin and Jan-Carl Raspe "have been repeatedly found unconscious in their cells" (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 26 August). The comrades on hunger/thirst strikes are in imminent danger of dying, in protest against the inhuman conditions of their imprisonment—their lives must be saved!

While we energetically reject the petty-bourgeois strategy of individual terror, we also know that these anarchist victims of bourgeois repression stand against West German imperialism. They are on the same side of the barricades with the communists in the class struggle. The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, demands an immediate end to the murderous persecution of the RAF comrades, as well as their immediate release and that of all class-war prisoners in West German jails!

The bourgeoisie is the real terrorist. Its fascist executioners, like the Rome Gestapo boss, are the real assassins. Kappler is a vicious war criminal! Although the Italian courts have already given proof of their leniency toward this fascist mass murderer, and he would undoubtedly receive far better treatment from them than he deserves, the TLD demands Kappler be immediately extradited to Italy. Only the proletarian justice of a victorious workers government will get rid of the fascist filth, both the "old" and "neo" Nazis! ■

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Chilean OTR...

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opposition to the popular front. It also objected, although in an empirical fashion, to the TRO's longstanding policy of "deep entrism" in the Socialist Party (PS), and subsequently withdrew its supporters from the PS. The final break came over an unprincipled fusion of the TRO with the group of L. Vitale to form the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party, the "official"—for a while—USec sympathizing section). For submitting a document against the fusion the future OTR tendency was expelled from the new organization (and its document suppressed).

With members who had been leaders of the National Copper Workers Federation and the support of other miners' leaders, the tendency which became the OTR consistently opposed the Allende government's criminal policy of the "battle for production"—a cynical slogan for speed-up—because the self-proclaimed "people's government" did not change the fact that Chile remained a capitalist country. When Allende launched bombastic campaigns for "worker participation"—a scheme to induce the proletariat to acquiesce in its own exploitation—leaders of the OTR in the nationalized copper mining sector counterposed the slogan of workers control, whose aim was to destroy, not reform, the bourgeois state. In contrast, the MIR and the left wing of the PS, including especially sectors with a certain "Trotskyoid" aura as well as Castro himself, supported the UP's "participation" projects. (Michel Pablo himself made a special trip to Chile to laud this hoax, and dedicated a book about it to his friend, Socialist economics minister Pedro Vuskovic.)

After the bloody Pinochet coup, when the comrades of the OTR were forced to flee into exile in Europe or into neighboring countries, they sought to deepen their understanding of the Chilean fiasco and broaden their international understanding in discussions first with the USec and then the OCRFI. However, they soon discovered that the Trotskyist credentials of these self-proclaimed "Fourth Internationals" were false. The USec, which posthumously declared that the UP was explicitly *not* a popular front, and now had *two* Chilean sympathizing groups, refused to allow discussion of the Allende regime at its Tenth World Congress, since both international factions saw no reason to expose the hankruptcy of their local supporters. While the OCRFI had called the UP a popular front, on the other hand, its Chilean groups (it also had two!) either did not make this characterization or accused the Allende government, rather than the workers parties in it, of "reformism" and betraying. Meanwhile, in France the OCI was calling for a vote to the presidential candidate of the popular-front Union of the Left.

The OTR first came into contact with the international Spartacist tendency at a September 11 protest meeting on the first anniversary of the coup. They read *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 3 (a collection of articles from *Spartacist* and *WV* on "Chile: Lessons of the Popular Front," which was published for the express purpose of seeking out Chilean exile groups attempting to draw a balance sheet on the UP), and one week later declared their fundamental agreement with the iSt analysis and programmatic conclusions. But as internationalists, both parties agreed on the need for discussion of all fundamental questions facing revolutionary Marxists. In addition to rejecting the USec and OCRFI, agreement was quickly reached that the Bolivian POR of Guillermo Lora had acted as centrists in both 1952 and 1971, bearing a fundamental responsibility for derailing a revolution; and that Argentina's veteran pseudo-Trotskyist chameleon Nahuel Moreno (who has gone from Peronism to Guevarism to social democracy) had definitively become reformist, committed to the maintenance of bourgeois rule.

From Guevarism to Trotskyism

Several questions became the subject of continuing discussion between the iSt and the OTR, including Cuba, guerrillaism and social democracy in particular. On the first question, after studying *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 2 on "Cuba and Marxist Theory" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 8 in English), the OTR comrades reached agreement with the Spartacist analysis of this key application of Trotskyism on the Russian question, as reflected in Part IV of the "Declaration of Fraternal Relations Between the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile" (*WV* No. 111, 28 May 1976).

The OTR's position that the social-democratic parties were qualitatively more bourgeois than the Stalinists proved more difficult to resolve. The national/continental isolation of the Chilean ostensible Trotskyist movement—which was the responsibility of the fake "Internationals," who did little or nothing to integrate or politically educate their various "sections"—played an important role. It is a fact that in Latin America all of the parties associated with the Second International are in fact *bourgeois* parties (Chilean Radicals, Venezuelan Acción Democrática, Peruvian APRA, Puerto Rican PPD, etc.), with mildly populist traits and generally strongly pro-American foreign policy. However, after becoming familiar with the social-democratic and labor parties of western Europe and in discussions on the tactical implications of characterizing social democracy as "bourgeois, with a working-class base," the OTR agreed upon the description of the mass social-democratic parties of the advanced capitalist countries as reformist, i.e., "bourgeois workers parties," to use Lenin's words.

The most important and difficult area of disagreement was the question of guerrillaism, for here there were at first sharp differences, and it was a question directly related to the OTR's origins. One of the first accusations raised against the leadership of the Chilean USec section by the tendency which later became the OTR was that of failing to implement the guerrillaist policies of the Ninth World Congress resolution on armed struggle. Like many Pabloists, they thought that Guevara himself had broken or would break, albeit empirically, from Stalinism. Although the OTR rejected Guevarist focoism and Tupamaro-style urban guerrilla warfare, it nevertheless insisted on the necessity of "irregular war" carried out by the working class—in other words, the application of guerrillaism to the particular milieu in which the OTR was working. The question was not abstract, for the OTR counted in its ranks leaders of miners for whom "irregular" skirmishes with the police and army were a periodic occurrence, as well as former Miristas and Tupamaros.

In contrast, *Spartacist* had written as early as 1967 that "Guerrillaism today is a petty-bourgeois reaction to the absence and delay of proletarian revolution."

Beginning from these two sharply divergent positions, several lengthy discussions were held over a period of months, in the course of which the OTR came to reject its previous position. Talk of irregular warfare carried out by the working class as a strategic perspective was an adaptation to the "trade-unionist" conceptions of a semi-proletarian layer; the key sectors of the industrial working class cannot abandon the factories and large mines and take to the hills without losing their base of social power and ultimately risking the loss of their proletarian class character, degenerating into banditry and/or blending into the peasantry (this actually happened to the Communist workers and party cadre in China who fled from the coastal cities to initiate rural guerrilla warfare in 1927-31). Thus Lenin's support for partisan tactics in 1906-07 came in the context of what he believed to be a temporary defeat of the 1905 Revolution; he never considered guerrilla warfare as anything more than a defensive measure—a form of strategic retreat—or an adjunct to regular military warfare, and certainly not a strategy for socialist revolution.

Moreover, the Bolsheviks always sought to organize military struggle through the mass organizations of the working class (soviets, factory committees), in which the party played or sought to play a leading role, in contrast to the Guevarist conception of waging guerrilla struggle through a "professional" party/army—e.g., the Argentine ERP (People's Revolutionary Army, an arm of the Guevarist PRT).

Guerrillaist conceptions had a real social importance in the Chilean "far left," above all via the MIR but also among pseudo-Trotskyist groups which tailed after them. The MIR, for example, did *not* call on the trade unions or later the *cordones industriales* (district coordinating bodies of factory committees) to arm the workers; instead it created artificial "*comandos comunales*," in practice subordinated to the MIR, which were supposed to train selected workers in the use of arms.

Consequently, when the September 11 coup came, the industrial proletariat was left without weapons. Many gathered in their factories to await arms long promised by the Communist and Socialist union bureaucrats, which never arrived. And despite a few acts of bravado by MIR leaders, which simply drew heavier attacks against some of the more combative sectors of the working class, their basic attitude was to treat the military takeover as an inevitable step paving the way to guerrilla war. The OTR, like all the guerrillaist tendencies, saw no possibility of resisting the Pinochet coup; but unlike those who seek to reconstruct the decimated MIR, or the USec majority which is mainly concerned to cover its own tracks of total support to Guevarist guerrillaism, the OTR has drawn the lessons of the terrible defeat represented by September 11 and proclaimed the bankruptcy of guerrillaism in all its varieties.

Leninism on the Organization Question

In Chile the OTR lacked Leninist organizational norms: the definition of membership was fluid, it never had a party press, etc. This organizational practice was naturally maintained in exile, where the pressures toward a "circle spirit" among a small band of survivors are enormous. Nevertheless, as the OTR evolved toward the Spartacist tendency this, equally naturally, led to internal struggles and splits. These are, however, difficult to resolve without assimilating and applying the Leninist norms of democratic centralism. It was problems centering around the organization question that for some months held up the fusion perspective that had been voted in May 1976 and which dominated the activity of the OTR in the last year. As Cde. Ivan of the OTR put it in a presentation to a meeting of the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the iSt at the 1977 European summer camp:

> "The OTR was an organization in exile and dispersed over various continents. Basically there were two questions which impeded fusion last year. One was the organizational weakness of the OTR, which as a result led us to a

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federative concept of the party. But behind this was an important political point, and that is that the OTR hoped to unite its central cadre in Europe. We had difficulties in bringing about a joint development of all our cadre, and the European nucleus did not have a Leninist methodology to overcome this problem."

The difficulties centered on the struggle to win over an important member of the leadership who had only recently arrived from Latin America. Finding himself cut off from a base and confined to the limitations of a small Trotskyist propaganda nucleus, this comrade began elaborating plans behind the backs of the leadership; acts of organizational indiscipline soon led to an open political break, as he failed to defend the OTR program publicly, breaking explicit instructions. As the OTR reporter noted in his presentation to the IEC:

> "...in the final analysis Cde. Blas presented a perspective which was counterposed to Trotskyism and to Lenin's concept of the party, basing himself on the argument that we can't break our ties with the masses.... Thus in practice he was incapable of defending the entirety of the communist program....
> "A few days ago this process came to an end, and in a task carried out in full consultation with the comrades from the International we formalized Blas' split from the Trotskyist program.... For the OTR, the most important thing in this process was that the break with our past methodology opened the path to genuine Leninism."

An Iskra Perspective

The OTR now faces tremendous opportunities and responsibilities. The Chilean bonapartist junta, lacking a significant social base of support and having been unable to atomize the proletariat and wipe out its leadership, will not last even as long as the Brazilian military dictatorship. In the meantime, those leftists who survived the bloodbath have been concentrated in large numbers in exile centers in Europe and Latin America. Here there is an extraordinary opportunity to reach tens of thousands of committed militants and to challenge the left to seriously draw a balance sheet of the Allende regime. This is by no means limited to Chilean militants, for the Chilean experience has global importance and is *decisive* for the formation of revolutionary nuclei in the key countries of Latin America.

Among those who reject the popular front, Stalinism, social democracy and guerrillaism a dialogue could be initiated. Through polemical combat the superiority of the Trotskyist analysis and program can be demonstrated, and the core of an authentic Leninist propaganda group forged and politically prepared for the tasks which will face it when the bloody Pinochet dictatorship falls and the crucial battle to break the working class from the reformists begins in earnest.

Key to this perspective is the question of the press. In the coming period the principal voice for the OTR will be the Spanish edition of *Spartacist*, to be published three times a year, whose editorial board now includes members of the OTR. This is intended to be an *Iskra*-type publication, including polemics and analyses directed primarily at the Latin American exile milieu and to leftists in the Iberian peninsula. In addition the OTR will work toward the initiation of its own press, beginning in a modest format and with irregular frequency. Along with the struggle to build a solid, programmatically united and politically homogeneous organization in exile will naturally come the difficult task of attempting to get this press into the hands of the militants of the Chilean working class wherever they are.

In all this, as a member of a democratic-centralist international tendency, the OTR will count on the full political support and all possible material assistance of the iSt. But there is no denying that the demands are enormous and our total resources qualitatively inadequate. However, the OTR has an important political capital which cannot be minimized: unlike the pseudo-Trotskyists, it represents a coherent and powerful political line which was, tragically, proven correct by the demise of the deadly popular front. Chile 1970-73 has had an impact on the political development of the current revolutionary generation similar to that of the Spanish Civil War in the late 1930's. The Trotskyists who warned that the popular front was leading to a bloody massacre should recall their warnings to educate those who did not heed them at the time but desire to avoid a repeat of the holocaust. Yet Mandel's USec and the OCI's "Organizing Committee" *hide* their Chilean groups rather than highlighting them—and for good reason: *they did not issue such warnings but instead apologized for the popular front.*

We are still weak as a political force, but the strength and promise of the OTR/iSt fusion—what enabled these militants to cross the tremendous gulf from Pabloism, workerism, Guevarism to Trotskyism—comes from the fact that it is built on fundamental Marxist principles:

> "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International." ■

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Carter's "Human Rights"...

(continued from page 1)

Carter's "new era," JFK's "Alliance for Progress" and FDR's "Good Neighbor Policy" are all merely spruced-up versions of the Monroe Doctrine of absolute U.S. hegemony over the Western Hemisphere.

It seems incredible that after Kennedy's Bay of Pigs, LBJ's invasion of Santo Domingo and the Vietnam war there could be a person left on earth who believes in a "progressive" Democratic Party foreign policy. But such strange souls indeed exist, and foremost among them appears to be Fidel Castro. On a CBS television special in June Castro publicly courted the new administration, saying he was certain all CIA conspiracies against Cuba had been curtailed! And in a recent interview he refers to Carter as an "honest man" with an "ethical viewpoint based essentially on his religious upbringing." Of course, such sentiments do not reflect naiveté but rather the conscious maneuvering of a Stalinist bureaucrat looking for a deal with imperialism. Asked by the reporter whatever happened to Cuba's support to Castroites in other Latin American countries, Castro responded:

> "It isn't that we don't sympathize with the revolutionary movements. We do sympathize with them. But if a revolutionary movement arises in a country which has relations with us or which respects our sovereignty, however great our sympathy for the revolutionary movement is, we will abstain from any support to such a movement."
> —*Cambio 16*, 15-20 August 1977

Meanwhile the Cuban *lider* is hobnobbing with "progressive" officers like the Peruvian junta and Torrijos. A year ago he advised the Panamanians to be patient with the U.S. in canal negotiations, reminding Torrijos that the Americans still occupied Guantanamo Bay. Now American ambassador to the UN Andrew Young says: "...the reports I have are that Castro encouraged Torrijos to make a fast settlement" (*New York Times*, 12 August).

Castro's conciliation of reactionary forces is not limited to Carter but applies also to local Latin American despots. He of course covers his tracks in Chile by blaming everything on the CIA, but during the Allende regime Castro not only praised the "peaceful road" to socialism but even invited Chilean military leaders to Havana. On a visit to Chile, Castro socialized with the very people that a few months later overthrew the government! (See picture of Castro and Pinochet.)

But it is not only the bureaucrats of the Cuban deformed workers state, but also, in one form or another, the vast majority of the U.S. left that has been sucked into Carter's fundamentally anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. The SWP has tried to capitalize on slogans like "human rights begin at home" in recent anti-Anita Bryant demonstrations. It is only a short step from there to the position of the Communist Party (CP), which called for demonstrators to come to Washington September 7 to demonstrate against the "hawk" Pinochet, while totally failing to even mention the supposed "dove" Videla. And while other fake-leftists are silent on the Canal treaty, the CP says openly:

> "The Panama Canal Treaty is not a concession made willingly by U.S. imperialism; it is a victory, despite its many inadequacies and other shortcomings, for the national liberation movement."
> —*Daily World*, 27 August

While the reformists merely chase after the "good guy" of the moment, the Spartacist League (SL) has based itself on a scientific analysis of imperialism. Thus in 1973, when every fake-leftist in the U.S. tried to place the whole blame for the Chilean coup on the U.S., we pointed out (1) that the Chilean bourgeoisie was quite capable on its own power of mounting a counterrevolutionary bloodbath, and (2) more importantly, by blaming solely the CIA, the Stalinists were trying to cover up the deadly role of the UP popular front, which prepared the way to September 11 by binding the workers to their class enemy. Today, when the same reformists are trying to pressure Carter into calling for "human rights" in their sector, the SL has insisted that this crusade is aimed fundamentally at the Soviet Union; it is not merely hypocritical but a threat to the gains of the workers movement, and must be denounced sharply.

This week class-conscious workers throughout the world will demonstrate in solidarity with their Chilean class brothers, subjected to great suffering under the boot of a bloodthirsty bonapartist dictatorship. While the Chilean and Argentine proletariats have suffered grave defeats, they have not been destroyed as a political force, and will be given that rarity in history, a second shot at state power in the present generation. Thus the most urgent task facing those who would show solidarity with the Chilean working people is to draw the lessons of the 1973 defeat in preparation for the decisive battles ahead. ■

Sigma

Castro and Pinochet reviewing troops in Santiago during Castro's visit to Chile in November 1971.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Class Opposition to Popular Fronts—Key to Revolutionary Regroupment

Chilean OTR Fuses With Spartacist Tendency!

The 1977 European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) witnessed a fusion which is unique in the history of the iSt and of considerable interest and significance to would-be revolutionists throughout the world. The Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile united with the iSt, and is now the Chilean sympathizing section of our common tendency. While the proportions on both sides are modest, this fusion represents a ringing affirmation and confirmation of Trotsky's 1935 remark that: "In reality, the Popular Front is *the main question of Proletarian class strategy* for this epoch." The OTR and iSt met on the common terrain of militant class opposition to bourgeois popular frontism, and it was by generalizing this position of proletarian independence to all major international questions that a joining of our forces became possible and necessary.

For the iSt this fusion marks a significant extension of our tendency, as it is the first Latin American section. It thus represents the addition of an important body of revolutionary experience to a movement previously limited to sections in North America, Europe and Australasia. For the OTR it signifies the overcoming of national isolation and the culmination of its break with Pabloism begun some years before. While holding firm to their opposition to popular frontism, the Chilean comrades have proven capable of uncompromisingly reevaluating their past views in the light of international experience, the indispensable precondition for assimilating authentic Leninism. For anyone familiar with the continental parochialism and rampant revisionism of Latin American "Trotskyism," this is a tremendous achievement.

But the central significance of the OTR/iSt fusion is to underline the Trotskyist analysis of the popular front, the tying of the working masses to "progressive" capitalists—or even "phantom" capitalists (provincial lawyers and the like) when the real bourgeoisie in its entirety has staked its existence on the triumph of naked reaction— with the purpose of preventing a proletarian uprising against all wings of the bourgeois class enemy. A tragically prophetic article in *Spartacist* in the fall of 1970 warned that the Allende coalition, the Unidad Popular (UP), was a popular front such as in France, Spain and Chile during the 1930's, and must be resolutely opposed by proletarian revolutionists. At a time when millions of Chileans and leftists throughout the world were hailing the "*compañero presidente*" and talking of a second Cuba, we wrote: "Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

"In reality, the Popular Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."

—Leon Trotsky

In reality, this seemingly prescient statement was neither especially original nor did it require a crystal ball. We were simply repeating the lesson of Spain, acting as any Leninist party should, as the memory of the working class. It would seem to be the ABC of Trotskyism, yet every other international tendency which claims that heritage managed to obscure or directly deny the popular-front character of the Allende regime.

Within Chile, the groups to the left of the Communist and Socialist parties were disoriented by the 1970 UP election victory. The most notorious case was that of the Castroite MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria Movement of the Revolutionary Left) which flip-flopped from guerrillaist opposition to participation in elections on principle ("¡fusil, no elecciones!") to "critically" supporting Allende. Even those who made a claim to represent Trotskyism conciliated the UP, terming the new government "reformist." But there was a small group within the Chilean "Trotskyist" orbit, principally made up of trade unionists, which was driven by its unbending defense of the workers' interests to the understanding that the UP was a popular front that must be directly opposed. It was this nucleus which later became the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria, and which in 1974 summed up the lessons of the Unidad Popular as follows:

> "To say that the character of the UP was reformist means being an accomplice to the betrayals committed.... Thus the UP must be included in the list of the old popular fronts, the model designed to betray the working class."
>
> – "Una derrota politica y la necesidad de un balance"

In short, the fusion of the international Spartacist tendency and the Chilean OTR represents the joining of the current which from afar uniquely predicted and warned against the tragic course of the Allende government, with those who directly confronted with the popularity of the UP (and experiencing its deadly consequences) refused to compromise or abandon their defense of their class. As the popular front is indeed the central issue facing Leninists in our times, and Chile is *the* recent burning example of the consequences of popular frontism, the unification of our organizations should be studied by all serious Marxists.

The Evolution of the OTR

Unlike the other fusions entered into by the international Spartacist tendency, this was a case of the coming together of two tendencies that already had the same decisive programmatic postulates rather than of some centrist current breaking loose and being won over to the positions of the iSt. The proletarian revolutionary opposition of the Chilean OTR to the deadly Allende popular front was already decisive. But the OTR, operating in a much more local political/cultural milieu than the iSt, needed to undertake a great deal of testing of the international waters to verify that the treacherous activities of the local representatives of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat" (USec) and the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" (OCRFI) of the French OCI and the Bolivian POR were representative. The fusion was not easy to arrive at; rather, it was one in which key prerequisites already existed, yet it was difficult in consummation as the two parties, testing each other out in many ways and repetitively, came from very different particular terrains.

To understand the fusion process it is necessary first to see the OTR as it was in Chile prior to the coup. The group, which had formed within the USec sympathizing organization, the TRO (Revolutionary October Tendency), began essentially as a "workerist"

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 173 16 September 1977

86% Ghetto Youth Jobless in NYC

Black Unemployment Skyrockets

Recently a prominent public figure sharply criticized Carter's economic policies as anti-labor and anti-black:

> "I am not optimistic about the economy. It is quite sluggish, and nothing is being done to give it a boost.... The greatest crime being committed today is being committed against the black community, against the black teen-agers and the white teen-agers."
>
> —*New York Times*, 31 August

Who is this? A demagogic black liberal like Democratic Congresswoman Barbara Jordan? Or perhaps it's America's house socialist, Michael Harrington? No—believe it or not, it is George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO. The crusty labor boss, who for years has mainly attacked the U.S. government for being "soft" on the Soviet Union, actually criticized the president for neglecting (how could he?) the interests of the workers and the poor. The man who has denounced every black politician to the left of Booker T. Washington as an extremist and rabble rouser is now sounding strangely like the Black Congressional Caucus.

Has the reactionary old labor autocrat undergone some kind of liberal conversion? No, he simply can no longer ignore the immense and rapidly growing number of ghetto unemployed who pose both an economic and political threat to the entrenched, deeply conservative union bureaucracy. Economically, the enormous pool of desperate, jobless blacks provides a basis for the expansion of non-union, super-exploitative sweatshop operations. Politically, lumpenized ghetto youth, who view unionized workers as a privileged social group, can be rallied behind anti-labor black "community control" demagogues like the Rev. Jesse Jackson. Radicalized black youth can also be a dedicated, dynamic component of a revolutionary socialist movement based on the organized working class.

A few days after Meany's press conference it was announced that the August official unemployment rate was 7.1 percent, up from July's 6.9 percent. What this statistic means can be seen from the fact that in the period from 1962 to 1973 the unemployment rate averaged 4.9 percent (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, July 1977). Even more important than the higher overall rate is that *all* of the August increase is concentrated among blacks. The unemployment rate for blacks stands at 14.5 percent, almost *two-and-a-half times* that of whites, and the highest since the Great Depression of the 1930's! But even this figure fails to give a sense of the economic desperation of the black community. While joblessness among white teen-agers (16 to 19) now averages 14 percent, the comparable figure for black youth is an incredible 41 percent!

Conrad/New York Times

Unemployed youth at East Harlem Manpower Center in search of jobs.

And 41 percent is a national *average*. In New York City, for example, more than *eight* out of every *ten* black and Spanish-speaking teen-agers do not have a full-time job this summer (*New York Times*, 2 August)!

Meany's sudden interest in black unemployment is mainly channeled through a lash-up called the Full Employment Action Council (FEAC), whose goal is the passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act. The Council declared the week of September 4-11 to be "Full Employment Week," during which it sponsored numerous activities to pressure a reluctant Carter and Congress into passing Humphrey-Hawkins.

Symbolically the FEAC is co-chaired by Coretta King and Murray Finley, head of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. This renewed alliance between the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and the black liberal establishment seems to be brokered by Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. It is mildly surprising that Meany would lend his considerable authority to one of Harrington's "New Politics" operations. For years the New Politics group in the Democratic Party has been a target of Meany's hostility second only to the Kremlin, and far more so than the National Association of Manufacturers.

Paradoxically, it is Carter's aggressive anti-Soviet stance, expressed in a 50 percent increase in the arms budget this fiscal year, that has brought to the fore differences over domestic economic policy between the imperialist big boss and his chief labor lieutenant. "Human Rights" Carter, armed with his cruise missiles and neutron bombs, fully meets even Meany's fanatical standards of anti-Communism. In the quarrel between Meany and Carter we see the difference between a social-imperialist, who wants the workers movement to get something out of America's place in the sun, and a straightforward bourgeois imperialist, who wants to dominate the world to maximize the profits of U.S. capitalists.

World Economy Turns Down, U.S. to Follow

The persistence of depression-level unemployment in the U.S. takes place against a new downturn in the world economy. During the past three months industrial production has fallen sharply in western Europe and has remained flat in Japan. This new downturn occurs when the world economy has barely recovered from the 1974-75 depression. Industrial production in Japan and Britain did not regain its 1973-74 levels at all; production in West Germany, France and Italy reached pre-depression peaks only in late 1976 and has *since plummeted below* 1973 levels.

The weak economic recovery is rooted in stagnant capital investment. Even in the U.S., capital investment now stands about 5 percent *below* the 1974 peak. The significant falling off of accumulation in the advanced capitalist world since 1973 is caused by three main factors. Unused productive capacity remains great following the sharpest economic contraction since 1937. The historically high, but widely fluctuating, inflation rates create much uncertainty about future costs, prices and interest rates. And since the mid-1960's the rate of profit has tended to fall more steeply

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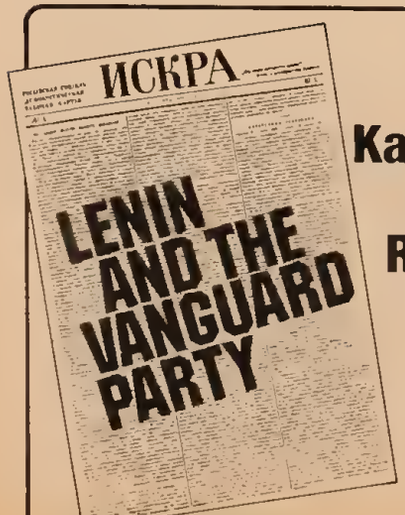

PART 1

Kautskyism and the Origins of Russian Social Democracy

Page 6

Letters

Shocked

San Francisco,
18 March 1977

Workers Vanguard
New York

To whom it may concern,

Number 145 of your paper, dated 18 February 1977, carried a letter signed by me in the name of the Bay Area Group for the Defense of Paranagua and Pilla, dated San Francisco, 5 February 1977, expressing thanks to you, the Partisan Defense Committee, and the Spartacist League for support work on the Paranagua-Pilla case.

Today I chanced to read the account of the January 29th meeting in New York at which Jim Robertson spoke, in number 3 of the *Socialist Voice*.

I can only say that I am deeply shocked at the tone of Robertson's remarks as reported by the *Socialist Voice*, and that I know I speak for the majority of activists on the Paranagua-Pilla case when I say that, while I do not retract the statements in my letter in *WV* Number 145, I feel very strongly that whether or not the facts as stated in *Socialist Voice* are true, the Spartacist League owes the whole left of the U.S. a full, satisfactory accounting of the comments of Robertson at the January 29th meeting. Furthermore, I must say that if the account published in *Socialist Voice* is true, Robertson should immediately retire himself or be retired from any further leadership activity in the socialist and workers' movements in the U.S., at least until he has attained some kind of responsibility. I feel obliged to let you know I find the remarks reported from Robertson by the *Socialist Voice* a great deal more alarming on their face than anything reported in France from the lips of Varga!

Yours,
Stephen S.

WV replies: If you believe what you read about the Spartacist League in *Socialist Voice*, you'll love the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Germany/U.S.S.R.

4 September 1977

To the Editor:

I am writing to develop a point that was only left implicit in the article, "West Germany Gets the Bomb" (*WV* 170, 26 August 1977). A brief elaboration might clear up confusion and possible misunderstanding. The article noted that:

> "In the 1920's, as a result of the Versailles treaty, German capitalism was supposed to be demilitarized. Correspondingly the Reichswehr entered into an intimate military collaboration with the Russian Red Army for a period, thus obtaining the opportunity to develop the foundations of Blitzkrieg tactics and train officers."

It was of course not only the German capitalist state, which had been "demilitarized" by the Versailles treaty, that received a considerable advantage out of this clandestine military collaboration. The Russian Red Army, thrust into this episodic collaboration with the enormously more militarily advanced German officer corps, acquired vital competence in the execution of strategy and tactics as well as capacity in improved weaponry. This, of course, was one of the intentions of the Soviet political leadership when it sanctioned the arrangements (the other main aim being to try to play Germany off against the World War I victors).

But while the Germans retained the advantages accrued and went on under Hitler to build a very powerful military machine, Stalin's great purges in the 1930's virtually annihilated the upper levels of the Soviet officer corps from Marshall Tukhachevsky and Marshall Blücher down. This decapitation of the Red Army was a major factor in the opening weeks of the 1941 German invasion of Russia, when the bulk of the Soviet divisions in European Russia were cut off, surrendered and were dispersed, *very* nearly bringing the Soviet state to extinction. There is no way to make anything approaching a precise estimate, but perhaps ten million additional Russian lives were lost as a result of Stalin's prior destruction of the Red Army cadres during the purges.

Ironically, a principal charge in Stalin's frame-up of Tukhachevsky and the rest was the very collaboration in the 1920's with the German military which the Soviet government under Lenin directed the Red Army to conduct. In the hands of Stalin and Vyshynsky during the purges this was turned into its opposite, i.e. treason. No regime lightly destroys its own officer corps. But the emergent Stalinist bureaucracy in the *degenerating* Russian workers state was compelled to recognize, rightly, that the Red Army cadre initially crystallized in the Russian Civil War was not entirely the bureaucracy's servant. Confronted with the choice of more deeply stabilizing its bureaucratic grip on Soviet society, or maintaining the means to militarily defend the Soviet Union against the world's imperialists, it chose the former course.

Comradely,
A.R.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Fernando Marcos Vows to Fight On

By the Partisan Defense Committee

Over the space of several months this past spring more than $13,000 was collected by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) to finance a series of opthalmological operations to restore the vision of exiled Chilean trade unionist Fernando Marcos. But although the best available medical treatment was obtained, the surgery did not suceed in improving his eyesight.

Marcos lost his sight in a 1972 explosion of industrial supplies which occurred while he was union security chief at a Chilean copper foundry. Two previous operations failed for lack of adequate medical attention, and he understood that these failures as well as the damage in the original accident could mean that his retina had been so badly damaged that he would never see again. Nevertheless, Marcos determined to go through with the painful and complicated surgery.

Hubert Schatzl

Fernando Marcos

The last operation was performed this summer at the world-famous Barraquer Clinic in Barcelona, Spain by Dr. José Temprano who has pioneered a technique whereby an artificial cornea is grafted into the eye. In Comrade Marcos' case, while the grafted tissue was not rejected, the impairment of the light sensitivity of the retina itself was such that his vision could not be restored.

As the PDC stated in our fund-raising brochure for this case: "It is not enough to win asylum for victims of right-wing repression: the entirety of their fate in exile must be of continuing importance." In this spirit the PDC, at the recommendation of the Barraquer Clinic, has agreed to raise the funds to purchase a non-symbolic reading device which would enable Marcos to "read" any normal printed page through touch, without translation into a special symbolic language such as Braille.

The machine and training will cost in excess of $4,000. The PDC's Marcos fund currently holds a balance of over half this sum, which will be applied to the purchase of such equipment. In addition, we are once again appealing for donations from supporters who wish to further assist us in this endeavor.

Comrade Marcos has written to the Partisan Defense Committee (see letter printed below) expressing his gratitude to the hundreds of militants, organizations and opponents of junta terror whose contributions made his surgery possible. Despite the bitter blow to his hopes, he vows to continue his class-struggle activity: "Only we, the internationalists," he writes, "will fight to the end for the reforging of the sole leadership of the world proletariat." The concrete solidarity of all those who responded to the appeal on Marcos' behalf will not be forgotten by this proletarian militant. We of the PDC add our thanks to his. ■

Letter to the PDC

Dear comrades:

After the campaign that you carried out in order to facilitate a complicated surgical operation on my eyes, I feel compelled to write to you, firstly to warmly greet this and other working-class campaigns that the PDC has undertaken, such as the campaign which saved the life of the Chilean militant Mario Muñoz; and secondly to inform you that regarding my personal case, despite two operations I will remain indefinitely physically blind.

Nevertheless this fact has begun to transform itself into a limitation of a secondary nature, to the extent that revolutionaries and the workers movement can count on such organizations as the Partisan Defense Committee that "embrace[s] as our own the 11-year record of principled defense work conducted by the Spartacist League" (PDC Statement, August 1975); and as I, along with you, am perfectly convinced that, "In the spirit of proletarian internationalism the PDC is in the forefront of the struggle against the deportation of foreign workers and gives wholehearted support to the victims of reactionary terror in other countries." (*Ibid.*).

This aspect of your policies takes on great importance for internationalist political refugees like ourselves who have waged an unceasing class struggle against the bourgeois popular front that prepared the defeat for the Chilean proletariat, and who above all today struggle against the impotent nostalgia of the popular front in exile and of its left lackeys—centrists of all shades—who will do nothing. Only we the internationalists will fight to the end for the reforging of the sole leadership of the world proletariat.

Comrades, proletarian greetings to you and a warm embrace.

Fernando Marcos
18 August 1977

"Fear City" Elections in NYC

NEW YORK CITY, September 12 - Liberals peddled the politics of death this summer in New York. It was all they had left to sell as capitalism continued to make an economic graveyard out of America's greatest city. Last week's mayoral primary was this steamy summer's prime spectacle of decay: more nauseating than the stench of the scummy subway stations, more infuriating than Con Ed's blackout, and even more dangerous than the "Son of Sam" mass murderer.

The campaign had much in common with the "Son of Sam" press sensation. It was based on fear—and leaned

Subway ads sell fear. WV Photo

heavily on the most thinly concealed racism. The candidates' pitch mimicked the way the *New York Post* sells newspapers to a population made morbidly aware of its vulnerability to random violence. In fact, New York sales pitches sound a lot alike these days; Max Factor is trying to sell cosmetics the same way. A woman subway rider habitually avoiding eye-contact by reading the advertisements might spot this one: "A pretty face isn't safe in this city!" Next to it, she might notice the Police Department solicitously counselling, "Rapists don't discriminate." Another subway poster explains the helplessness of old people, isolated, sick, afraid to come out of their homes; the picture shows mail stacking up, while the slogan reads, "The lady in 3C is dying and only her mailbox can save her."

The candidates aimed their message at a more generalized aura of fear: fear of losing jobs and homes and services; fear of poverty and victimization; fear of violent crime. And they directed the climate of fear against the usual scapegoats: blacks, the poor, the unions.

The New York electorate counts 10 Democrats for every Republican, so Democratic Party primary results are considered final. And for the Democratic candidates, the strategy was Jimmy Carter's "new politics" adapted to "Fear City": no liberal promises, lots of talk. But Carter's honey-coated, born-again Baptist moralisms wouldn't have gone down in NYC. Here, the talk was "tough," as the daily headlines interlaced electioneering news with more of the usual: the latest letter from the "44-calibre killer" and the candidates' stands on capital punishment; the "Night of the Animals" and the candidates' charges that their opponents were "soft" on looters. The campaign was an "ethnic purity" theme with blood-vengeance orchestration, a sort of "Son of Jimmy."

The contest's only significance lay in the display of cynical liberals fleeing to the right. But the vote counts held some surprises for the odds-makers. As no candidate received the required 40 percent of the vote total, a run-off primary will be held September 19 between photofinishers Ed Koch and Mario Cuomo, who totaled less than 40 percent between them. The record voter turnout dumped incumbent Abraham Beame, with 18 percent of the vote, out of the money. Bella Abzug, the pollsters' front-runner, finished fourth in this field of seven with 17 percent; Percy Sutton and Herman Badillo brought in the votes of their Harlem and South Bronx constituencies for 14 and 11 percent respectively. Millionaire "citizen's candidate" Joel Harnett got one percent.

Where Have All the Fiorellos Gone?

The election did more than finish the political career of Abe ("Finish the Job") Beame. It also laid to rest a long tradition of New York big-city liberalism. Here were some of the same high-minded liberals who used to regale the Democratic Reform Clubs with denunciations of "law and order" and "neighborhood integrity" as codewords for racism. Now these hypocrites were running for mayor on precisely those terms, with no ambiguity.

During the early years of the Nixon reign, when many a capitalist politician was busy redefining himself as a "moderate" for the silent voting majority, "liberal" was not a dirty word in NYC. On the contrary, candidates would hail the "great liberal tradition" of Al Smith, Fiorello LaGuardia, Herbert Lehman, Robert Wagner. But with no promises left to make, no lies that remain believable, Democratic Party liberals have unleashed a campaign of racist scapegoating.

There was no question of basic differences among the candidates. The bourgeois press called it a campaign of "personalities rather than issues." "Wife and mother" Abzug ran on her hat, for instance; the question she was most often asked was whether she was "too loud" to be mayor.

Harvey Wang/Voice

Edward Koch

There is one real issue in New York City, but all the candidates agree on it. The banks run the city, presenting the "fiscal crisis" as the reason for the cutbacks, union-busting and bitter hardships suffered by New Yorkers. Each candidate intends to run the city as the direct representative of the banks. When the banks via the Emergency Financial Control Board insist on cutback, the would-be mayors vie for the privilege of being the hatchetman.

And they all understand that their main target is the municipal unions. The campaign was filled with talk about who was "tough enough to say no" to the unions, to blacks demanding decent housing, to the youth clamoring for jobs. Beame, for instance, ran on the claim he had "made the tough decisions." Some turned out to be tough luck. Beame was obviously hurt by the publicity given to release of an SEC staff report shortly before the election. The report scores Beame for deciding to lie about the worth of NYC bonds while the banks dumped millions on an unsuspecting public. Beame responded that the deception had been good for the city, and besides, he was just doing what mayors and banks always did. In that he was telling the truth.

What Hath Garth Wrought?

The rush to don the "tough look" led straight to the key "issue" of capital punishment. It is generally advanced by pollsters that it was Koch's enthusiastic advocacy of the death penalty which took him from relative obscurity as the "silk stocking" district Congressman representing Manhattan's fashionable East Side to a plurality in the election. Not so long ago, Koch would have been an unlikely recipient of the "law and order" vote. With an image as a soft liberal, Koch was not accorded much of a chance in the primary. Then he hired David Garth. A media manipulator with a proven record of turning "softies" into tough guys, the successful campaign manager of John Lindsay and Hugh Carey is also Koch's main connection to the bankers who really run things.

Gossett and Walker/New York Times

Mario Cuomo

To establish Koch's "tough guy" credentials, Garth pushed the death penalty—but not in liberal Manhattan. Koch's death penalty literature was aggressively pushed in Brooklyn and Queens. The same flyer introducing Koch to Manhattan voters cynically omitted his advocacy of the electric chair. Standing outside subway stations of the outer boroughs, it was "Hi, I'm Ed Koch. I'm for capital punishment. Are you?" Chances were the voter was—75 percent of the time, according to Garth's opinion polls. In Manhattan it was just, "Hi."

The odds-makers were less surprised by Mario Cuomo's showing. He is Governor Carey's man in New York City, the "ethnic purity" candidate who appeals to the outer boroughs. In this city which votes along religious and ethnic lines even when there seems to be an issue, his image as "tough" negotiator was probably not as big a natural asset as being the only Roman Catholic candidate among the 40 percent Catholic Democratic electorate.

Cuomo—along with Sutton and Abzug—came out against capital punishment, and it hurt him. In a strange debate, Abzug and Koch had each derived their conflicting positions on the death penalty from their "Jewish upbringing" and "the Judeo-Christian code." Then a stranger debate occurred between the Governor and Koch. Put on the defensive by his and his puppet's position against capital punishment, Carey was quoted as saying he would reconsider if his candidate was elected. People got angry, Koch gained, Cuomo wondered out loud if Carey's support was worth the trouble, and Carey claimed to have been misquoted. Then he explained that the death penalty was not tough enough; he was for a "real" deterrent: life in prison at hard labor with no parole. With Koch touting the death penalty as an expression of society's moral outrage and Carey pushing hard labor, are thumbscrews next as the symbol of who really wants to fight "crime in the streets"?

Hypocrites and Hangmen

The capital punishment issue is a phony. It has never been a city issue, in part because the mayor has absolutely no power to enforce or block the death penalty. When Beame came out for legal murder (and quietly quashed plans for "Sacco and Vanzetti Day"), the real campaign was baptized. The function of the death penalty "debate" was as a test

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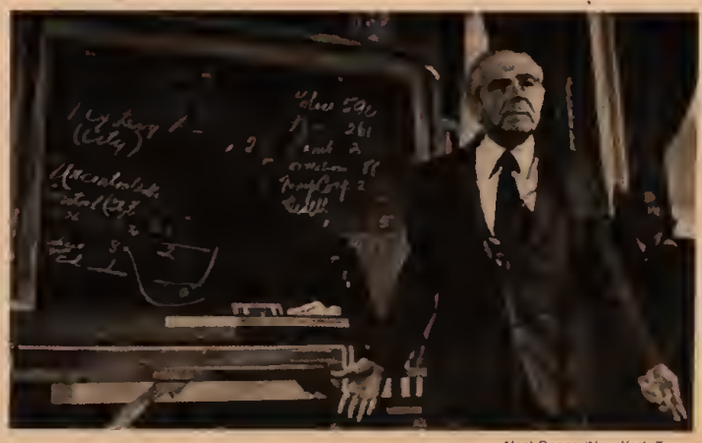

Neal Boenzi/New York Times

Mayor Beame "explaining" New York's fiscal crisis.

Break the 12-Month Rule!

Britain's Labour Bureaucrats Continue "Social Contract"

LONDON—The annual conference of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC), which ended in Blackpool September 9, officially endorsed the Labour government's plans for yet another year of modified wage restraints. Both the cabinet and the bourgeois press hailed this decision as an important step in their continuing attempt to breathe life into the moribund British economy through continued grinding down of the wages and living standards of the working class. However, neither the capitalists nor their lackeys in the Labour/TUC leadership are confident that the vote at Blackpool will guarantee the willingness of British workers to endure twelve more months of austerity in the interests of increased profitability.

For the past two years the British workers have been saddled with the Social Contract—an agreement between the trade-union bureaucrats and the Labour government to limit annual pay increases to 4 to 6 percent while inflation has been running at approximately 20 percent. The cost of the Social Contract has been devastating for the working class. As the conservative *Economist* (3 September) reported, three years of the Social Contract has meant "the biggest recorded fall in the average Briton's real disposable income for over a hundred years: worse than anything that happened in the 1930's."

The catastrophic and seemingly irreversible decline of British imperialism has forced the ruling class to attack the most strongly entrenched labour movement of any major capitalist country. More so than in any other imperialist power, the dynamic of the class struggle in Britain today can lead to a revolutionary crisis in which the alternative to the workers movement taking power is the rapid growth of fascism and the danger of a rightist military coup. Thus the stakes are far higher than a few pounds a week.

"Social Contract—Social Con-trick"

Despite the government's repeated promises of a future upturn in the economy, the deepening class hostility to declining real wages and soaring unemployment has touched off a series of militant, although isolated and largely unsuccessful, strikes against the pay policy during the past six months. As a result of pressure from the ranks, national conferences of two of the most important unions, the Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU) and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), came out against another year of the Social Contract, demanding an immediate return to free collective bargaining. The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) also took a position of opposition to any further form of wage controls. By July even the top bureaucrats of the TUC finally felt it necessary to oppose a Phase III of the Social Contract.

When Phase II officially expired on August 1, the trade-union bureaucrats and the Labour Party leaders began talking about "an orderly return to collective bargaining." Among other things, this "orderly return" includes what is known as the "twelve-month rule"—a "rule" which dictates a full year's separation between pay agreements. In the present situation of massive inflation, this can mean huge pay losses. Thus, for example, the miners, who are apparently aiming for negotiations in November, will have to wait until March 1978 before putting in another pay claim if they submit to this "rule."

Faced with the obvious impossibility of enforcing another year of the despised Social Contract, the government is offering a new "economic package." This miserable deal proposes a meagre 1 percent reduction in the rate of personal income tax and slightly reduced cuts in social services, in return for establishing a "norm" of 10 percent maximum wage increases in the private sector and substantially less for four million government employees.

Thus the central issue at Blackpool was the question of the future of disguised wage controls, particularly the twelve-month "rule" (none of the bureaucrats would even dare to put the proposed 10 percent "norm" up for a vote). While many leaders of the more conservative white-collar unions could be counted on to vote for the twelve-month rule, the combined opposition of the AUEW, T&GWU and NUM would be sufficient to ensure at the least a very close vote, and in any case would have effectively undermined the authority of any TUC moves to enforce it.

Davies/Report

Jack Jones

Scanlon's Coup at Blackpool

In the period leading up to the Congress, the cabinet began exerting as much pressure as possible on the trade-union bureaucrats to whip their ranks into line. This took the form of dire warnings about the probability of skyrocketing inflation due to sizable wage increases and claims that rejection of the motion would endanger the parliamentary situation of the Labour government. Prime Minister James Callaghan and Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey combined these threats with pleas for moderation until the promised Golden Age of North Sea oil revenues would restore Britain to its "rightful" place in the world.

News Line

Mass pickets clashed repeatedly with scab-herding cops at Grunwick factory in London on July 11.

It became obvious that the high-pressure tactics had paid off, at least in the short run, when Hugh Scanlon, president of the AUEW, announced at a pre-Congress meeting of his delegation his intention to disregard the union's official policy and cast the AUEW's 1.2 million votes in favour of the TUC's composite motion. As the delegates began to protest vehemently against Scanlon's outrageously undemocratic hureaucratism, he declared that debate was closed and the meeting over!

On the second day of the Congress, Callaghan made an address in which he bluntly told the delegates, "You cannot seek to recover the loss of the last two years." He added, "I would have liked a third year [of the existing Social Contract], but I am told it is not on" (*Guardian* [London], 7 September). The prime minister's speech was interrupted by heckling at various points, and although he received a perfunctory standing ovation from two-thirds of the body, a sizable number of the delegates (particularly those from the fuming AUEW) remained in their seats.

The vote on the twelve-month rule which came the day after Callaghan's speech was almost anti-climactic as the TUC leadership's motion passed by a considerable majority. In the aftermath of the vote, Jack Jones, leader of the T&GWU, who had been compelled to vote against the TUC motion by his national conference, quickly assured the bourgeoisie that his union would comply with the Congress' decision. TUC general secretary Len Murray hastened to pledge that the TUC's considerable muscle would he used to enforce the rule, stressing that it was not a deal with the government but "a bargain we made with each other in this Congress" (*Guardian*, 8 September).

The passing of the twelve-month rule was indeed a "bargain"—for the ruling class. As soon as results of the vote became known the Confederation of British Industry announced that it was "pleased." The news was well-received at the London Stock Exchange (where the *Financial Times* index jumped 8.4 points) and also among currency speculators, who pushed the pound to its highest level against the dollar in almost a year.

Much of the rest of the Congress was spent on what might be termed "motherhood and steak-and-kidney-pie" issues. Delegates unanimously passed a vague motion calling for solidarity with the beleaguered strikers at the Grunwick film processing laboratory in North London; called for a campaign to encourage breast feeding in Britain; called for more health and safety measures in the factories, and opposed the official secrets act. The assembled

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Former YSAer Joins SL

The Reformist Logic of SWP Black Nationalism

We reprint below a letter of application for membership in the Spartacist League (SL) recently submitted by Jeff H., a black comrade who was previously a member of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and then of Milton Zaslow's Socialist Union (SU), o Los Angeles-area group which supports the European majority of the so-called United Secretariat. The letter traces the comrade's evolution from SWP-style black nationalism to the revolutionary Trotskyism of the SL.

Comrade Jeff H. was a leading member of the Riverside, California YSA and was active in both the 1971 Riverside Black Moratorium Against the War and the National Peoce Action Coalition Third World Taskforce. He and a number of vocal black members of the Riverside YSA, a branch with a majority of black, Chicano and Puerto Rican members, took seriously the SWP's uncritical support to black notionalism, suggesting that the SWP/YSA orient its antiwar work to the black communities.

Confronted with this maverick local, the SWP/YSA simply dissolved the Riverside YSA in the spring of 1972. Since then, of the six "Third World Riverside at-large comrades" who opposed the dissolution of their branch by the SWP/YSA leadership and insisted that the YSA be federated along nationalist lines, three have come over to the Spartacist League. After seeking to be the "consistent nationalists" whom the SWP praises, these comrades broke sharply with this utopian-reformist, divisive doctrine, as the following letter shows. This represents a powerful vindication of the SL's program and is a living example of our struggle to forge a black Trotskyist cadre.

For those black comrades who mistakenly joined the SWP assuming it to be a revolutionary organization; who belong to an organization which asks them to enter and build the treacherous NAACP; which directs them to tail the anti-communist "human rights" crusade of anti-labor racist Jimmy Carter; which osks them to call on federal troops, the butchers of My Lai, to protect black schoolchildren from racists in Boston; which demanded they remoin neutral in the face of South African intervention in the Angolan civil war—Comrade Jeff H.'s letter is particularly relevant.

After attempting to take the SWP's black nationalism to its logical conclusion, he came to see that the petty-bourgeois nationalist reformists are unable and unwilling to address the oppression of the black masses. The struggle against the class and racial oppression of the black masses can only be carried to completion by an integrated Leninist vanguard party which will not stop short of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We welcome Comrade Jeff H. into our organization, dedicated to this task, and are confident that comrades like him, whom we now recruit in small numbers, will lay the basis for a party whose ranks will number tens of thousands of black proletarian communists.

In my earlier college years I was involved mainly with Black Student Unions. I was particularly influenced by the Panther Party and its conceptions of Marxism-Leninism. In the Fall Quarter, 1970 I joined the YSA. The SWP/YSA was appealing because of its emphasis on nationalism and what I then considered its Marxist orientation. The extent of the SWP/YSA capitulation to nationalism is graphically illustrated in the following:

> "Unlike the reformists or ultra-leftists, revolutionaries understand that cultural nationalism and knowledge of the past is a pre-condition for and part of a revolutionary analysis of black liberation."
>
> —*Introduction to the YSA*, p. 21

I stress this orientation because cultural nationalism is the most virulent expression of black oppression. Its anarchistic, sectoral, atomized conceptions nurture the illusion that individual efforts (dashiki wearing) can alleviate the terms of oppression. Its most rightist exponents actually are led to "legitimize" American reaction. One of cultural nationalism's earliest organizational proponents was Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. The UNIA relished the virtues of an African past, and saw the solution to black oppression in the creation of black-dominated capitalist states in Africa. The substance of this reactionary outlook served to bridge Garvey's movement with the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Garvey said of the Klan:

> "Lynchings and race riots all work to our advantage by teaching the Negro that he must build a civilization of his own or forever remain the white man's victim.... The Ku Klux Klan is going to make this a white man's country.... They are perfectly honest and frank about it. Fighting them is not going to get you anywhere."
>
> —*Black Moses*, p. 189

More recent versions include Ron Karenga's US organization. In 1970 the YSA labeled Karenga a "reformist" because of his attempts to "...use and distort cultural nationalism to derail the movement for self-determination and to keep it within the confines of liberal capitalist politics." According to the SWP/YSA, Karenga's association with the Democratic Party distorted the content of cultural nationalism. We see, however, in Boston the real fruits of the SWP/YSA cultural nationalist appetite. Precisely because of its pandering to black reformist organizations like the NAACP (which is full of black Democrats) and its reliance on the bourgeois state, the SWP/YSA's betrayal helped pave the way for the domination of reactionary forces.

The SWP/YSA's polyvanguardist/nationalist approach led away from the development of an integrated, revolutionary vanguard. This was clearly brought to bear in the organization of the Riverside Black Moratorium Against the War, in January 1971. The leaflet caption read: "Who Says the Anti-War Movement Ain't a Black Thang" (sic). The slogans included a demand to bring all black GI's home. Their fight was in America. Implicit in this demand was that whites had an interest in fighting for the bourgeoisie. No statement was ever made regarding the mobilization of political strikes against the war, or the primacy of the proletariat in bringing the war to a halt. In April 1971 I continued this work on the National Peace Action Coalition's Third World Task Force.

In April 1972 the [YSA] national office disbanded the Riverside local. The rationale was to move the Riverside comrades to larger centers. However, no provisions were made to transfer comrades. Responding to this maneuver six "Third World Riverside at-large comrades" wrote a document demanding the organization of minority caucuses at the national level. This document was entitled "Toward the Formation of Nationalist Caucuses Within the Young Socialist Alliance." The foundations for our response were laid by the SWP/YSA's view of the relationship between the nationalist movement and the revolutionary party.

> "The existence of the multi-national revolutionary socialist vanguard is not a substitute for nationalist formations, i.e., an all-Black, or all-Latin, or Third World organization, but it is an essential component for the success of the struggle."
>
> —*Introduction to the YSA*, p. 18

The SWP/YSA's emphasis on the necessity of the independent organization of minorities, its underscoring of the notion of self-determination, its position on community control, its distortions of the Bolshevik position on the national question, paved the way for our attempt to federate the YSA.

Marxists understand that blacks are a racial/color caste restricted in the main to the lower echelons of American society. A black Trotskyist cadre must be developed, armed with a class-struggle program and intercede with this program in the fight to end special oppression. During and since WWI blacks have become more entrenched in the industrial proletariat. Historically blacks have viewed their greater integration into the labor movement as a precursor to greater integration into American society generally. Black glorification of the ideals of an African heritage as a method for "liberation" arises out of an enforced isolation. This results from an acceleration in lumpenization: being thrown out of the production process. An essential component to the emergence of nationalist movements is the lack of revolutionary leadership in the struggle against special oppression. In viewing the black community as a nation the SWP/YSA negate any possibility for addressing black special oppression, segregate black and white workers, and thereby prepare the American working class for a great defeat.

In August 1971 I began work for the Pasadena/Foothill Branch of the Los Angeles Urban League. Until its April 1972 disbandment I maintained organizational links with the Riverside YSA local. My break with the YSA did not reflect a significant shift in my political outlook. Work in the Urban League and its "community" orientation fit right in. It was not long, however, before the futility of my work in the Urban League, counterposed to a growing familiarity with Marxist literature, brought into sharp relief the inability of the nationalist view to offer any perspective on the problems facing blacks. These experiences only served as a point of departure from the nationalist world view. I did not yet understand the character of the special oppression of blacks nor the elements required to resolve it.

The SWP/YSA outlook on the black worker underscores their reformist conceptions of the tasks to destroy special oppression. This is not restricted to their ideas regarding blacks, but permeates their entire world perspective (women, youth, gay liberation, trade-union work, the antiwar movement).

I now would like to briefly discuss my

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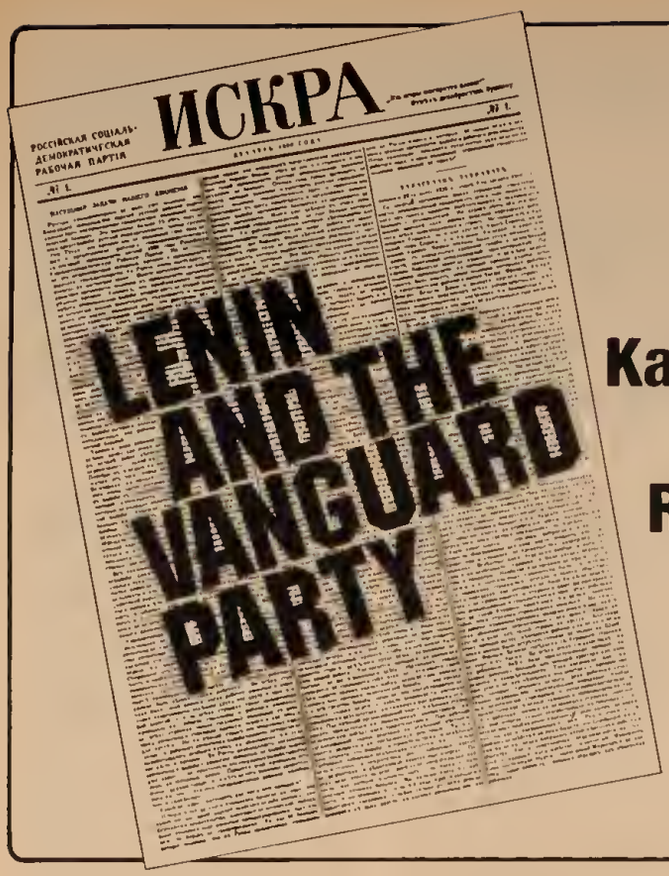

PART 1

Kautskyism and the Origins of Russian Social Democracy

Recently the British International Marxist Group (IMG) and the International Socialists (now Socialist Workers Party—SWP/IS), two of the largest groups of the British "far left," have taken to revising the history of the Bolsheviks. These groups have attempted to deny or obfuscate the principle of a democratic-centralist vanguard party by pointing to those elements of classic social democracy retained by the pre-1914 Bolsheviks as well as to Lenin's tactical maneuvers against the Mensheviks.

The IMG, British section of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat, has performed the remarkable feat of making Lenin out to be a unity-above-all conciliator on the grounds that until 1912 the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were formally factions within a unitary Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP). The aim of this particular revisionism is to justify a grand unity maneuver for the British left. Their line is that "the political differences which Lenin and Trotsky considered could be contained within a united organisation were vastly greater than those which divide the revolutionary left in Britain today" (*Red Weekly*, 11 November 1976). For an extended treatment of the IMG's revisionism and its shabby tactical purpose, see "IMG Turns Lenin into a Menshevik," *WV* No. 164, 1 July 1977.

The most ambitious rewriting of Bolshevik history is that of Tony Cliff, long-time leader of the workerist-reformist SWP/IS. The Cliff tendency today sports a "left" veneer; sometimes they even parade around with portraits of Lenin and Trotsky. But this group had its 4th of August long ago, when in 1950, under the pressure of intensely anti-Communist public opinion, it refused to defend North Korea against U.S. imperialism and broke with the Trotskyist movement over this question. And yet this utterly shameless CIA "socialist" now presumes to lecture on what Lenin really meant to say in *What Is to be Done?*

In the past Cliff has been a prominent, explicitly anti-Leninist purveyor of Menshevism. His 1959 pamphlet, *Rosa Luxemburg*, states: "For Marxists in the advanced industrial countries, Lenin's original position can much less serve as a guide than Rosa Luxemburg's." This bald statement was deleted from the second (1968) edition, but Cliff's substantive position remained the same.

However the Cliffites are nothing if not trendy. And in contrast to the 1950's and '60's, "hard" Bolshevism is now "in" among young leftists. So recently Cliff has written a seemingly sympathetic biography of Lenin, of which two of three projected volumes have appeared. Here Cliff presents Lenin in his own image as a nationally limited, workerist eclectic. Cliff's central message is that

Socialist Worker

Tony Cliff

there are no Leninist principles or even norms on the organization question:

> "Lenin's attitude to organisational forms was always historically concrete, hence its strength. He was never taken in by abstract, dogmatic schemes of organisation, but always ready to change the organisational structure of the party to reflect the development of the class struggle.
>
> "Organisation is subordinate to politics. This does not mean that it has no independent *influence* on politics. But it is, and must be, subordinated to the concrete policies of the day. The truth is always concrete, as Lenin reiterated again and again. And this also applies to the organisational forms needed to undertake the concrete tasks. [emphasis in original]

In other words, whatever works at the time, do it.

Genuine Leninists recognize the primacy of the principles embodied in the first Four Congresses of the Communist International over pre-1914 Bolshevik practice. Further, Trotsky in building the Fourth International systematized and deepened Leninist concepts developed in rudimentary form during the revolutionary turmoil of 1917-23. To deny the *evolution* of Bolshevism from 1903 to 1917 is to obliterate the principled opposition of Leninism to Kautskyism. To appeal to pre-1914 Bolshevik practice against the democratic centralism of Trotsky's Fourth International is equivalent to citing Lenin's "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" against Trotsky's "permanent revolution."

The Kautskyan Party of the Whole Class

The first volume of Cliff's biography, subtitled "Building the Party," ends in 1914. This work mentions Kautsky exactly twice and the Second International not at all! Such an incredible omission warrants dismissing Cliff's book out of hand as a serious study of Lenin's position on the party question.

From August Bebel's offer in 1905 to mediate the Bolshevik-Menshevik split to the "unity conference" arranged by the International Socialist Bureau on the eve of World War I, the International leadership played a significant role in the internal life of the RSDRP. The pro-unity elements in particular, above all Luxemburg and Trotsky, sought to achieve through the German-centered International what they could not attain within the Russian movement.

Lenin was a revolutionary social democrat and, as Cliff himself notes in his second volume, Kautsky "had been the only living socialist leader whom Lenin revered." (This is actually an overstatement: in 1905 when Kautsky supported the Mensheviks, Lenin was harshly critical of him.) An understanding of Lenin's position on the party question must therefore begin with the orthodox Kautskyan position; this was the doctrine of the "party of the whole class," or "one class—one party." Kautsky's "party of the whole class" did *not* mean the recruitment of the entire proletarian population to the party. He recognized that the political activists within the working class would be an elite minority. No social democrat denied that membership standards involved some level of socialist consciousness, activism and discipline. What the Kautskyan doctrine did mean was that all tendencies regarding themselves as socialist should be in a unitary party. Kautsky maintained that revolutionary social democrats could unite and even have comradely collaboration with non-Marxist reformists. Thus the leadership of the German Social Democracy (SPD) at various times collaborated closely with the avowedly reformist, eclectic French socialist, Jean Jaurès.

The SPD leadership was immensely proud of their party's disciplined unity, which they regarded as the main source of its strength. Bebel/Kautsky played a decisive role in the 1905 reunification of the French socialists, overcoming the split between the Marxist Parti Socialiste de France led by Jules Guesde and the reformist Parti Socialiste Français of Jaurès.

During the campaign to reunite the French, the International adopted the doctrine of "one class, one party" in resolution form at its 1904 Amsterdam Congress:

> "In order that the working class may put forth all its strength in the struggle against capitalism it is necessary that in every country there exist vis à vis the bourgeois parties, only *one* socialist party, as there exists only *one* proletariat. Therefore, it is the imperative duty of all comrades and socialist organizations to make every effort to bring about this unity on the basis of the principles established by the international congresses, a unity necessary in the interests of the proletariat before which they are responsible for all fatal consequences of a continued breach." [emphasis in original]
>
> —reproduced in Olga Hess Gankin and H.H. Fischer, eds., *The Bolsheviks and the World War* (1940)

Before World War I Lenin never challenged the above principle and on occasion affirmed it. When in 1909 the Bolsheviks expelled the ultra-left Otzovists (the "Ultimatists") from their ranks, Lenin justified this by contrasting the *exclusiveness* of a faction to the *inclusivenesss* of a social-democratic party:

> "In our Party Bolshevism is represented by the Bolshevik *section*. But a section is not a party. A party can contain a whole gamut of opinions and shades of opinion, the extremes of which may be sharply contradictory. In the German party, side by side with the pronouncedly revolutionary wing of Kautsky, we see the ultra-revisionist wing of Bernstein." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Report on the Conference of the Extended Editorial Board of *Proletary*" (July 1909)

In practice in Russia, Lenin strove to create a disciplined, programmatically homogeneous revolutionary vanguard. Until World War I, however, he did not break in principle with the Kautskyan doctrine of "the party of the whole class." The resolution of that dialectical contradiction was one of the important elements creating Leninism as a world-historic doctrine, as the Marxism of our epoch.

Kautsky's Analysis of Opportunism

The Kautskyan doctrine of the inclusive party was predicated on a particular historico-sociological theory of opportunism. Opportunist tendencies, it was argued, were a survival of petty bourgeois democracy carried mainly by the intelligentsia and conditioned by the economic and ideological backwardness or immaturity of the working masses. The growth of the proletariat and of its organization would eventually strengthen revolutionary social democracy. Thus, Kautsky could tolerate a current like Jaurèsism as a kind of inevitable transition from radical democracy to revolutionary Marxism.

Kautsky's identification of opportunism with *pre*-Marxist tendencies derived from the history of the European left in the decades following the revolutions of 1848. The principal tendencies opposed to Marxism (e.g., Proudhonism, Lassalleanism, Bakuninism) all expressed the desire of the artisan class to prevent

its descent into the industrial proletariat. Marx/Engels understood that artisan utopian socialism could not be defeated simply through propaganda and agitation but required the actual development of capitalist society. It was recognized in the Second International that Marxism superseded such primitivist tendencies as Lassalleanism in Germany and Proudhonism in France primarily through the transformation of the urban artisan classes into a modern proletariat. The process by which Marxism overcame Lassalleanism, Proudhonism, Bakuninism, etc. became for Kautsky a paradigm of the struggle against opportunism in general.

The view of reformism as a historic lag or regression accounts for Kautsky's *limited* aims in the "revisionist" controversy with Bernstein. He drew a sharp line between naive, pre-Marxian reformists, like Jaurès, and the conscious revisers of Marxism. In a letter of 23 May 1902 to Victor Adler, Kautsky defended the Belgian Socialist leadership from the charge of revisionism on the grounds that they were never

> fighting the capitalists that stand in antagonism to them, but do not feel themselves secure enough and strong enough to declare war on the entire capitalist system. These look to capitalist parties and governments for relief."
> —*The Road to Power* (1909)

For Kautsky, the growth of the proletariat, of the trade unions, etc. strengthened the objectively revolutionary forces in society. What was required of social democracy was a patient, pedagogical attitude toward backward workers, although Kautsky also recognized that class consciousness could leap ahead during a revolutionary crisis.

With the partial exception of Luxemburg, no pre-war social democrat located the main source of reformism in the conservatism of the socially privileged bureaucracy *created* by the growth and strength of the labor movement, of the social-democratic parties and their trade-union affiliates.

Lenin's Sociological Analysis of Menshevism

Lenin, following Kautsky's methodology, regarded Menshevism as an

> The intellectual elements therefore find it harder to adapt themselves to the discipline of Party life, and those of them who are not equal to it naturally raise the standard of revolt against the necessary organisational limitations...." [emphasis in original]
> "To the Party" (August 1904)

Lenin likewise analyzed Menshevik Liquidationism during the 1908-12 period (opposition to the underground party) in terms of intellectuals versus the proletariat:

> "The first to flee from the underground were the bourgeois intellectuals who succumbed to the counter-revolutionary mood, those 'fellow-travellers' of the Social-Democratic working-class movement who, like those in Europe, had been attracted by the liberating role played by the proletariat...in the bourgeois revolution. It is a well-known fact that a mass of Marxists left the underground after 1905 and found places for themselves in all sorts of legal cozy corners for intellectuals."
> —"How Vera Zasulich Demolishes Liquidationism" (September 1913)

Lenin's sociological analysis of Menshevism was valid as far as it went. The

V. I. Lenin

Karl Kautsky

Archiv

Marxists to begin with, nor did they pretend to be:

> "I maintain an entirely unprejudiced attitude towards them; the talk about their revisionism leaves me cold. They have nothing to revise, for they have no theory. The eclectic vulgar socialism to which the revisionists would like to reduce Marxism is something beyond which they [the Belgian Socialists] have not even begun to advance. Proudhon, Schäffle, Marx—it is all one to them, it was always like that, they have not retrogressed in theory, and I have nothing to reproach them with."
> —quoted in George Lichtheim, *Marxism* (1961)

Kautsky's aim in the "revisionist" controversy was not to purge the Second International of reformist tendencies or even practices, but to preserve the doctrinal integrity of the Marxist camp. If this were achieved, believed Kautsky, the development of the class struggle would eventually ensure the triumph of revolutionary social democracy.

Kautsky located the weakness of revolutionary social democracy in the backwardness of the proletariat, which reflected either a continued identification with the petty bourgeoisie or a lack of confidence in the strength of the workers movement:

> "To a large degree hatched out of the small capitalist and small farmer class, many proletarians long carry the shells of these classes about with them. They do not feel themselves proletarians, but as would-be property owners.... Others, again, have gone further, and have come to recognize the necessity of

extension of nineteenth-century petty-bourgeois radicalism into the workers movement. Because he considered the Mensheviks an "intellectualist" tendency, in a sense standing outside of the workers movement, he could split from them without positing the existence of two competing social-democratic parties, the one revolutionary, the other reformist. Lenin was convinced that the growth of social-democratic organization among the Russian proletariat would ensure the triumph of Bolshevism.

Lenin regarded the 1903 Martovite grouping as an expression of the attitudes and values of the old, free-wheeling, individualistic revolutionary intelligentsia, as a rebellion of the circle spirit against the construction of a real workers party:

> "Nonetheless, we regard the Party's sickness as a matter of growing pains. We consider that the underlying cause of the crisis is the transition from the circle form to party forms of the life of Social-Democracy; the essence of its internal struggle is a conflict between the circle spirit and the party spirit. And, consequently, only by shaking off this sickness can our Party become a *real* party . .
> "Lastly, the opposition cadres have in general been drawn chiefly from those elements of our Party which consist primarily of intellectuals. The intelligentsia is always more individualistic than the proletariat, owing to its very conditions of life and work, which do not directly involve a large-scale combination of efforts, do not directly educate it through organised collective labor.

Martovite grouping in 1903 did represent in part the habits of the old revolutionary intelligentsia; one thinks of Vera Zasulich in this regard. Menshevik Liquidationism did represent in part the fleeing of intellectuals from the RSDRP toward bourgeois respectability during a period of reaction. But Menshevism was not primarily a tendency *external* to the labor movement. The Russian Mensheviks anticipated the labor reformism of the Second International as a whole, including particularly its mass parties. It was only during World War I, in the studies which led to *Imperialism*, that Lenin located the source of social-democratic opportunism *within* the workers movement—in a labor bureaucracy resting on the upper stratum of the working class.

Iskraism

Organized Russian Marxism originated in 1883 when Plekhanov broke from the dominant populist current to form the tiny exile Emancipation of Labor group. During the late 1880's-early '90's Marxism in Russia consisted of localized propaganda circles designed to educate a thin layer of advanced workers. In the mid-1890's the Marxist propaganda circles turned toward mass agitation intersecting a major strike wave. This turn was in part inspired by the Jewish Bund. Ethnic solidarity enabled the Jewish Marxist intelligentsia to reach and organize Jewish workers in advance of Russian social democracy as a whole.

In part because of the imprisonment of the more experienced Marxist leaders (e.g., Lenin, Martov), the turn toward mass agitation rapidly degenerated into reformism. This tendency, dubbed Economism by a hostile Plekhanov, limited its agitation to elementary trade-union demands, while passively supporting the bourgeois liberal efforts to reform tsarist absolutism. In terms of international Social Democracy, the Economists were hostile to orthodox Marxism and consequently were loosely associated with Bernsteinism in Germany and *possibilisme* in France. In the later 1890's Economism was the dominant tendency among Russian social democrats.

In 1900 the second generation of Russian Marxists (Lenin, Martov) coalesced with the founding fathers (Plekhanov, Axelrod, Zasulich) to return Russian social democracy to its revolutionary traditions as embodied in the original Emancipation of Labor program. The revolutionary Marxist tendency was organized around the paper, *Iskra*. Lenin was the organizer of the Iskra group. He ran the agents in Russia whose task was to win over the local social-democratic committees or if necessary split them. *Iskra* provided, for the first time, an organizing center for a Russian social-democratic party.

In polemicizing against Lenin's successful splitting tactics, the Economists pointed out that the German center did not seek to exclude the Bernsteinians. Lenin did not and in a sense could not argue for the exclusion of opportunists from the social-democratic party as a principle. Rather he justified his splitting tactics by a series of arguments based on the particularities of the Russian party situation. Right up to World War I Lenin would appeal to one or another aspect of Russian particularism to justify constructing a programmatically homogeneous, revolutionary vanguard.

What were Lenin's arguments for building the RSDRP without and against the Economists? The German party had strong revolutionary traditions and an authoritative leadership. The Russian party was embryonic and could easily fall prey to opportunism. The German leadership, Bebel/Kautsky, were revolutionary while the Bernsteinians were a small minority; in contrast, the Economists were temporarily the dominant trend in Russian Social Democracy. The German "revisionists" accepted party discipline, the Russian Economists were incapable of accepting party discipline. And in any case, the RSDRP did not exist as a centralized organization. These arguments are presented in *What Is To Be Done?* (1902):

> "The important thing to note is that the opportunist attitude towards revolutionary Social-Democrats in Russia is the very opposite of that in Germany. In Germany...revolutionary Social-Democrats are in favor of preserving what is: they stand in favor of the old program and tactics which are universally known.... The 'critics' desire to introduce changes, and as these critics represent an insignificant minority, and as they are very shy and halting in their revisionist efforts, one can understand the motives of the majority in confining themselves to the dry rejection of 'innovation.' In Russia, however, it is the critics and Economists who are in favor of what is; the 'critics' wish us to continue to regard them as Marxists, and to guarantee them the 'freedom of criticism' which they enjoyed to the full (for, as a matter of fact, they never recognized any kind of *Party* ties, and, moreover, we never had a generally recognized Party organ which could 'restrict' freedom of criticism even by giving advice)...." [emphasis in original]

As is generally recognized, Lenin's 1902 *What Is To Be Done?* was the authoritative statement of Iskraism. Despite his supposed sympathy toward Lenin, Cliff is much too much a workerist and Menshevik to accept

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Lenin and the Vanguard Party...

(continued from page 7)

What Is To Be Done? In fact, a central purpose of his biography is to argue that the 1902 polemic is an exaggerated, one-sided statement which in substance Lenin subsequently repudiated.

First Cliff vulgarizes Lenin's position and then polemicizes against his own straw-man creation:

> "In general the dichotomy between economic and political struggle is foreign to Marx. An economic demand, if it is sectional, is defined as 'economic' in Marx's terms. But if the same demand is made of the state it is 'political'.... In many cases economic (sectional) struggles do not give rise to political (class-wide) struggles, but there is no Chinese wall between the two, and many economic struggles *do* spill over into political ones." [emphasis in original]

Lenin did not attack the Economists for being indifferent to governmental policy. The Russian Economists agitated for state-initiated economic reforms and supported democratic rights, particularly the right to organize. In this purpose they passively supported the liberals. In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin attacks the Economists' political program as encapsulated in the slogan "giving the economic struggle itself a political character":

> "Giving 'the economic struggle itself a political character' means, therefore, striving to secure satisfaction for these trade demands, the improvement of conditions of labor in each separate trade by means of 'legislative and administrative measures'.... This is exactly what the trade unions do and have always done....
> "Thus, the pompous phrase 'giving the economic struggle *itself* a political character' which sounds so 'terrifically' profound and revolutionary, serves as a screen to conceal what is in fact the traditional striving to *degrade* Social-Democratic politics to the level of trade union politics!" [emphasis in original]

For Lenin political class consciousness, or socialist consciousness, was the recognition by the proletariat of the need to become the ruling class and reconstruct society on socialist foundations. Anything less was trade-union consciousness.

Like all other current workerists and social democrats, Cliff must attack Lenin's famous statement that socialist consciousness is brought to the workers from without by revolutionary intellectuals, that political class consciousness does not arise simply through the proletariat's struggles to improve its conditions. Here are Cliff's fatuous remarks on this question:

> "There is no doubt that this formulation overemphasized the difference between spontaneity and consciousness. For in fact the complete separation of spontaneity from consciousness is mechanical and non-dialectical. Lenin, as we shall see later admitted this. Pure spontaneity does not exist in life....
> "The logic of the mechanical juxtaposition of spontaneity and consciousness was the complete separation of the party from the *actual* elements of working-class leadership that had already risen in the struggle. It assumed that the party had answers to all the questions that spontaneous struggle might bring forth. The blindness of the embattled many is the obverse of the omniscience of the few." [emphasis in original]

It is important to quote Lenin's statement in full to understand what it means and does not mean:

> "We said that *there could not yet be* Social-Democratic consciousness among the workers. This consciousness could only be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e., it may itself realize the necessity of combining in unions, for fighting against the employers and for striving to compel the government to pass necessary labor legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. According to their social status, the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia. Similarly in Russia, the theoretical doctrine of Social-Democracy arose quite independently of the spontaneous growth of the labor movement, it arose as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of ideas among the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*What Is To Be Done?*

Paul Axelrod

Archiv

Eduard Bernstein

August Bebel

This is not a programmatic statement, but rather a *historical* analysis with implications for the organizational question. The socialist movement *predated* the development of mass economic organizations of the industrial proletariat. The socialist movement arose out of the bourgeois-democratic revolutionary currents (the Babouvist tradition represented by Blanquism in France and the League of the Just in Germany). Except for Britain, the earliest trade unions arose through the transformation of the old mercantilist artisan guild system.

For example, in the German revolution of 1848 Stephan Born's mass trade-union movement, the Workers Brotherhood, was largely based on the traditional guild structure. The leaders of the embryonic trade unions were generally the traditional authority figures of the plebeian community. Methodist ministers, like the Tory radical J. R. Stephens, played a significant leadership role in the early nineteenth century British workers movement. Catholic priests played a similar role in the first French trade unions, for example among the rebellious silk workers of Lyons. In most countries the emergence of a socialist labor movement resulted from the political victory of the revolutionary intelligentsia over the traditionalist leaders of the early workers' organizations. When Lenin wrote *What Is To Be Done?* the mass economic organizations of the Russian working class were the police led unions (Zubatovite) whose most prominent leader was the priest Gapon.

Lenin was a dialectician who understood that the consciousness and leadership of the working class underwent qualitative changes historically. With the important exception of the U.S., trade-union economism (associated with bourgeois liberal illusions and religious obscurantism) is *no longer* the dominant ideology of the world's proletariat. In the advanced capitalist countries, it is socialist reformism, carried through the social-democratic and Stalinist labor bureaucracies, which binds the working class to the bourgeois order. In backward countries, populist nationalism with a socialist coloration (e.g., Peronism, Nasserism) is the characteristic form of bourgeois ideological dominance over the working masses.

In the Russia of 1902 a small, homogeneous Marxist vanguard, composed of declassed intellectuals with a thin layer of advanced workers, was able to break the mass of the workers from police trade unionism and the Orthodox Church. Today it requires an international Trotskyist vanguard, necessarily composed in its first stages of declassed intellectuals with relatively few advanced workers, to break the world's working classes from the domination of social-democratic and Stalinist reformism and populist nationalism.

In exactly the opposite sense of Cliff, *What Is To Be Done?* cannot be regarded as the definitive Leninist statement on the party question. Despite the angularity of its formulations, the 1902 polemical work does not go beyond the bounds of orthodox pre-1914 social democracy. If this work had represented a radical break with social democracy, Plekhanov, Martov et al. would never have endorsed it. It was only *after* the split in 1903 that Martov, Axelrod and other Menshevik leaders discovered in *What Is To Be Done?* alleged substitutionalist and Blanquist conceptions. It was Lenin's intransigent attitude in practice toward opportunism, circle-spirit cliquism and all obstacles to building a revolutionary RSDLP that caused the Menshevik split, not particularly the ideas expressed in *What Is To Be Done?* If Cliff finds *What Is To Be Done?* too Leninist for his liking, it is because his hostility to Bolshevism is so strong that he must reject Lenin even when the latter was still a revolutionary *social democrat*. In reality the 1902 work is an *anticipation*, not a full-blown exposition, of post-1917 communism.

It is common in left-wing circles to regard *What Is To Be Done?* as the definitive Leninist statement on the party question. For example, the American Shachtmanite Bruce Landau, in a critical review of Cliff's biography (*Revolutionary Marxist Papers* No. 8), concentrates on the *Iskra* period. He justifies this narrow focus by quoting Trotsky on Lenin's development:

> "It was precisely during this short time that Lenin became the Lenin he was to remain. This does not mean that he did not develop further. On the contrary. He grew in stature... until October and after; but this was really organic growth."
>
> —*On Lenin: Notes for a Biography* (1924)

Trotsky is here referring to the development of Lenin's political *personality*, not to his ideas and their programmatic expression. The decisive period for the development of Leninist communist doctrine was 1914-17, not 1900-03.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

SWP Black Nationalism...

(continued from page 5)

association with the Socialist Union/Internationalist Tendency (SU/IT) which began in 1974 with the December 14 School Integration March in Pasadena. Three small groups, located in San Francisco, Boston and Los Angeles, began gravitating toward the IT after its expulsion from the SWP/YSA. None was ever recruited into the Tendency. For the most part, they existed on the fringes of the IT. The Los Angeles Socialist Union, headed by Milt Zaslow, had a unique relationship with the Tendency. It joined with local ITers and sought admittance to the IT's April 1975 national convention. Preceding this convention, discussion within the Tendency, including the outside groups, centered around the basis of reintegration into the SWP....

[A] document... was written [by Zaslow] in January 1975. It was called "The Crisis in the International Tendency." It was submitted to the Political Committee of the IT over the signatures of the Los Angeles ITers (Judy S.; Gene W.; Ron W.; Bart M.; Milt Zaslow, the document's author, did not sign it). What conclusions did the document draw about the character of the SWP/YSA?

> "In sum, the SWP, in spite of its Trotskyist veneer, must be characterized as *centrist* politically, *monolithic* and *bureaucratic* organizationally, *sectarian* and *dishonest* in its methods and style of work.
> "Lakhdar II [the IT perspectives document] concludes that 'th(e) SWP remains a Trotskyist organization'. This characterization, to be precise, requires an amendment. It remains a *degenerated* Trotskyist organization. It is not within the scope of this contribution to explore the causes of this degeneration." (Zaslow's emphasis)

...The program of the present-day SWP/YSA is reformism: each element of its polyvanguardist sectoralist perspective leads the working class into a blind alley and paves the way for the maintenance of bourgeois rule. The SWP/YSA has consciously abandoned revolutionary Trotskyism. Its "monolithic and bureaucratic" organizational structures are specific products of its movement away from the revolutionary course. It is "sectarian and dishonest in its methods and style of work" because it seeks to institute the policies of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement. The characterization of the SWP/YSA as a "degenerated Trotskyist organization" is elementally an attempt to reconcile principled revolutionary politics with reformism; its purpose is to create the "unity" of so-called Trotskyist organizations on any basis whatever.

Internationally, both the SU/IT and SWP/YSA voice allegiance to the United Secretariat (the SWP/YSA on the right). This patchwork International arising out of a unity for convenience is incapable of providing revolutionary leadership. If there is any doubt about this after examining the political appetite of its American sympathizing section, then the recent attempts of its sympathizing section in Spain to get the remnants of the Franco dictatorship to "democratize" itself delineate clearly its political content.

Jeff H.
31 July 1977

"Fear City"...

(continued from page 3)

of who would be the "toughest"—on blacks and minorities, on the poor, on the unions.

Similarly, the question of looters was loaded. Koch attacked Beame for not calling out the National Guard to "protect" against looting. The *Village Voice* reports that 9 out of 10 of the sizable claque of "shoot the looters" advocates were Koch backers. Beame denounced Cuomo for having said the looters ought to get their "constitutional rights." In fact, "looters" arrested during the blackout's wave of racist hysteria are getting significantly stiffer sentences than others convicted of similar offenses.

"Get tough" on looters, rapists and murderers—all the old "crime in the streets" standbys—are pushed with evident delight. Added to the list of symbolic "issues" is the death penalty for "terror bombers." Seizing on an incident of indiscriminate bombing of a Mobil Oil office in which a secretary was killed, the candidates concealed a call for a witchhunt against the FALN, Puerto Rican nationalists and perhaps Puerto Ricans in general.

The insiders' political issue is Carey's fight to gain control of the Democratic Party apparatus, which has run NYC politics for decades. So Koch is likely to get the support of politicians loyal to the faltering city machine. Already Herman Badillo has thrown his support to Koch; it is possible that Badillo and Sutton ran in the first place just to take votes away from Abzug, who at the time looked like a winner against Beame.

Badillo, Sutton and Abzug—the poor man's bourgeois troika. Abzug and Sutton both pushed a strident "law and order" line—Bella managed to pull in the endorsement of the PBA's former top cop, Ken McFeely. Badillo—who ran strong in the 1973 primary, when he lost in a run-off to Beame—claimed to represent a "coalition between the poor and the middle class," which turned out to mean a partnership with millionaire Conservative candidate Abe Hirshfeld.

This trio of has-been poverty hustlers screaming for "law and order" fooled only the Communist Party, which discerned in the election the perennial contest between "progressive" Democrats and their conservative opponents. Complaining that "the progressive vote fragmented among the three more liberal candidates," the *Daily World* (10 September) longs for a united Democratic ticket based on "people's issues," while the CP-front group, "Conference on Independent Politics" congratulated their "progressive" Democratic Party candidates.

New York Times

Mayor Beame and friend.

New York, New York

The "law and order" mayoral primary was all that the once liberal office-seekers could pull out of their hats. The days of big government spending programs are over, and with them the liberal "principles" of massive pork-barrelling. There is just no pork to go around. All the capitalists are agreed. No more talk about "war on poverty"—just plans for more war on the poor, more union-busting "sacrifice" for the good of the banks.

The dearth of "fun city" rhetoric reflects the absence of even campaign-promise options. It is obvious to all that the social decay of New York is irreversible under capitalism. The politicians can no longer pretend to have a program to clean up the ghetto, to offer jobs to the youth. They instead have a program to prevent "looting" by punishing "criminals."

Theirs is the same basic "program" as Jimmy Carter's. But NYC is not "middle America." It is the far side of decaying urban life. To the tens of millions who find Plains, Georgia an inspiration, New York is a stinking infestation of "foreigners." Of the more than 900,000 voters in the Democratic primary, 40 percent were Jewish, 40 percent Catholic (including a large number of Hispanics), and of the remaining Protestants only a small percentage were white. New York is the center of bourgeois culture and corruption. It contains the most lavish wealth and the most unliveable ghettos, the most potentially powerful municipal unions and the most groveling bureaucrats.

To get to know the social reality of this city in a hurry, one need only take a ride on the IRT subway from Manhattan through the South Bronx. The train roars out of the underground in Harlem at 155th Street and becomes an elevated over the Grand Concourse, once the main shopping street of the Jewish middle class and now the heart of the Hispanic ghetto. What follows cannot be captured by still photograph. For what is so appalling is the extent of the decay. Miles and miles of gutted apartment houses. Where a building has collapsed, a heap of rubble remains. Black holes stare from burnt-out brick shells where windows used to be. Some have paper or boards or rags across the window frames where people try to live.

Some have compared these sections of the city to Dresden, Germany after the fire-bombing. But this is to miss the point. For the South Bronx cannot be rebuilt this side of the socialist revolution. It is not the conscious target of imperialist terror, but the irredeemable product of capitalism's slow, relentless war on the poor. In this sense the desolation of the South Bronx is worse, for its inhabitants know their fear and despair is not exceptional but inevitable.

The new ghettos are the worst of all. The blackout looting introduced Brooklyn's Bushwick area to the national bourgeois press, conditioned to think of Harlem when they think of a New York slum. Unlike Harlem, or Chicago's South Side, or Los Angeles' Watts, new ghetto areas have even less social fabric and fewer long-established enclaves of stable residential areas. Of the 134,000 black and Spanish-speaking residents of Bushwick, for instance, 30 percent are jobless, while youth unemployment runs almost three times that figure. Sixty percent are on welfare. Among those who are lucky enough to have jobs, only 5 percent make more than poverty-level wages. There are almost no households made up of only one family.

These residents are the most frequent victims of the lumpen criminal. Driven out of the labor market, jobless and on the streets, ghetto youth are also denied adequate welfare. Survival more often than not is a "hustle." Crime becomes a way of life. This most pernicious effect of capitalism, forcing blacks and other minorities into the lumpenproletariat, then becomes the fuel for the racist hysteria which is bourgeois politics' only campaign "issue." Lumpenization is the heart of "Fear City" and racism is the blood it pumps.

City Labor and the Rightward Drift

One of the more ominous features of the Democratic primary was the unanimity with which all the union bureaucrats—and most of the voters—took it for granted that the municipal unions should be major targets for cutback. The Democrats who for years ran as "friends of labor" competed for the most anti-union image. To indicate any "softness" toward the city's unions was the kiss of death. Abzug muttered about inflated pension funds while Cuomo postured as the "tough negotiator for city government."

But why have New York's working people so passively accepted the unions as the scapegoat of the "crisis"? Certainly, there are many who buy the cynical line that New York's fiscal problems are due to the "piggishness" of the city unions. But the main reason is that the union bureaucrats, no less than Beame, accepted the banks' union-busting rule over New York.

When the banks zeroed in on the unions to pay for the "crisis," it was fight or knuckle under for the unions. And fighting was scarcely a question for the entrenched labor bureaucracy. "We will sacrifice," said the labor fakers. And by "we" they meant their memberships, who have seen the reversal of most of the gains they had fought for over the last 40 years. Shanker and Gotbaum, Van Arsdale and Guinan brought the most powerful municipal union movement in the country to its knees at the behest of the bankers and their government.

The labor bureaucracy, tied to Beame and the Democrats, accepted a wage freeze in the name of "fiscal responsibility"; cost-of-living clauses went out the window; contractual benefits were overturned. Millions of dollars in union pension funds were poured down the sewer of worthless city bonds. Before it was over, 70,000 jobs had been lost. Subway fares were hiked. Hospitals and fire stations were closed. The 129-year policy of free tuition at City University ended. And the labor tops trailed along behind Beame, all the way to the primaries.

In failing to lead a struggle against Big MAC, the bureaucrats not only betrayed their ranks, but also an entire city suffering under the blows of the bankers and bosses. Preaching "sacrifice," they accepted the blame for the decay of the city, contributing to the ominous logic of union-busting and to the dangerous polarization between the union movement on the one side and desperate plebeian masses and enraged petty-bourgeoisie on the other.

The union "leaders" were Big MAC's most loyal allies in bludgeoning the city. They were Beame's right arm as they collaborated in his crimes against the working people. It is no wonder that Beame is widely despised, and no wonder that so much hatred is misdirected toward the unions as well.

There was a moment when the unions could have turned the tide, when instead of being the scapegoats of the "fiscal crisis" they could have united nearly the entire population of the beleaguered city in citywide strike struggles against Big MAC. As we said at the time:

> "Today it is possible to break through the vicious cycle of union-black confrontations and organize the poor and much of the vacillating petty-bourgeoisie against capital, provided that the labor movement puts forward an audacious program of transitional demands which can provide a real answer to the needs both of the workers and the non-proletarian population."
> —*WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975

But this would have meant a break with Beame and all wings of the Democratic Party, a break from the bureaucracy's conscious policy of class betrayal which is its only "principle."

The Democratic primary was a foretaste of things to come under the twin parties of the bourgeoisie. In NYC the historic choice is brought into sharp focus: intensifying racist mobilization orchestrated by the parties of capital, or a class break with those parties; the barbarism of the South Bronx or the socialist revolution. Now more than ever, the urgent task is the construction of a class-struggle alternative to the union bureaucracy which is wedded to the death to the Democratic Party. ■

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Black Jobless...

(continued from page 1)

than in the previous two decades.

In late 1976 it appeared that the U.S. economy would turn down along with the rest of the capitalist world. However, both consumers and businessmen believed the new Democratic administration would spur the sluggish economy and they acted accordingly. In the first half of this year consumer purchases, inventory stockpiling, housing construction and small-scale capital expenditure all spurted ahead. The factors making for Carter's mini-boom are unsustainable and very short-lived.

The consumer spending that sustained the U.S. recovery is based on a marked expansion of personal debt. From the beginning of 1976 through this May, outstanding consumer debt increased 14 percent, while auto loans alone jumped 23 percent (*Federal Reserve Bulletin*, July 1977). Between January 1976 and March 1977 outstanding mortgage loans for family homes increased 17 percent. This significant rise in consumer indebtedness occurred although real take-home pay has remained *unchanged* since 1974 (when it fell sharply). American workers and salaried petty bourgeois cannot continue to increase their consumption through an ever greater burden of personal debt. In fact, manufacturers' new orders for consumer goods peaked in March and have since fallen.

Carter's economic recovery has *not* been based on the expansion of productive capacity. In the first half of this year real investment in new plant has increased all of *one* percent (U.S. Department of Commerce, *Business Conditions Digest*, July 1977)! Capital spending has been concentrated on small, marginal items. Although equipment purchases jumped 7 percent the first quarter of the year, 90 percent of this increase was accounted for by company cars and trucks (*Ibid.*). Despite much official optimism about a coming investment boom, most of the signs remain negative. The volume of new contracts for manufacturing and commercial structures hit a high point in March and has declined since then. Another indication of weak investment prospects is the recent sharp decline of stock market prices, which, the *Wall Street Journal* (29 August) observes, "has been triggered by investor concern about the strength and durability of the recovery and about rising interest rates."

One major U.S. industry that has already been overtaken by the world economic downturn is steel. Twenty years of failure to invest in new technology, plus monopolistic pricing, have made the American industry uncompetitive as against West Europe and Japan. The current world slump has aggravated this situation as foreign steelmakers, faced with falling demand elsewhere, ship more to the U.S. American steel production for 1977 is now running 5 percent behind last year. Second-quarter profits of the two largest companies, U.S. Steel and Bethlehem, were down 36 percent compared to last year (*Wall Street Journal*, 28 July). As a result Bethlehem has laid off 7,500 workers, and U.S. Steel is considering shutting down its Chicago Southworks and Youngstown, Ohio, plants *for good*.

Fraud of Bourgeois "Full Employment" Legislation

The current unemployment statistics reveal in the starkest possible way the racist nature of American society. The economic basis of black oppression is precisely the concentration of blacks in the lowest levels of the working class, the reserve army of unemployed and the lumpen population. Even the ruling class knows that the mass concentration of unemployed, desperately poor ghetto youth is "social dynamite" as liberal Democratic Congressman Henry Reuss recently put it.

George Meany with Carter in Washington. Dennis Brack/Time

There is thus pressure on the ruling-class to find a *reactionary* solution to black unemployment. One drastic solution would be a new version of Roosevelt's New Deal Civilian Conservation Corps. Black teenagers would be taken from the inner cities to do make-work for zero wages in rural camps. But the main ruling-class policy to "create jobs" for black youth is to increase their rate of exploitation, a policy centering on the minimum wage. The insistence by Carter and Congress that the minimum be held far below official poverty levels stems in part from the belief that this fosters jobs for black teenagers. It is significant that the leading black establishment economist, former Federal Reserve Governor Andrew Brimmer, has come out for holding down the minimum wage in order to "create jobs." A scheme that is gaining ruling-class support is a two-tier minimum wage, with a significantly lower rate for teenagers than for adults. Such a South Africa-type wage law would institutionalize the super-exploitation of black youth: they would get less pay for doing the same work.

While the capitalist class tends toward a "solution" to black youth unemployment through super-exploitation, the labor bureaucracy and its social-democratic hangers-on are pushing the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. This much touted measure is not only fraudulent (it cannot possibly be implemented), but is even legislatively unnecessary. The now watered-down Humphrey-Hawkins bill is simply a more detailed version of the Employment Act of 1946, whose key passage states:

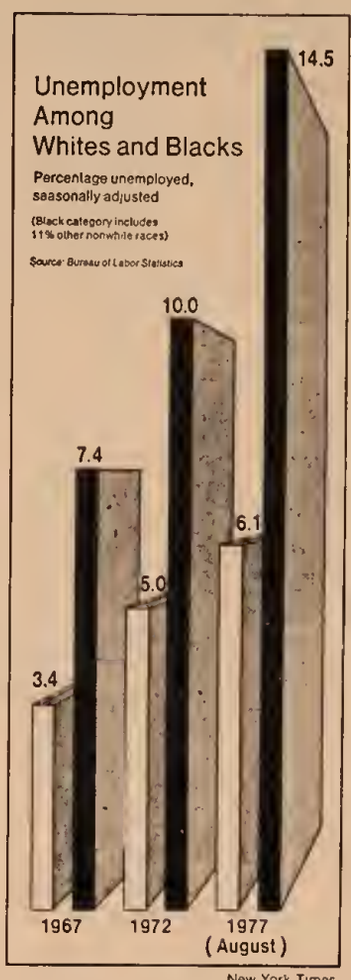
> "The Congress hereby declares that it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the federal government to use all practicable means consistent with its needs and obligations...to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

Of course, the 1946 law has been so ineffectual that few Americans even know it exists.

In an interview with the liberal economics journal *Challenge* (November-December 1975), the head of the AFL-CIO Research Department, Nat Goldfinger, revealed that no new "full employment" legislation was needed since every administration has disregarded the 1946 law:

> "I think the Employment Act of 1946 probably provides the kind of planning that is necessary. It hasn't been carried out. The intent of Congress in adopting the Employment Act of 1946 has been distorted. Not only by Republicans and reactionaries, but also by the Democratic chairmen of the Council of Economic Advisors and by self-styled liberals."

For those who take bourgeois "full employment" legislation seriously, not only Gerald Ford but also Jimmy Carter can be charged with violating the law of the land.



New York Times

Nonetheless American social democrats insist that a left-liberal Democratic administration can ensure permanent full employment and economic prosperity. This is the message, for example, of "The Specter of Full Employment" by Robert Lekachman, an academic sidekick of Michael Harrington in the Democratic Agenda. (The Democratic Agenda is one of Harrington's endless front groups designed to "democratically socialize" the party of Hiroshima, the Bay of Pigs and My Lai.) Lekachman's article, reprinted by the Democratic Agenda, ends with the following inspiring call to change American society:

> "Until a credible left rises in the United States, unemployment will be a little higher when the Republicans are in the White House, a little lower [!] when the Democrats take their turn. Genuine full employment, decent jobs at decent wages for every man, woman and youth interested in working, has been a myth, and will stay a myth so long as every four years voters choose between one party minimally to the right of dead center and a second minimally to the left."

This is a bad season to peddle such social-democratic economic nostrums. In Britain the Labour government (an example of Lekachman's "credible left") reigns over a 6 percent unemployment rate (*Economist*, 3 September). British unemployment statistics are not comparable to American; the 6 percent figure would be far higher if calculated by U.S. standards. And an official unemployment rate of 6 percent has not been experienced in Britain *since the early 1930's*! American social democrats naturally don't like to talk about the British economy under Labour. So what about West Germany where Helmut Schmidt's Social Democrats rule in coalition with the liberal Free Democrats? The July unemployment rate was 4.3 percent (*Economist*, 3 September), again this would be much higher by U.S. statistical standards. The current state of the West German "miracle" economy can be gauged by the fact that in the period 1962-73 the official unemployment index averaged 1.7 percent (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, July 1977).

It is empirically indisputable that no capitalist government, whether of social democrats or bourgeois rightists, can secure the full utilization of labor and other economic resources. Bourgeois full employment legislation will not and cannot be implemented because a reserve army of the unemployed is a *necessary* condition for capitalist production. Without a surplus population of workers, the increased demand for labor power during a boom would immediately lead to competition among employers to attract each other's workers, thereby raising wages and reducing the rate of exploitation. Attempts to offset rising wages in a tight labor market through easy credit lead to accelerating inflation and ever increasing business indebtedness. Only the expropriation of the capitalist class and the replacement of production for profit by socialist economic planning can secure full employment, maximum labor productivity and the steady increase in leisure time and levels of consumption.

But we do not limit ourselves to explaining the future benefits of socialism. As Trotskyists we put forward a program of transitional demands which links the struggle around the immediate felt needs of the working class to the overthrow of the capitalist system. Thus the Spartacist League calls on the trade unions to organize the unemployed, demanding unconditional, unlimited unemployment benefits at full pay, financed by the corporations and the government. Unemployment, SUB pay and welfare benefits must be consolidated into a single fund at the highest level. Laid-off workers must have unlimited job recall rights (in addition to retaining union membership). Medical care and urban transit should be made available free of charge.

But simply ameliorating the economic situation of the unemployed is not enough. The unions must launch a militant offensive to combat unemployment. A class-struggle labor leadership would undertake coordinated strike action for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, thus opening up more jobs. Faced with massive layoffs, as in steel today, such a union leadership would organize the seizure of idle factories, demanding expropriation of shut-down firms and imposing workers control. Carrying out such a program and fighting for a workers government requires the construction of a revolutionary party and a struggle within the labor movement to oust the pro-capitalist Meanys and Frasers, who are incapable of anything except begging a few jobs from their Democratic Party friends. ■

Britain...

(continued from page 4)

bureaucrats also passed a treacherous motion calling for trade-union participation on the boards of directors of British companies, and TUC head Murray prevented a motion calling for a £50 per week [$88] minimum wage from coming to a vote. This effectively endorsed the government's intention to keep wages down largely at the expense of weak and poorly organized sections of the working class, while conceding, if necessary, somewhat higher settlements to the more powerful unions.

Wage Restraint and the Lib-Lab Pact

The chief threat used by the Labour Party and TUC brass to shove the twelve-month rule and the ten percent wage guideline down the throats of Britain's trade unionists is the prospect of the collapse of the minority Labour government, which would usher in an overtly anti-union Conservative cabinet. Labour's partners in parliament, the bourgeois Liberal Party, have repeatedly warned that its continuing support depended upon the government's ability to hold down wages. Liberal leader David Steel praised the TUC decisions: "The prospect for this success [in shackling pay increases] looks decidedly brighter now and, so long as the government remains on course, I see no reason for cutting short the lifetime of this Parliament, which is not due to expire till October 1979" (*Guardian*, 10 September).

Callaghan/Healey are no less desirous of wage restraint than are the Liberals. However, the Labour leadership depends ultimately on the trade-union bureaucracy, which rests on the many-million-strong union movement. Thus sometimes the Labour tops must conciliate in order to control their base. But as a purely bourgeois party with a middle-class electoral constituency, the Liberals are absolutely intransigent toward the unions. Callaghan can conveniently blame his anti-union coalition partners for seeking to continue wage restraint. Class-conscious workers must demand a break from the Liberals and dumping of the Social Contract in all its forms as a precondition for even the most critical electoral support to Labour.

Steel's threats to bring down the government provide the Labour Party leadership and the TUC tops with their main means of defusing working-class militancy on the one hand, and of keeping the Labour "lefts" in line on the other. Although the former may prove to be rather difficult, the latter have presented little problem, as the "lefts" have virtually ceased critising the Lib-Lab pact, with which they hope to cling to their parliamentary seats for another year or more.

The Labour "lefts" have always viewed the Social Contract as a perfectly acceptable policy. When Healey announced his stingy "economic package" (with 10 percent wage "norms") in Parliament, "even dyed-in-the-wool Tribunite left-wingers like Mr. Ian Mikardo could not withhold their praise, and their cheers" (*Times* [London], 16 July). While the "lefts" occasionally express "sympathy" for those workers who are seeking to make up the losses of three baleful years of Labour misrule, they counsel "restraint" and advocate increased public spending end the imposition of chauvinist import controls as the solution to the problems of British workers.

Labour and the "Revolutionary" Left

Likewise, the government's incomes-slashing Social Contract and the treacherous deal with the Liberals have not alienated the affections of the self-styled revolutionary left in Britain. While criticising the Labour tops' betrayals, the various "Trotskyist" organisations (as well as the Communist Party) continue to tacitly support Labour, merely bemoaning the fact that the "ill-advised" policies of Callaghan/Healy are paving the way for the return to power of the Tories.

Socialist Press

The vote against "social contract" at the T&GWU conference.

The elementary Marxist principle of working-class political independence is upheld in Britain today solely by supporters of the international Spartacist tendency. Only the London Spartacist Group has called for conditional *opposition* to the Labour Party so long as Labour remains committed to enforcing capitalist austerity in the trade unions and is mired in a formal coalition with the second party of the British bourgeoisie.

In addition to denouncing Healey's 10 percent wage "guideline" and the twelve-month "rule," and calling for cost-of-living clauses to be included in upcoming contracts, various ostensible revolutionary groups have concentrated on coming up with some kind of cheap gimmick to spice up their apolitical economism. The ex-International Socialists, now the Socialist Workers Party (SWP/IS), staged a "Right to Work" march on the TUC Congress. As for the International Marxist Group, its main preoccupation seems to be interesting the SWP/IS in a joint slate of candidates for the next general elections, as a means of exerting left pressure on the Labour Party.

The Workers Socialist League (WSL) attempts to add a political note to its propaganda around the Social Contract by arguing: "We must bring right into the wages struggle the need to remove Healey and Callaghan, the open spokesmen of the ruling class within the labour movement, and to establish a government based on the interest of the working class" (*Socialist Press*, 20 July). As a first step in establishing such a government, "there must be a fight both in the trade unions and the Labour Party for the demand that the Labour 'lefts' break from Healey and Callaghan and the coalition government and take on themselves the task of establishing a socialist programme for the next general election" (*Ibid.*).

In an incomprehensible display of centrist double-think, a subsequent article in *Socialist Press* smugly comments that "Life has not been easy recently for those who cling on to hopes that 'left' Labourites such as Eric Heffer will some day turn and fight the reactionary Callaghan-Healey leadership" (*Socialist Press*, 17 August). One might presume that this article signaled a change in line for the WSL, whose long-term strategy for establishing socialism in Britain hinges on "making the lefts fight." But no—further down the page, *in the same article*, the WSL proclaims that: "... Labour 'lefts' must campaign for the removal of the Callaghan-Healey leadership."

Despite the formal victory for Labour's wages policy at the TUC conference there is every indication that the vast bulk of British trade unionists are determined to avert the continuing deterioration of their living standards. Already a whole series of unions have lodged pay claims ranging between 30 and 50 percent. The three most powerful, and traditionally most militant unions of industrial workers are officially on record as opposing any further wage restraints.

While Hugh Scanlon's coup at the Congress (which caused so much jubilation among London stockbrokers) ensured a comfortable paper majority for the twelve-month "rule," the AUEW brass will no doubt find it a good deal more difficult to enforce any more "austerity" on their seething ranks. Among the miners and transport workers opposition to any further wage restraint is so intense that both Joe Gormley (head of the NUM) and Jack Jones (of the T&GWU) suffered humiliating personal defeats at their own national conferences preceding the TUC conference as they attempted to pass motions in favour of Callaghan's "orderly return to collective bargaining."

It is of critical importance to the British working class for all the remnants of the Social Contract to be smashed—the twelve-month rule, the "orderly return," as well as Callaghan's insulting 10 percent "norm."

As the TUC conference amply demonstrates, the pro-capitalist misleaders of the trade unions stand as obstacles to the ability of the workers to ensure that they do not bear the brunt of the crisis of the British bourgeoisie. Only through the construction of class-struggle groupings in the unions based on the Transitional Programme can an alternative leadership to the present bureaucrats be built which will be able to ensure the full weight of Britain's powerful trade-union movement is brought to bear in the defence of working-class living standards.

Smash the remnants of the Social Contract! Down with the Lib-Lab Coalition! ■

Chile...

(continued from page 12)

junta protesters marching with the CSC and the Dominican PLD (supporters of ex-president Juan Bosch), chanting slogans in support of the Allende popular front, almost 100 picketed together with the SL in an anti-popular front contingent on the opposite side of the street. When the Stalinists and nationalists chanted "Junta no, Chile si!" the SL-led contingent replied, "Juntas no, obreros [workers] si—Overthrow the bourgeoisie!" (Although the CP has now ostensibly dropped its support to Argentine dictator Videla, its ranks are unclear about the shift and the Stalinists studiously avoided anti-Videla chants both in Washington and New York.)

Spartacist supporters also carried signs proclaiming "Build the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile!" The international Spartacist tendency recently fused with the Chilean OTR, which was unique in its class opposition to the Allende popular front during the UP regime. Also picketing together with the SL were militant auto workers and seamen, supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee, the Communist Cadre and Communist Cadre-Marxist (and the latter's "mass" front group, the "Friends of Santucho").

In a separate corner was a ragtag YAWF contingent. While joining CP supporters in popular-front chants such as "El pueblo unida, jamas sera vencido!" ("The people united will never be defeated!"), YAWF made itself look ridiculous by presenting two counterposed slogans, one demanding "Respect Human Rights, Free All Political Prisoners" and the other equating Carter's "human rights" with Pinochet terror. In contrast to the classless YAWF slogans, the SL banner proclaimed: "Smash the Juntas—Workers to Power!" ■

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TORONTO

WORKERS VANGUARD

While Panamanian Leftists Protest Treaty

U.S. Fake Lefts Accept Imperialist Canal Swindle

Last week Jimmy Carter, Godfather of imperialist "human rights," banqueted two dozen of his western hemisphere "capos" in Washington at a celebration of the just-signed Panama Canal Treaty. As Panama's "anti-imperialist" General Torrijos dined on lobster alongside hangmen Pinochet (Chile), Videla (Argentina), Banzer (Bolivia) and Stroessner (Paraguay), 2,000 demonstrators marched outside the White House.

Yet, scandalously, as Carter's guests toasted the pact which assures continued American control of the canal backed up by U.S. military bases until the year 2000, and sanctions U.S. "protection" of the canal's "neutrality" in perpetuity, *the only left-wing group marching on Pennsylvania Avenue which protested this imperialist swindle was the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL).* Moreover, the rotten bloc of fake-radicals and Latin American nationalists which ran the demonstration went to considerable lengths attempting to *exclude* the SL/SYL banner reading "U.S. Out of the Canal Zone! No to Carter/Torrijos Imperialist Rip-Off!"

For three-quarters of a century the Panama Canal has been a symbol of American imperialist domination of Latin America. In recent weeks, thousands of Panamanian leftists have protested as the terms of the scandalous pact were released; and on September 7, the day the treaty was signed, dozens were injured and 30 arrested in clashes with Torrijos' riot police at the Panamanian foreign ministry in a protest which called for immediate U.S. withdrawal from the Canal Zone. Yet U.S. reformists and centrists failed to carry out their elementary internationalist duty to denounce the Carter-Torrijos treaty!

Once the self-proclaimed "Maximum Leader of the Panamanian Revolution" endorsed the treaty, a chorus of Stalinist and "Third World" nationalists quickly followed suit. The Communist Party (CP) mouthpiece described the canal pact as representing a "progressive trend in international life" (*Daily World*, 9 September). In Washington the CP-led Chile Committee on Human Rights opposed taking a position on the treaty and argued that the rally be held at the White House, rather than the Organization of American States offices, in order to eliminate any possibility of embarrassing Torrijos.

However, an Associated Press wirephoto clearly depicting the SL/SYL banner was published in major bourgeois dailies across the country. The *New York Post* (8 September) headlined its story, "Protests Hit Canal Pact." Thus the Stalinists were frustrated in their attempt to limit the action to an anti-Pinochet demonstration.

At least the CP is relatively forthright about its chauvinist policies. The Marcyite Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), however, carried a banner calling for the U.S. out of the Canal Zone but was silent on the Carter/Torrijos treaty. And YAWF marshals were the most provocative in trying to exclude the SL/SYL banner. As for the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which opposes the treaty in the pages of the *Militant*, it was nowhere to be seen, not even in the guise of the SWP-controlled U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners—their usual disguise.

Lacking a Leninist outlook, most of the fake-lefts use the word "imperialist" just as they use "fascist"—to indicate the "bad guys." As a result, it only took a few cheap remarks about "human rights" from the mouth of Jimmy Carter, and all the reformists took up the slogan, asking only that the U.S. imperialist chief turn his words into acts. Meanwhile, after meeting with the American president, the bloody executioner Pinochet announced that the two had completely agreed on human rights, and once again offered to exchange left-wing political prisoners for imprisoned Soviet dissidents.

The Spartacist League, however, has called Carter's anti-Communist crusade by its true name from the beginning. Another SL/SYL banner at the Washington demonstration read: "Carter's 'Human Rights' Means Videla/Pinochet!"

Wide World

Spartacist League denounces imperialist Panama Canal swindle as "leftists"/nationalists beg Carter for "Human Rights."

WV Photo

SL/SYL-led anti-popular front contingent denounces pro-Junta concert at Town Hall on September 11.

September 11 Chile Protests

The same nationalist and reformist politics were served up at several demonstrations in cities around the country on September 11, the fourth anniversary of the bloody Pinochet coup in Chile. In New York City approximately 400 picketed the appearance of a pro-junta singing group, Los Huasos Quincheros, at the Town Hall theater. The largest contingents were from the CP-dominated Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC), the Spartacist League, YAWF and several Latin American leftist groups.

Recalling a militant demonstration in March 1976 which protested a performance at the same theater by the same reactionary group, a large squad of police initially restricted pickets to the sidewalk across the street from the performance. A CSC spokesman pleaded with the cops to grant it permission to march closer to the entrance, in order to remain separate from the SL contingent which she slandered as a "disruptive counter-demonstration."

While there were roughly 200 anti-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 174 23 September 1977

Militant Protests in South Africa

Anti-Apartheid Leader Murdered in Prison

Steven Biko

Burns/New York Times

Mourners chanting at funeral service for slain South African Steven Biko in Soweto last Sunday.

Wide World

1,200 Black Students Arrested

South Africa's racist rulers have signaled their intentions in a manner as blunt as it is unambiguous. In a single week, they murdered one of the major figures in the "black consciousness" movement, arrested the entire student body of a black university, reaffirmed their total opposition to any governmental role for blacks outside the bantustan tribal reserves and washed their hands of the Anglo-American scheme to maneuver Ian Smith from power in Rhodesia.

On September 12, Steven Biko became the twentieth anti-apartheid militant to die in South Africa's jails during the last year and a half. This obvious case of police murder set off a storm of protest among South African blacks as well as internationally. Even the U.S. State Department shot off a hypocritical statement, expressing its regret and calling the young militant "another victim of the apartheid system and the South African security legislation which supports that system."

Coming on the heels of the diplomatic flap over a planned South African atomic bomb test, the U.S. statement is another indication of a cooling of relations between Washington and Pretoria under the impact of the Carter/Young "human rights" propaganda campaign to bolster the moral credentials of U.S. imperialism. Any illusion, however, that the butchers of Indochina will pressure the white-supremacist *Herrenvolk* ("master race") regime into alleviating racial oppression would be the most dangerous diversion for the non-white masses of South Africa and the international working class.

The sinister content of Carter's "human rights" foreign policy was underscored by his recent fête for Chile's Pinochet, Argentina's Videla and other Latin American dictators gathered in Washington to celebrate the U.S. colonialist Panama Canal swindle. For the last two years South African prime minister B. J. Vorster has been negotiating with these same mass murderers to form an anti-communist military alliance to dominate the South Atlantic.

Apartheid Jackboot

Biko, a 30-year-old founder of the Black People's Convention and leader of the South African Students Organization, had been arrested on August 18 under the notorious Terrorism Act, which allows the apartheid regime to detain its opponents indefinitely without trial. He was jailed by security police on allegations of fomenting unrest among blacks in the Port Elizabeth area of Natal province and of writing documents urging "violence and arson."

The initial government statement on Biko's death differed from the usual perfunctory whitewash only in its length. It maintained that he had died in a Pretoria hospital after an eight-day "hunger strike" during which he refused all food and water. Previous deaths of detainees have been officially attributed to suicide, slipping on soap in the shower, falling down stairs or choking on food. Oozing with racist arrogance, "Justice" Minister James T. Kruger told delegates at a congress of the ruling National Party: "I am not pleased, nor am I sorry. Biko's death leaves me cold."

Three days after the police murder of Biko, Kruger unleashed his stormtroopers on a memorial meeting at the all-black University of Fort Hare. Armed to the teeth and using attack dogs, the police arrested 1,200 demonstrators, nearly the entire enrollment of the university. But even this extraordinary wholesale arrest has not stopped the black protests which have continued unabated since the June 1976 revolt which began in the huge Johannesburg suburb of Soweto. On Sunday hundreds of angry blacks crowded into a Soweto church for a ceremony mourning the death of Biko. Refusing to be intimidated by the murderous repression which has cost the lives of more than 600 blacks even by official statistics, the mourners cheered and raised clenched fists when a speaker said, "We don't care what the inquest says. Vorster and the government are responsible."

While the police tightened the steel grip of repression in anticipation of a new outburst of anti-apartheid demonstrations, even the timorous white bourgeois opposition refused to buy the official alibi. In recent months, the covert executions of black militants in police custody have been brewing into a major scandal. Last month for the first time members of the police Special Branch were tried for "culpable homi-

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Ukrainian Dissident on North American Tour

Plyushch Can't Duck Issue of Soviet Defensism

Plyushch speaking in Chicago.

WV Photo

—From *Spartacist Canada* No. 20, October 1977

TORONTO, September 19—A year and a half ago Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch was released from imprisonment in a Soviet psychiatric hospital and allowed to emigrate from the USSR as a result of an international campaign which won broad support from the western European workers movement, especially in France where its endorsers included numerous social-democratic trade unionists and the Communist Party. Today Plyushch, now a vocal social democrat, is on tour for Jimmy Carter's imperialist "human rights" crusade.

Speaking in several North American cities in late August under the banner "Respect the Helsinki Human Rights Agreement," Plyushch's tour was scheduled to line up public opinion behind the Western powers at the Belgrade conference follow-up on the 1975 Helsinki agreement. Speaking on behalf of the Helsinki Monitoring Group in the USSR, Plyushch made clear its pro-imperialist position to an audience of 500 (predominantly East European emigrés) in Toronto: "The only hope now," he said, "is Carter's victory at Belgrade."

From "Neo-Marxist" to Imperialist Apologist

In the first days after his release by the Kremlin, Plyushch had proclaimed his "neo-Marxism," and generally differentiated himself from reactionary pro-capitalist dissidents like tsar-worshipper Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. At his first news conference in Paris on 3 February 1976 he declared that "the savage persecution of dissidents in the Soviet Union is a shameful taint on the great ideals of Communism" (*New York Times*, 4 February 1976).

But years of savage persecution at the hands of the Kremlin bureaucracy have destroyed any confidence Plyushch might ever have had in the "bright ideals of Communism." Already Leonid Plyushch is making his peace with imperialism. In exile he has moved steadily rightward: from despairing over the possibility of achieving socialism, to sharing a platform with cold-war senator Henry Jackson, to his present stance as an open apologist for "democratic imperialism." And during his North American speaking tour, as he moved across the continent his talks strayed more and more from the Helsinki Accords and the repression of dissidents in the Ukraine, becoming increasingly devoted to defending Jimmy Carter's "moral" foreign policy.

In an article published shortly after Plyushch's release we wrote:

> "...now that he is out of the USSR, Plyushch must face a concrete choice. He will either reaffirm and systematize his socialist, anti-bureaucratic convictions or become a witting or unwitting pawn of pro-imperialist, anti-Communists who only seek to use the issue of Soviet dissidents as a cynical justification for exploitation and oppression under capitalism."
>
> —"Stop Stalinist 'Psychiatric' Torture in the USSR!" *WV* No. 96, 13 February 1976

A consistently revolutionary proletarian, anti-bureaucratic perspective is to be found only in Trotskyism, which for more than 40 years has called for a workers political revolution to oust the Kremlin masters while unswervingly defending the socialist property forms of the USSR.

Repeatedly confronted by presentations of the Trotskyist position on the Russian question by representatives of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), as the tour went on Plyushch grew increasingly venomous and long-winded in his attempts to denigrate Trotskyism and the iSt.

In Vancouver, Plyushch lavished praise on the Carter "human rights" imperialist moral rearmament campaign, demanding only that it be applied more forcefully against the Soviet Union:

> "Although one could demand consistency from him, Carter has done some good things for some Latin American countries and India. There are still no positive benefits for the Soviet Union."

In Chicago he explicitly stated that if he had to choose between Kremlin-style "socialism" and Western capitalism he would opt for the latter. When a Spartacist League supporter asked him in Detroit whether he endorsed Andrei Sakharov's appeal for U.S. government trade sanctions against the USSR, Plyushch said that he did.

By the time the Ukrainian dissident reached Toronto, his remarks were from the start a barely veiled attempt to defend his pro-imperialist position against the Spartacist tendency. Declaring that he would refute the accusation that he was helping to mobilize support for reactionary ends, he proceeded to do just the opposite, delivering a rambling anti-Soviet diatribe which was lapped up by the largely anti-Communist audience.

"Imperialism Is Using You, Comrade Plyushch"

Following Plyushch's presentation, a spokesman for the Trotskyist League of Canada, sympathizing section of the iSt, opened the question period by decrying the speaker's evolution into a spokesman for cold-war imperialist politics:

> "I'm speaking for the international Spartacist tendency. As Spartacists we understand the nature of Stalinist persecution. Ours is the heritage of the Left Opposition wiped out by Stalin and his henchmen because we fought for workers democracy.
>
> "Comrade Plyushch, do you know what cause you are serving here? When you first left the Soviet Union and came to the West, we of the international Spartacist tendency said that you had a choice. If you did not systematize your socialist convictions; if you did not come to a Trotskyist understanding of the need to defend the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution; if you did not come to understand the need to fight to build a new Bolshevik party to lead the working class in the Soviet degenerated workers state in successful political revolution against the bureaucratic usurpers in the Kremlin; if you did not come to such an understanding, you would become the witting or unwitting pawn of pro-imperialist anti-Communists. The only 'democracy' the imperialists are interested in for the USSR is freedom for capitalist exploitation. The Helsinki Monitoring Group is seeking to use imperialism to gain basic democratic rights, but imperialism is using you, Comrade Plyushch.
>
> "Only the international working class led by a Leninist vanguard party can defend the gains of October and open the road to socialism by overthrowing the bureaucratic misrulers in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and the other

WORKERS VANGUARD

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deformed workers states and by carrying out social revolutions in every country."

In his reply, Plyushch, who now views the "main struggle" as one "between democracy and totalitarianism," attacked not only the Soviet Union but the perspective of proletarian revolution:

> "When the Spartacists say that in the case of war the Soviet Union has to be defended militarily, I want them to study the military power of the Soviet Union and their international policies.... What weapons will they use against the thermonuclear war: pistols and hand grenades?
> "There is no prospect of world socialist revolution now. The people are being killed now."

Part of Plyushch's attempt to discredit Trotskyism was the recital of a litany of Stalinist crimes, culminating with "after all, who was it who killed Trotsky?" But the murder of Trotsky does not prove Plyushch's thesis that there is nothing worth defending in the Soviet Union; rather it raises the fundamental question of the causes of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

It was the very same imperialist countries to which Plyushch today appeals whose attempts to strangle the Bolshevik Revolution through economic boycotts and military intervention—and whose bloody suppression of communist movements in the West—caused the isolation of the Soviet state. This was the fundamental cause of the eclipse of Soviet democracy and the consolidation of a bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the working class. Western imperialism and its social-democratic collaborators crushed the German Revolution and murdered its leaders in cold blood. It is this same "democratic" imperialism, led by a Woodrow Wilson of the fourth mobilization, to which Plyushch now looks for the restoration of "human rights" in the Soviet Union. Evidently World Wars I and II and the imperialist butchery in Vietnam are not enough to convince him that these "democrats" are the worst enemies of the future of humanity.

Today there is a paper Helsinki Accord and no mass international communist movement guided by Leninist principles. Therefore, according to Plyushch, one must worship the accomplished fact. This loss of faith in the possibility of world revolution is precisely what Stalin codified in his doctrine of "socialism in one country"—except Stalin ruled a country, and Plyushch doesn't. So Stalin sought to make diplomatic alliances between the imperialists and the state he ruled with autocratic brutality; Plyushch, with less to offer, can only sell his tongue and his pen.

Stalin got Yalta and Potsdam for his efforts—which meant the suppression of revolutionary struggles in West Europe and continued decades of bourgeois class rule in the imperialist centers. Plyushch's "sphere of influence" will probably extend no farther than a univerity department.

Leon Trotsky and Leonid Plyushch

In a speech delivered to the American Socialist Workers Party shortly after the assassination of Trotsky in 1940, James P. Cannon noted that even Trotsky's dead body was barred from entering the United States. Despite being exiled, harassed and finally murdered by the Stalinist bureaucrats, Trotsky retained full confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the world working class. That is why Trotsky was considered too dangerous an enemy of the capitalist system to be allowed into the citadel of world imperialism.

During his speaking tour, Plyushch noted that at one point the U.S. State Department had hesitated to admit him because he had "so many Trotskyist friends in France." But he chose to embrace "democratic" imperialism and to become an unofficial spokesman for

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More from Healy, Messenger of Qaddafi

ANTI-IMPERIALIST ALLIANCE
A Communiqué

THE official delegation representing the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah and the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Britain met in London on August 8, 1977, and agreed on the following communique:

1.

2.

LABOUR MUST STOP DOING THE TORIES DIRTY WORK

Joint communiqué issued August 8 by Gerry Healy's WRP and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

The Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) of Britain has intensified its year-long pandering to the despotic regime of Colonel Muamar Qaddafi's underpopulated but oil-rich Libya to new heights of shameless glorification following last month's brief military conflict between Egypt and Libya. The border clashes between Egypt and Libya represented nothing more than a power struggle for influence in the Arab East between two comparable bourgeois-nationalist regimes, which have consistently answered the democratic aspirations of both Libyans and Egyptians with savage repression. Neither side is deserving of support by socialists.

The WRP, now under the leadership of general secretary Michael Banda, seized on the conflict, however, to provide additional services to what it is pleased to revere as the "Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya"—the new Qaddafi-inspired name for Libya. *Workers Vanguard* first exposed the WRP's weirdly grovelling lauding of the Libyan dictator several months ago (see "Healyites, Messengers of Qaddafi, *WV* No. 158, 20 May 1977). Since then the WRP's grotesque and fulsome support to Qaddafi has provoked widespread comment in the British left press, as well as in the London/Manchester *Guardian* (16 August).

The WRP (formerly the Socialist Labour League) has a long history of political banditry and Stalin-style organizational methods. Following their hatchet job expulsion of the Spartacist tendency from the 1966 London International Committee (IC) conference, consolidating its rotten bloc of political convenience, the Healyites' cynical organizational methods found political expression a year later in cheerleading for a classless "Arab Revolution," and chronic tailing of Stalinist forces such as Ho Chi Minh and the Chinese Maoist Red Guards.

The Healyite operation during the last decade has been built on the principles of a con game, with a central focus on milking high-income "angels" through gimmicky pretensions to mass influence. Combining internal intimidation of members with violence and slander against left opponents, including dragging them into the capitalist courts when convenient, the shrill tone of the Healyite fake "mass press" (*Workers Press, News Line*) recently reached a new height of witchhunting frenzy in filthy attempts to smear Joseph Hansen, spokesman for the reformist Socialist Workers Party, as an "accomplice of the GPU" in Trotsky's assassination. But the corrupt Healyite "method" of political banditry has reached a revolting nadir in the WRP/IC's current fealty to the dictator Qaddafi.

Following the Egypt-Libya clash, the WRP Central Committee issued a statement giving full support to the "Libyan Revolution," stating that "the overthrow of Colonel Gaddafi would be a major setback for Palestine and for Africa." "Unlike Sadat, the Colonel enjoys universal support amongst the Libyan workers and peasants," the WRP Central Committee asserted (*News Line*, 25 July)—and perhaps there is a grain of truth here, since any Libyan who dared oppose the dictator would be swiftly thrown in jail, or worse!

The WRP organized a picket outside the Egyptian embassy in London on July 25, during which Banda and film actress Vanessa Redgrave personally delivered a letter of protest against Sadat to the ambassador. At a special meeting organized by the WRP in "support of the Palestinian and Libyan revolutions," Banda made a lengthy speech repeating almost word for word the line of the Libyan government. The crowning glory of the WRP's efforts was a "joint communiqué" put out by the WRP Central Committee and an official delegation from the "General People's Congress of the Libyan Jamahiriya"—i.e., that fake body (which meets once a year) created by Qaddafi as a facade for his dictatorship. The communiqué (published in *News Line*, 10 August) hails former Egyptian leader Nasser and his "1952 revolution" which Qaddafi is asserted to be continuing, and praises Qaddafi and his "people's democracy" to the skies—that "people's democracy" whose slogan is "parties are treason" and is pledged to "purge all the sick people who talk of Communism, atheism..." (*New York Times*, 22 May 1973)!

This unsavory alliance is being trumpeted by the WRP press. Under the grandiose headline, "Unity of the British and Arab Revolution," the *Young Socialist* (20 August), organ of the WRP's youth affiliate, introduces the communiqué: "An anti-imperialist alliance has been established between the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Socialist People's Libyan Jamahiriya which marks a milestone in the development of the world socialist revolution."

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News Line

Vanessa Redgrave and WRP general secretary Michael Banda display News Line headline "Hands Off Libya" in front of Egyptian embassy in London.

Il Mondo

Libyan ruler Qaddafi

RMG, GMR in Shotgun "Unity" with LSA

Canadian Mandelites Surrender to Reformism

—reprinted from Spartacist Canada No. 19, September 1977

On August 7, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) (Canadian representatives of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat's [USec] centrist International Majority Tendency [IMT]) once again found themselves a home with the reformist League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO). Despite a great deal of internal resistance and opposition, the leaderships of the RMG and GMR succeeded in pushing through a fusion with the LSA/LSO at their conventions in Toronto and Montreal.

The reunification of the RMG and GMR with the organization from which they split in 1972-73 was hailed by all three groups as an "historic occasion" for Canadian Trotskyism. But far from being historic (or having anything to do with Trotskyism), the coming together of the RMG, GMR and LSA/LSO into the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) is but a new page in the USec's book of unprincipled combinationism.

Five years ago, a large minority of the LSA/LSO—at that time the sole Canadian representative of the USec and the only visible Trotskyist organization in Canada—insurrected against the reformist politics of the leadership. While their fight was deformed and partial, many of the comrades who split to form the Quebec GMR and English-Canadian RMG did so out of a commitment to find the road to authentic Trotskyism.

The early GMR and RMG denounced the LSA/LSO and its American big brother the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as "reformist" and "lost to Trotskyism," and looked for leadership to the European-based IMT leadership. Their perspective was "the reconstruction of the Fourth International in North America" ("The Struggle in the Fourth International," document adopted by the North American IMT groups in July 1973). But, unable to transcend centrism, the only thing the RMG and GMR have succeeded in "reconstructing" is the LSA/LSO.

At their 1973 founding convention, the youthful impressionists of the RMG predicted that their organization would triple or quadruple in size within two years, and that the LSA/LSO would collapse like a house of cards. Now those heady, left-leaning days—when the RMG and GMR were the epitome of New Left petty-bourgeois polyvanguardism, parading under banners reading "One Solution, Revolution" and "Armed Struggle, the Only Road"—are but a fading memory. Wracked by a series of internal crises, intense factionalism and dramatic line changes, the RMG and GMR moved rightward. By earlier this year—thanks in large measure to the "unity" maneuvers of their hoped-for saviors in the IMT leadership—the leaders of the two organizations had buried their hammers and sickles in order to re-embrace the social-democratic "Trotskyism" of the LSA/LSO.

Yet Another "New Period"

Of course, the mutual forgiving of sins and meeting of minds between former bitter factional opponents had to be accompanied by a suitable rationale. Well-trained in the school of Pabloist objectivism, the leaderships of the RMG and GMR offered their somewhat uneasy ranks the proclamation that a "new period" of turbulent class struggle had been ushered in by the October 14 general strike and the November 15 electoral victory of the Parti Québécois. And since the RMG, GMR and LSA/LSO had all managed to come out with approximately the same line on these two "historic occasions" (in itself something of an historic occasion), what better reason could there possibly be for fusion?

While in general this was accepted by the RMG and GMR ranks as as good a basis as any for "unity" a dispute polarized the first day of the RMG convention over which of the two dates was the more "historic." At loggerheads over this "burning" issue were the hereditary chieftains of the RMG's two main cliques, Central Committee (CC) members Bret Smiley and Joe Flexer. In his "Political Resolution" report to the convention, Smiley—self-styled Alain Krivine "superstar" of the RMG—asserted that November 15 was far and away the more decisive blow to the Canadian state. In the ensuing discussion Flexer (the CC's resident workerist) denounced Smiley's report as "provocative"—"obviously" October 14 was the more important of the two. No consensus could be reached, so the report was tabled. (Later, however, Smiley was to emerge a clear victor, as Flexer was forced off the new organization's incoming Central Committee, much to his displeasure.) The altercation over the "Political Resolution" having been put aside, the RMG leadership temporarily united in an effort to force fusion down the throats of the membership.

In his fraternal greetings from the USec to the convention, IMT leader Charles Michaloux hailed the Canadian fusion as part of an international rapprochement between the competing wings of the USec—the IMT and the SWP/LSA/LSO's misnamed "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF). As the enormous differences between the IMT and LTF become more excruciatingly obvious every day, both sides are intent on pursuing "unity" at all costs, in the hope of somehow justifying the existence of such a grotesque parody of Trotsky's Fourth International. Fusions have already occurred or are reportedly about to occur between IMT and minority groups in Mexico, Spain and Australia—all countries where the USec groups split along factional lines in the early 1970's. Michaloux heaped scorn on those who would term the USec a rotten bloc and seek to deny its "Trotskyist" legitimacy, calling the fusions "a living denunciation of the sectarians."

In reality, the fusions are a living denunciation of Leninism. Only two years ago the IMT and LTF took positions on two central issues which put them on opposite sides of the barricades. In both cases the LTF found itself standing on the side of the U.S. State Department—professing a scandalous neutrality during the South African invasion of Angola, and shamelessly apologizing for the Portuguese social democrats' CIA-funded anti-communist mobilization against the Communist Party. The RMG's international mentors, on the other hand, tailed the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA in Angola and the Stalinist-supported Portuguese Armed Forces Movement.

Alain Krivine speaking at RMG meeting in Toronto in 1974. WV Photo

Today, the two wings are moving to dismantle their factions in preparation for the USec's "Eleventh World Congress." But the opportunist appetites of the IMT and LTF leaderships remain fundamentally counterposed, and with another major escalation of class struggle the two sides will again be at war.

With the rise of popular frontism in southern Europe over the past few years, the IMT has increasingly turned away from the amorphous "student vanguard" to orient toward "broad" coalitions of organizations standing to the left of the Communist Parties. Through their participation in the popular-frontist Italian Democrazia Proletaria, the French "far-left" electoral bloc and most recently the Spanish Front for Workers Unity (FUT), IMT groups have sought to pressure the Stalinists and social democrats to the left—all the while giving "critical" support to these reformists' popular-frontist alliances.

Meanwhile Joseph Hansen's SWP seeks to cultivate an image of "respectability" in the eyes of its own bourgeoisie, with appetites to become the mass party of American social democracy. The road has already been paved with numerous SWP betrayals: from repudiation of revolution in the bourgeois courts, through braintrusting fake "oppositionist" trade union bureaucrats, to effectively renouncing military defense of the Soviet Union.

"Building the Fourth International" By Building the Second International

While the SWP seeks to become the American version of the Canadian New Democratic Party [NDP], the LSA has historically sought to give the NDP some of the SWP's "socialist" veneer. For many years the LSA/LSO's central political slogan was "Win the NDP to Socialism!" In recent years however the LSA/LSO has lowered its sights somewhat—now aiming simply to "Build the NDP!" This ostensibly "dramatic" line change was offered to the RMG leadership as evidence that the LSA/LSO had moved to the left since the split of its long-time leader Ross Dowson in 1974.

The early RMG adamantly rejected the LSA/LSO's pro-NDP cretinism. Its desire was to build the Fourth International, not the Second. But by late last year, as the organization met with failure after failure, the leadership had begun searching frantically for some excuse to liquidate the RMG back into the LSA/LSO. Thus the RMG's top leaders seized on a few hypocritical "self-criticisms" by the LSA/LSO leadership for its extremely right-wing NDP line under Dowson, taking them as good coin, and finding them sufficient justification for fusion.

While the RMG leadership shied away from raising the slogan "Build the NDP" at the convention, it had no qualms about supporting the *content* of this slogan: a call for NDP governments

throughout the country. Just how, given the extreme weakness of the NDP in much of the country, could an NDP government be elected? For the time-tested social-democratic sycophants of the LSA/LSO, the answer is obvious: by building the NDP through increasing its influence in the working class. In a pre-convention discussion bulletin, LSA/LSO Organizational Secretary Art Young noted that any remaining differences with the RMG over the NDP question were "differences not over line, but over the application of the line," and commented: "I don't see any difference of substance between this document [the RMG leadership's position paper on the NDP] and the position of the League on the so-called 'build the NDP' dispute" ("A Basic Agreement on the NDP," Joint Internal Bulletin No. 4, June 1977).

The extent of agreement between the leaderships on this question was underlined by RMG National Secretary Bob Mills in his convention report on "Social Democracy and the English-Canadian Workers Movement." To the delight of the assembled LSA/LSOers, Mills stated that, in the RMG Political Committee's opinion, the Canadian working class will not go forward to socialist revolution until it has become "completely disillusioned" with the NDP in power. Therefore, according to Mills, the central demand of revolutionaries must be for an NDP government.

Mills's report, which incorporated some of the worst rationalizations used by the LSA/LSO to justify liquidation into the NDP, provoked the most heated and confused debate of the entire RMG convention. Liquidating one's organization is, after all, as we have noted before, not without its hesitations and agonies; and not all RMGers were as willing as their National Secretary to swallow in one gulp the LSA/LSO's NDP line. In a last-ditch effort to hold on to some of the RMG's threadbare leftism, two opposition tendencies gave counterreports following Mills's presentation.

Choking on the thought of calling for NDP governments everywhere and always, one oppositional clot sought to sweeten the pill by suggesting that the NDP government slogan be raised in only four provinces (B.C., Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario), but not federally! The other report correctly opposed the NDP government slogan, offering in its stead, however, a call for critical electoral support to the NDP under most circumstances (implicitly *including* periods, like today, when NDP coalitionism with bourgeois parties should preclude even the most critical support from Leninists).

During the discussion many delegates grudgingly supported the leadership's position ("I support the document but..."), while complaining that Mills was beginning to sound like a typical LSA/LSO hack. After various counter-positions and amendments were withdrawn by their movers, resubmitted by other delegates and then withdrawn again, most of the opposition had worn itself out, and the Mills position was carried by 26 votes to 2, with 4 abstentions.

Opposition to "Fast Fusion"

Like the vote against the NDP line change, the actual vote against fusion was quite small (only two delegates to the RMG convention voted against, while one other RMG delegate and two from the GMR abstained). Nevertheless, this did not reflect the depth of rank-and-file discontent over what was widely recognized as a shotgun wedding with the LSA/LSO. Without a large turnout of international USec honchos to ram through the "unity" offensive, the opposition would likely have been larger.

The RMG and GMR leaderships decided quite early on that they had "no principled political differences" with the LSA/LSO—after all, both agreed that the USec was the continuity of the Fourth International, and what more could possibly be required! But a large reservoir of resentment against the leaderships of both organizations was created, due mainly to the rapid-fire pace at which the fusion was forced through.

Less than two months before the convention date, the RMG and GMR leaderships announced to the ranks that the fusions—originally scheduled to occur only pending the success of a long period of joint work—would instead come immediately after the August conventions. Clearly the need for a shotgun fusion was motivated by growing discontent with the idea of fusion in sections of the ranks, and by recognition by the RMG/GMR/LSA/LSO leaderships that a lengthy period of "joint work" would only *widen* the groups' differences.

Right away, oppositional clots sprung up across the country against the leadership's "fast fusion" proposal. Doubtless desiring more time to mull over their organization's failures before actually committing political suicide, disgruntled elements grouped around various tendencies arguing for fusion at Thanksgiving, at Christmas, or—for the more "militant"—Easter weekend.

By convention time, all oppositions had been predictably whipped into line, save two: the small "Principled Fusion Tendency" (PFT) of the RMG, which opposed the fusion as unprincipled; and a rank-and-file "Working Group" of the GMR, centered on its trade unionists and its CEGEP (community college) students. The Working Group was a hodgepodge of disaffected and unhappy elements—ranging from left-wingers repelled by the LSA/LSO and by the GMR leadership's rightward motion, to feminist and gay-liberation lifestylists, to extreme Quebec nationalists upset that the group was abandoning its Bundist position for a separate Quebec section of the USec.

The only unifying factor in this melange (which by convention time included forty percent of the GMR membership) was its opposition to the leadership's bureaucratic "fast fusion" tactics. Yet not a single member of the Working Group could muster a "no" vote when the hands were raised for fusion—let alone present anything remotely resembling a *programmatic* critique of the GMR and LSA/LSO leaderships.

"Principled Fusion Tendency"

Thus the delegates of the RMG's Winnipeg-based PFT were the only ones to vote against the fusion. Substantially smaller than the Working Group, the PFT was however almost as confused and eclectic. Among its supporters were hardened feminists and anti-feminists; "native nationalists" and anti-nationalists; some who supported the IMT, others who rejected it as opportunist. The only thing holding the PFT together was a well-placed revulsion for the LSA/LSO.

Yet even on this question the position of the PFT was extraordinarily muddled. In its original founding declaration the tendency came up with a rather novel characterization of the LSA/LSO as "revolutionary centrist." When this was withdrawn, PFTers split on the issue—some condemning the LSA/LSO as reformist; others characterizing it as centrist.

In the PFT's anti-fusion report to the convention, the RMG leadership was attacked for capitulating to the LSA/LSO on a series of questions—the most notable being the NDP and international democratic centralism. The report challenged the RMG's "closet leftists" to "come out," warning them that after the fusion they would face a "block of three" against left oppositionists: the RMG leadership, the LSA/LSO leadership and the LSA/LSO's hand-raising ranks. However the triumvirate did not wait until after the convention to coalesce—

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Fremont UAW

"Brotherhood" Bureaucrats Collect on Sellout

Class-Struggle Candidates Gain in Elections

FREMONT, California—On September 15 United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 held special elections to fill the post of departing shop chairman Earlie Mays and five other top plant-wide offices in a scramble for a new power alignment among the burcaucratic factions of the Local. After four years of "people's power" from Mays' Brotherhood Caucus, this gang has proved in the end to be nothing but a ready-made instrument for bringing new blood into the International bureaucracy. At least four Brotherhood leaders have taken jobs with the UAW International bureaucracy since they entered local office in 1973.

Earlie Mays won the highest appointment as International staff representative as a reward for calling off the Local's strike last April on the International's orders and the company's terms (nothing won and severe disciplines meted out to the shop committee). During that strike, precipitated by a foreman's assault on a committeeman, a puffed-up Mays likened himself to "great labor leaders" such as Walter Reuther, John L. Lewis and Cesar Chavez, whose supposed mark of leadership was the ability to "turn it on and turn it off." No doubt Solidarity House was especially impressed with the latter.

Mays' Brotherhood Caucus captured the top Local 1364 offices from the Unity Team in 1973. We noted then: "...despite vague talk of 'people's power,' the Brotherhood victory was simply the exchange of one bureaucratic clique for another in a game of musical chairs in which the membership always loses" (*WV* No. 25, 20 July 1973).

WV Photo

Earlie Mays (right).

However, most of the self-proclaimed radicals in the Fremont plant supported and participated in the Brotherhood Caucus campaign.

The Brotherhood ran on a familiar, thoroughly reformist platform (for "union democracy," against "financial corruption," etc.) and incorporated numerous discredited out-bureaucrats. Nevertheless, such fake-lefts in the Local as the *On the Line* and *Call* groups, politically supported by the Revolutionary Union (now Revolutionary Communist Party) and the October League (now Communist Party [Marxist-Leninist]) respectively, hailed the Brotherhood and were instrumental in selling Mays' demagogic rhetoric as a break from mainstream labor officialdom.

But despite the Maoists' praises, over the last four years the Brotherhood Caucus proved itself to be nothing but a vehicle for advancement within the UAW bureaucracy. In fact, the International apparently recruited so much of the Brotherhood leadership that the Caucus was unable to put up any candidate at all to succeed Mays as shop chairman. George Nano, formerly of the Unity Team, won the post easily.

With the discrediting of the Brotherhood Caucus as a militant alternative, the Maoists are totally disoriented. Veering away from Mays, Resistance, a caucus politically supported by the Maoist grouplet ATM (August Twenty-ninth Movement [M-L]), gave backhanded support to Nano! Aping the Communist Party's 1972 "vote against Nixon" campaign—a cover for voting the Democratic Party ticket—Resistance said:

> "Build a united effort against the Brotherhood's attempt to take power and smash democracy.... Since the Brotherhood has served GM so well, they'd like to see them in power once again."

Resistance leaders even admitted voting for Nano at the same time as running two of their own candidates for other posts. Their vague program called for "union democracy" and "supporting other people's struggles"—a rehash of Mays' 1973 populism.

The RCP-supported *On the Line* group demonstrated that it had learned nothing from the Brotherhood experience by supporting one of the candidates touted by Resistance. That the ATM(M-L) and RCP can back the same reformist candidates while accusing each other of being "capitalist roaders" is a fresh affirmation of Maoist idiocy.

The CP(M-L)-backed *Call* grouping, whose supporters numbered among Mays' bloc partners in 1973, endorsed none of the candidates this time around. In recent months these deeply cynical toadies of Peking have tried to distinguish themselves from their Stalinist competitors by not endorsing "progressive" bureaucrats. This is nothing but a maneuver, however, for they have never repudiated their past support for Mays or other exploits, such as taking the union to court to break the seniority system. Lacking a program, strategy or examples of principled class-struggle trade-union work to point to, the pages of the *Call* had little to offer auto workers except tidings that CP(M-L)

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Framed-Up, Purged, Jailed on Eve of World War II

Trotskyism and the Minneapolis Teamsters: They Refused to Bow

Teamster Bureaucracy by Farrell Dobbs is the fourth and concluding volume in a series on Trotskyist work in the Teamsters union, written by one of the key participants. The years leading up to World War II saw an increasing polarization between the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters and the Teamster International headed by Daniel Tobin. *Teamster Bureaucracy* is the history of those years, which culminated in the purge of the Trotskyists from the union and in the sedition trial of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) by the Roosevelt government.

Dobbs' review of the years that preceded the showdown in 1941 makes crystal clear the unceasing hatred borne toward the revolutionary leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters by the trucking bosses, the Teamsters bureaucracy and the capitalist politicians. From the time of the victory of the Minneapolis strikes in 1934, for seven years Teamster Local 544 faced one attempt after another to decapitate its militant leadership. With only brief interludes of uneasy truces, there followed Tobin's 1934-36 attempt to revoke the charter of the Minneapolis Teamsters; the "fink suit" of 1938, in which a small number of dissidents tried to put the Local into receivership to the courts; the FBI-instigated arrest and conviction of several leaders active in the over-the-road organizing campaign initiated by the Minneapolis Teamsters; and the conviction of several leaders of the Federal Workers section of Local 544, representing the unemployed, for their role in the 1939 strike against the Works Progress Administration.

A review of
Teamster Bureaucracy
by Farrell Dobbs

By 1941 the relationship of forces had altered to the serious disadvantage of the Trotskyist militants. The earlier wave of trade-union militancy had receded noticeably in the face of Roosevelt's war preparations. The key issue had become the imperialist war, opposed resolutely within the labor movement only by the Trotskyists. The removal of the Trotskyists, who were an obstacle to the institution of wartime compulsory arbitration, wage controls and the no-strike clause, was desired not only by Tobin and Co. but also by the Roosevelt government which Tobin served faithfully.

In June 1941 Tobin ordered the executive board of Local 544 to "request" him to appoint a receiver for the Local. In particular, Tobin wanted a veto over what was printed in the *Northwest Organizer*, the organ of the Minneapolis Joint Council, which had in the past carried statements critical of the war.

Tobin's action was tantamount to a declaration of war. Had the Local 544 leadership accepted these conditions, it would have been quickly reduced to being accomplices of the Roosevelt-loyal Teamster hacks. Their refusal was the signal for the massive strife that erupted between Local 544 and a united front of Roosevelt, Tobin, the trucking bosses and the courts.

The trucking bosses took the occasion of the intra-union fight to refuse to renew their contracts with Local 544. The Trotskyists were at a severe disadvantage. In the estimation of the Local 544 leadership, mass strike action in the face of Tobin's goons, court injunctions and the uncertain loyalty of other Teamster locals would have led only to the victimization of a wide layer of militants. And in the midst of the conflict, Roosevelt stepped in with his indictment of the SWP and Local 544 leadership.

Local 544's tactic of disaffiliating with the AFL Teamsters and getting a CIO charter did not prove particularly effective. Tobin was able to depict Local 544 as the "splitters"; at the same time the CIO, whose own leadership was pro-war, was not eager to launch an aggressive defense of the Trotskyist-led local. In any event, however, it is doubtful that another set of tactics would have made any real difference. 1941 was not 1934, and the battle was decidedly an unequal one, despite the great loyalty shown by the rank and file to the Trotskyist leaders.

What was important, however, about the 1941 fight was the firm example set by the SWP, which fulfilled with honor its revolutionary duty to oppose the imperialist butchery in the face of widespread war fever among the American workers. The battle against Tobin and Roosevelt was a ringing statement that the Trotskyists were prepared to "swim against the stream"—they upheld Marxist principle, telling the truth to the masses, even at the cost of unpopularity and losing official posts in the trade-union movement. Their courageous battle stands out in sharp contrast to their treacherous opponents on the left, who willingly became accomplices in Wall Street's war machine. Even after the war, when the Stalinists came directly under the guns of the reactionaries, they quickly capitulated in a futile effort to save their own skins. At the 1946 CIO convention, Communist Party delegates co-authored and voted for a resolution that condemned efforts of the CP to "interfere in the affairs of the CIO."

Pioneer

SWP and Local 544 leaders imprisoned in 1941 Minneapolis Smith Act trial.

Trotsky's Debate with the SWP

A year before the showdown in 1941, Trotsky had engaged the SWP leadership in a discussion over the party's Minneapolis trade-union work. Trotsky was critical of the party's failure to sufficiently distinguish itself politically from the Roosevelt "progressives" in the unions. While noting the correctness of blocs with the "progressive" bureaucrats around simple trade-union issues, Trotsky stressed the danger of generalizing such temporary united fronts into ongoing political alliances. He was particularly critical of the *Northwest Organizer*, which he termed a "photograph of our adaptation to the Roosevelt ians" and about which he noted, "I have observed not the slightest change during a whole period. It remains apolitical."

In 1940 the SWP did not have its own candidate for the presidential elections. The "progressive" bureaucrats, of course, were backing Roosevelt, who was preparing to lead the country into World War II. The Communist Party, as a result of the Stalin-Hitler pact, had made a left turn and was denouncing Roosevelt and the imperialist war. Thus the Stalinists were conjuncturally to the left of the "progressives"; under these circumstances Trotsky recommended critical support to the CP candidate Browder. The SWP, which had for some time been blocking with the Roosevelt-ian "progressives" against the Stalinists in the unions, balked.

The passive policy of the SWP leadership in not aggressively seeking a class alternative to Roosevelt in the 1940 elections was a continuation, in another form, of its earlier adaptation to the "progressives" in the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party (F-LP). The F-LP was not a workers party, even in a deformed way. In Minneapolis-St. Paul, the trade unions had direct representation, but even in these urban areas the party was dominated by the community ward clubs, totally outside the labor movement. The F-LP was in reality a multi-class party, indirectly subordinate to capitalist interests. This was confirmed by its support to Roosevelt. A break with Roosevelt, a split with the bourgeois leadership of the F-LP and the construction of a party based on the unions should have been made the precondition to any electoral support.

However, the policy of the Minneapolis Trotskyists was to bloc with the "progressive" trade-union bureaucrats against the Stalinists in the F-LP. The

Monad

Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 organized Union Defense Guards in August 1938 to meet threat of Silver Shirt fascists.

political distinctions between these two factions were not qualitative—both supported Roosevelt—and as such the work in the F-LP was never very rewarding for the SWP. A classic example was the Minneapolis city elections of 1937. The two rival wings of the F-LP each nominated a proved strikebreaker for mayor. The trade-union bloc nominated the incumbent mayor, Thomas Latimer, who had been notorious for calling out the cops against strikers; the Stalinist-dominated camp endorsed Kenneth Haycraft, the officer in the National Guard during the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike who had arrested several leading union members!

This would have been an excellent opportunity to launch an independent labor campaign, given the widespread disgust among militants with both nominees. But this was not done. The Socialist Party, to which the Trotskyists then belonged, ran Local 544 leader Ray Dunne for mayor, but within the trade-union movement itself, where it really counted, the Trotskyists did not counterpose Dunne's candidacy to that of the F-LP. Instead they gave backhanded support first to Latimer and then, after he was defeated in the F-LP primary, to Haycraft.

Teamster Bureaucracy is the only volume which refers to Trotsky's criticisms of SWP trade-union work. In retrospect, says Dobbs, the SWP made a mistake in not offering to support Browder in 1940. This statement is not very remarkable today; motivated by popular-frontist appetites, the now-reformist SWP from time to time gives support to the Communist Party, as well as to bourgeois nationalist political formations (like the Raza Unida Party). Dobbs' treatment is extremely narrow, restricted to the election issue. In the entire series, which is intended as the definitive statement on the most important experience of Trotskyist trade-union work in the U.S., he does not once mention Trotsky's criticisms of the *Northwest Organizer*, nor his broader critique of SWP trade-union work. To do so would be impossible, given the SWP's current prostration before the liberal wing of the labor bureaucracy.

Minneapolis 1941 Confirms Trotsky

Minneapolis 1941—just as much as Minneapolis 1934—is claimed by Trotskyists today as part of our revolutionary heritage. For whatever the flaws of the SWP work in the Teamsters, when the party was called upon to respond to great events, it carried out its duty. The events of '41, in which the Trotskyists stood alone against Roosevelt, the bosses and the labor bureaucracy, are as powerful a testimony to their revolutionary mettle as their leadership of the victorious strikes of '34.

The 1941 events also cast a revealing light on the discussion between Trotsky and the SWP leadership that took place the year before. It is instructive to examine the role of the Roosevelt "progressives" in the Teamster bureaucracy. The Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, which was the body that published the *Northwest Organizer*, voted to support Tobin against Local 544-CIO. And as Dobbs himself observes, "We had many sympathizers with the AFL movement, but very few of them who held leadership posts could be expected to stick their necks out once the serious infighting started."

The "progressive" bureaucrats proved unreliable allies, precisely because on the war issue they stood with Roosevelt and against proletarian internationalism. This was driven home by SWP leader Jim Cannon. As the struggle with Tobin was proceeding in Minneapolis, Cannon, in an address to a party plenum, noted:

> "Your strength in the unions is the strength of your party. Don't forget it. All these collaborators of the day; all these trade union militants who look so good in normal, peaceful times, who are good enough for a local strike but have no general concepts—how quickly these people can be transformed under the pressure of the social crisis. Only those will be able to stand up in the coming period who are fortified by great general ideas—not otherwise. You will have some bad disappointments if you believe for one moment that a man who has not yet broken his allegiance to capitalism in general, will be able to stand up under the pressure of war."

In criticizing the SWP's tendency to be too closely associated with the Rooseveltians, Trotsky had pointed out, "Our real role is that of third competitor," distinct from both Stalinists and "progressives." Minneapolis in 1941 was a striking confirmation of Trotsky's arguments: under the pressure of the war the reformists deserted, leaving only the revolutionaries and that section of the working class which they led to fend off the blows of the class enemy.

Monad

Pathfinder

Teamster boss Dan Tobin, left, collaborated with Roosevelt to get Minneapolis Trotskyists as U.S. entered World War II. Below: Farrell Dobbs meets with Leon Trotsky in Mexico. Trotsky warned against relying on "progressive" Rooseveltian bureaucrats.

The SWP of this period was a revolutionary party. When important issues of principle were posed, such as the imperialist war, they were able to break their trade-union blocs and stand alone if necessary. "Trade Union Problems," a widely distributed SWP pamphlet written by Farrell Dobbs, explicitly called for building a left wing in the unions around such programmatic points as opposition to imperialist war, for a labor party, defense of militant strike action, including the sit-down, no government intervention in the unions, etc. But for the most part the building of class-struggle caucuses remained a dead letter, and day-to-day trade-union work revolved all too much around maneuvering with one or another trade-union bloc.

In the Teamsters also the Trotskyists failed to build a programatically based opposition, which at least in part reflected a desire not to pressure "progressive" bureaucrats who vacillated between them and Tobin. This is not to say that the Trotskyists avoided all conflict with Tobin nationally; at the 1940 Teamsters convention, for example, they led a fight against an attempt by Tobin to arrogate to himself the power to order any local to submit industrial disputes to compulsory arbitration. However, such struggles were conducted on an ad hoc basis and were not organically part of consistent class-struggle oppositional activity.

It would be absurd to claim that had the Trotskyists acted otherwise, they could have staved off the purge by Tobin & Co. Nonetheless, if the fundamental issues between the militant Local 544 leadership and Tobin had been carefully laid out, and a genuine union-wide opposition been built beforehand, the membership would have been much better prepared for Tobin's bureaucratic attack. Furthermore, the establishment of a caucus in the Teamsters, where the SWP had real authority, would have provided an exemplary model for Trotskyist militants in the CIO to point to. The SWP fractions in this crucial arena were much weaker, and the example of a powerful left-wing caucus in the Teamsters would have served as an invaluable aid in building class-struggle oppositions in the CIO.

From the Dunne Brothers to Sadlowski

The *Militant* is undertaking a series of reviews of Dobbs' works on the Teamsters, seeking to pass off the SWP of today as the continuator of the traditions of 40 years ago. But even a cursory comparison of its conduct in the 1941 trials with its "socialist Watersuit" today against government spying is sufficient to reveal the qualitative degeneration of the party into reformism.

In the 1941 trial the Trotskyists outlined the role of the capitalist state and drew the Marxist conclusions. Cannon, while carefully explaining that it is the bourgeoisie that daily foments violence, forthrightly stated that "It is the opinion of all Marxists that it [change in the social order] will be accompanied by violence." In its current suit the SWP has disclaimed violence in terms which preclude the right to self-defense and, in a further effort to curry bourgeois respectability, has even provided the government with evidence of the expulsion of its left-wing minority faction.

In his "afterword" to *Teamster Bureaucracy*, Dobbs takes the same tack. He exploits the weakest aspect of the Teamster work—the failure to forcefully pursue the building of a class-struggle wing—to justify the SWP's present course. But even so, he must torture reality in order to place the SWP's current social-democratic legalism and gushing support for Ed Sadlowski & Co. in the same tradition as the Dunne brothers and his own earlier years as a communist trade-union leader.

As just one example, speaking of attacks by fascists, Dobbs notes, "In looking for means of defense against such assaults, it would be fatal to rely on the bosses' government, no matter how liberal its face." This is a fine statement, entirely in accord with the establishment of a workers defense guard by Local 544 to combat the fascist Silver Shirts. But it has nothing in common with SWP policy today and its cowardly demand for "federal troops to Boston" to stop the racists. The contradiction is too obvious, and therefore Dobbs simply does not mention Boston.

Dobbs' major thesis in the "afterword" is that the working class will pass through various stages on the path to communist consciousness. At each stage, militants must make sure to attune their fight "to the existing levels of consciousness in the union membership." Then, "as the transitional process ... continues, the workers' attention can be focused on broad questions which go far beyond the day-to-day issues on the job." This, of course, is only another version of the familiar reformist recipe for doing union work. Drop the full Transitional Program, limit your demands to the present consciousness of the workers and "wait for the future"—the indefinite future—to talk about revolutionary politics.

That the development of the class will be uneven is a truism. But that does *not* mean that communists raise a different program at different times. Thus, even struggles which are fought around reform demands—that is, do not fundamentally challenge the existence of the capitalist system—can be carried through consistently only by a leadership that understands the historic interests of the working class and transcends the limited framework of simple trade unionism.

An excellent example is the Minneapolis strike of 1934, fought around the limited issue of union recognition on an industrial basis. This strike could not have been won without a leadership that understood the need for and implemented mass picket lines, flying picket squads and democratically elected strike committees, while rejecting reliance on the bourgeois state, particularly the treacherous Farmer-Labor Party government. These concepts were essentially alien to the experience of American workers in 1934 and certainly to the Minneapolis Teamsters.

Dobbs' few attempts to draw lessons for today from the Minneapolis experience are rather limp. The urgent task for militants in the unions today, he tells us, is to build a movement such that "the workers will be able to split the bureaucracy in their fight for rank-and-file control over the unions." Dobbs

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Canadian Mandelites...

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the PFT was attacked heavily, and the "closet leftists" stayed in the closet.

The PFT's reports[1] and documents were a potpourri of confused and contradictory left-Pabloism, harkening back to the "good old days" of the early RMG. Yet, as the tendency was quick to discover, such positions had become anathema to the RMG in its death throes—another uncomfortable reminder of its "ultraleft" youth.

When a PFT document attempted to point to the international differences in the USec and the unprincipled maneuvers of the international faction leaderships, the RMG Political Committee's response was to mock the document's author, who "obviously pours [sic] over the fine print of all manner of relatively unimportant bulletins of the International with a magnifying glass" (Matlowe, "In Reponse to Eugene and the PFT," Joint Internal Information Bulletin No. 10, July 1977). For the consummate cynics in the RMG leadership, "pouring over" the voluminous pages of prose turned out by its own international leaders is obviously irrelevant.

"Flexible" Federalism

The concern with international democratic centralism during the pre-convention discussion and at the convention was not limited to the PFT. As befits such latter-day Kautskyites, the SWP and other LTF sections openly demanded a federated "International," in which they are allowed to control all aspects of political work in the countries where they have a majority. Obviously, this demand does not sit too well with the ex-members of the RMG and GMR—now a minority in the fused organization.

In his greetings to the GMR convention, the USec's Michaloux stated that the IMT could not accept in theory, *even if it had to in practice*, a breakdown in democratic centralism to the level of federalism. He went on to argue that international democratic centralism could not be viewed in the same way as national democratic centralism—one must be "flexible" internationally, and each national section could not be expected to apply "to the letter" every decision of the International leadership. As members of the RMG and GMR paled before Michaloux's scarcely-veiled defense of the federalist status quo, the LSA/LSO and SWP leaders in attendance glowed in approval.

The dispute over international democratic centralism also produced a revealing insight into some of the problems facing the new organization. The RMG leadership, attempting to explain to the ranks why all the many IMT-LTF differences were being swept under the rug in the rush for fusion, wrote in a pre-conference bulletin:

> "RMG members have been quite concerned about how the disagreement between the LTF and the IMT on the application of international democratic centralism would affect the functioning of the new organization. What will we do, for example, if the new organization is divided roughly equally on a key international issue? The Political Committees do not think that it is useful to try to establish some abstract formula to deal with such possible future controversies.... We will deal with such problems if and when they arise."
>
> —*RMG National Bulletin*, Vol. 7, No. 21, 8 June 1977

And, beyond the manifold differences over international questions, despite the RMG and GMR's rightward motion enough differences persist on domestic questions to ensure that the new RWL will have its hands full. Already, unable to resolve their differences over interventions into the pro-abortion movement (the RMG called for "free abortion on demand," while the LSA/LSO deemed this "sectarian"), the new organization has simply resolved, for the time being, to carry *two* banners on abortion demonstrations.

Capitulate...or Leave

Given time, the RWL will come to possess a clear and consistent political line—that of the ex-LSA/LSO. But in its early period, before the heterogeneous ranks of the RMG and GMR have been sorted out, the new organization promises to be rather spectacularly unstable and subject to internal rebellion. Particularly in Quebec, where disgruntlement about the fusion and distrust toward the right-wing LSA/LSO leadership is widespread among former GMR members, the new group is in for a great deal of immediate internal difficulty.

As the LTF regains control over the USec's work in Canada, it will doubtless move to pack potential factional allies into the new organization. Thus leading representatives of the social-democratic Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ), affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI), attended the fusion conferences as fraternal observers.

In recent years, the SWP and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (the OCRFI's leading section) have found an increasing degree of programmatic agreement, and the LTF has been pushing for the OCRFI's admission to the USec. Here in Canada, the GSTQ—a group which has stood to the *right* of the LSA/LSO on the NDP question—would be of great service to the ex-LSA/LSO leaders of the RWL in their drive to purge the new organization of alien left-wing elements.

The PFT's summary report to the RMG convention warned the membership to make sure that they would have tendency rights inside the fused organization. Denouncing the SWP as an undemocratic organization, the PFT demanded an accounting for the bureaucratic expulsion of the pro-IMT Internationalist Tendency (IT) in 1974. This challenge drew a large round of applause from the convention—with the exception of the LSA/LSO, of course.

But there will be no accounting, for the SWP has no retrospective qualms about the IT affair. Shortly after the expulsions were carried out, the SWP put them to good use—citing them in a bourgeois courtroom as evidence that it harbored no violent, terroristic or revolutionary aims. The ITers were eventually allowed to crawl back into the SWP on their bellies—political cripples destroyed by the USec's revisionist *modus vivendi*. Would-be left oppositionists in the RWL can expect no better treatment than that meted out to the IT.

Leninist Fusions vs. Unprincipled Combinationism

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has been built largely through fusions, many of them with left-oppositional currents in the USec who found their way to Trotskyist politics—like the RMG's Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, expelled at its March 1975 second national convention. More recently the iSt has consolidated principled fusions with the Chilean Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria and with a Los Angeles-based group of comrades from the gay left, the Red Flag Union.

These fusions, unlike the unholy marriage of the RMG, GMR and LSA/LSO, came as a culmination of a period of hard programmatic struggle for the principles of Trotskyism. Thus, rather than paralyzing the new organization by presenting it with a swamp of permanent factions, tendencies and cliques, while political differences are either buried or "sorted out over time," these fusions have driven the iSt forward in its struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

As Lenin wrote:

> "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism."
>
> —"Unity," April 1914 (emphasis in original)

The RMG and GMR were of course no more Marxist than their reformist USec partners. But by junking their past opposition to reformism, these opportunists and renegades are only assisting in the creation of a larger obstacle to the building of a genuine Trotskyist party. The one-time centrists and New Leftists of the RMG and GMR will either be swallowed by the more experienced and effective reformists from the LSA/LSO, or they will (in one way or another) find themselves exited from the RWL.

In a leaflet distributed at the RMG's second national convention in 1975, the Spartacist tendency noted that the group's future prospects were not bright: it was "genuinely an organization without a future." The comrades of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency showed the way out of the revisionist swamp to Trotskyism—others, repelled by the USec's maneuvers and unprincipled politics, will follow. Unable to come to the revolutionary program, the RMG and GMR have surrendered themselves to reformism. We shed no tears for their passing. ■

They Refused to Bow...

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cites as an example the winning over of such Teamster officials as William Brown, Pat Corcoran and John O'Brien. A current "positive" analogy, according to Dobbs, is the campaign of Ed Sadlowski against the Abel/McBride leadership of the Steelworkers.

The labor bureaucracy is a privileged, parasitic stratum resting on the working masses themselves, what Daniel DeLeon called the "labor lieutenants" of capital. It is not a homogeneous body and contains many former militants in various stages of decomposition and corruption. Under certain situations, where it has no choice but to side with the revolutionaries or to decisively desert the rank and file and act as open confederates of the capitalists, a section of the bureaucracy can even be torn away. But this requires a polarization in the labor movement, brought about by a widely felt perception that compromise is no longer possible, as well as the presence of an independent class-struggle left wing. This was true of the winning of Bill Brown, who came over in the heat of the organizing drive.

With the exception of Bill Brown, the several other Teamster leaders who collaborated more or less closely with the Trotskyists came over *after* the decisive strike battles of 1934, a fact which Dobbs ignores. Most were Tobinites sent in by the Teamster president after a compromise agreement—with what was then Local 574—to reorganize the Minneapolis Teamsters. Tobin hoped to gain control by getting a majority of the executive board in the reorganized Local 544. But the Tobin-loyal Teamsters officials who entered the Local had no base in the ranks, who were overwhelmingly loyal to the Trotskyists, and therefore had no future *in the Local* unless they supported the class-struggle policies of the Trotskyists. So, Tobin ended up by outmaneuvering himself. One of the ex-Tobinites, Nick Wagner, was even among the 28 originally indicted in the Minneapolis sedition trial.

Dobbs also omits mentioning in the "afterword" that the Minneapolis victories attracted a much less savory grouping as well. There were a few Teamsters who joined the SWP simply because they expected that a party connection would help them get posts as union officials. Although they did not remain long in the party, they were among the key prosecution witnesses in the Minneapolis trial. Revolutionary victories, whether in a trade union in Minneapolis or in Bolshevik Russia, have always attracted a wide assortment of camp followers.

The attempt to extend the Minneapolis Teamsters analogy to Sadlowski simply reflects the SWP's present orientation to the bureaucracy, as opposed to the rank and file. In fact the SWP is absolutely shameless in labeling Sadlowski a class-struggle militant. Even most of the reformist fake left, such as the International Socialists and the Revolutionary Communist Party, consider this far-fetched and acknowledge that Sadlowski is a sellout, justifying their support for him on the grounds that he is popular among younger, more militant workers. The SWP's assertion that Sadlowski has suddenly renounced his 15 years of bureaucratic reformism is simply hoodwinking the workers in the hopes of gaining positions of influence in the entourage of this phony reformer. Thus one of the main services the SWP rendered to Sadlowski was to dress up his program for left-wing audiences, omitting some parts and distorting others. But in the absence of any major struggles in the industry or a visible class-struggle opposition, Sadlowski saw no need for further services from his would-be SWP advisers.

Finally, Dobbs counsels militants that they should not waste their time running for office: "The bureaucrats could normally counter such a move rather easily at the present juncture. They would need only to direct an appeal to the more backward sections of the union membership, claiming no more was involved than the 'outs' trying to dump the 'ins'."

What hypocrisy! What does the SWP in the unions do but liquidate into reformist electoral campaigns? What better examples of the out-bureaucrats trying to displace the "ins" than the Miller and Sadlowski campaigns in the Mine Workers and Steelworkers. Neither campaign had the slightest thing to do with building a class-struggle movement; they were simply electoral vehicles for bureaucrats on the make. Immediately after Miller's election, his Miners for Democracy was dissolved; similarly, Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fight Back has already ceased to function.

Electoral participation in the unions is a legitimate part in building a class-struggle opposition. The key question is what program militants run on. (Needless to say, those that run on a transitional program will not be mistaken for mere office-seekers.) Dobbs has no objection to electoral activity, except where it is conducted on a principled class-struggle basis.

The SWP has traveled a long way since the Minneapolis of the Dunne brothers and the younger Dobbs. Today it is a shameless exponent of reformist politics, an obstacle to the building of a communist movement. It is the Spartacist League, not the SWP, that stands in the tradition of revolutionary intransigency, the tradition of Minneapolis 1934 and 1941. The SL is unique in its determination to build principled class-struggle caucuses in the unions based on the Transitional Program. This policy is merely the conclusion of what Trotsky stressed so forcefully to the SWP leadership in 1940 and what was proven once again a year later in Minneapolis: that when faced with imperialist war, the popular front and all the major questions of our epoch, every stripe of reformist will betray—a point which underscores the crucial necessity of the Leninists to maintain their own program and banners clearly distinct from those of the trade-union bureaucrats, the Stalinists and the social democrats. ■

Plyushch...

(continued from page 3)

Carter-style "human rights," appearing on the same platforms as imperialist sabre-rattler Senator Henry Jackson. It is for this reason that he has been allowed to join the Solzhenitsyns and Bukovskys.

A victim of Stalinist repression, Leonid Plyushch has become an apologist for imperialism. Jimmy Carter has won a valuable associate in his crusade to restore Chile-style "democracy" and "freedom" for capitalist exploitation in the Soviet bloc. Evidently the vile crimes of Stalinism and the absence of a perceived mass revolutionary alternative led Plyushch to lose hope in the possibility of proletarian revolution and definitively cross over to the camp of the class enemy. As we noted last year ("Which Way for Comrade Plyushch?" *WV* No. 104, 9 April 1976), "consciously or unconsciously, the prophets of despair become the allies of reaction."

For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

In his lengthy attack on the Spartacist tendency at the Toronto meeting, Plyushch tried the standard "go back to Russia" gambit:

> "I will now make an immoral proposition—it's a bit malicious. I propose that the comrade Spartacists go to the Soviet Union."

In spite of the crimes of the Stalinist regime, the Trotskyists have held fast in the face of such taunts, defending the legacy of October and calling for the revolutionary overthrow of those who defile its name.

Repeatedly during the Plyushch tour, representatives of the Spartacist League and the Trotskyist League of Canada denounced Carter's anti-Soviet offensive and called for unconditional defense of the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. Although several members of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) spoke from the floor at the Chicago meeting, not one raised any criticism of Plyushch's anti-Soviet speech. In Detroit, SWPer Mack Warren gave greetings to the meeting, calling for the building of a campaign to enforce the Helsinki Accords.

However, Plyushch's crude cold war harangue embarrassed even the shameless reformists of the SWP. In Detroit an SWP speaker was forced to rise during the discussion period to give a fraternal forewarning to Plyushch "not to step over the class line"—a line on which the SWP seldom needs to tread nowadays, since it so often starts out on the wrong side.

In Toronto, the fake-Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Workers League (newly "united" Canadian section of the "United" Secretariat) limited their intervention to acting as sound technicians and ushers. Plyushch's challenge to "comrade Spartacists" to go to the USSR was doubtless intended to be simply malicious, but the struggle to build a Trotskyist party in the Soviet Union is, in fact, a crucial task in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, the world party which will lead the world proletariat in the destruction of both capitalism and Stalinist burcaucratic rule, through social revolution in the west and political revolution in the deformed workers states. ■

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Healy, Messenger of Qaddafi...

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It is indeed a milestone of sorts—hut rather of the sordid and corrupt nature of the WRP, whose only hint of distance from strongman Qaddafi is a brief statement in their Central Committee statement of July 25 that,

> "Colonel Gaddafi is not a communist and certainly not a 'puppet of the Soviet bureaucracy' as Sadat alleges, but he believes passionately in the struggle to liberate Arab and colonial people from imperialism. The Workers Revolutionary Party, despite ideological and political differences with Colonel Gaddafi [these are never specified—*WV*], unconditionally endorses his anti-imperialist views and pledges to defend his leadership against imperialism and its agents."

Do these "differences" include the recent statement of the Libyan ambassador to Britain that, "If anyone can help find a solution to the Middle East problems, it is Britain" (*Arab Dawn*, March 1977)? Or does it include a "difference" over the imprisonment of suspected Trotskyists in Libya? We doubt that the readers of *News Line* will ever know.

The WRP is quite explicit in its allegiance. Its bookshop pushes copies of the Libyan embassy's propaganda brochure on Egypt entitled "The Truth," which praises Libya's "self-restraint and concern for Arab blood in the war." The printer of this little brochure, interestingly, is the same obscure printer in Runcorn (rather far from London) used by many Healyite publications, including *News Line*.

While the WRP is wholeheartedly committed to Qaddafi, it is unlikely that the Libyan government's tolerance for even that most loathsome caricature of Trotskyism will be very long-lasting. There may be a certain limited welcome for such prominent personalities as Vanessa Redgrave in the mod, if slightly seedy, Libyan embassy today, which prominently displays a poster advertising Redgrave speaking on Qaddafiism in its press suite foyer. But the heart of the "anti-imperialist" colonel's current desires are revealed by the March issue of the Libyan embassy magazine, *Arab Dawn*, which calls on the front cover for "Rapprochement with Britain." In the interests of this "rapprochement," Qaddafi has already ditched the Irish Republican Army. *Arab Dawn* (October 1976) published an interview with Qaddafi by Arnaud de Borchgrave of *Newsweek*, who asked, "What about your material support for the Irish Republican Army?" To this Qaddafi replied: "Our relations with London and Dublin are improving rapidly, and we will soon be exchanging ambassadors with Ireland. The IRA chapter is behind us."

When the WRP relationship becomes embarrassing to him, Qaddafi will inevitably also put the "WRP chapter" behind him as well. But the WRP will not be able to put behind it this record of crass corruption of revolutionary morality, its utterly revolting glorification of one of the more eccentric, megalomaniacal dictators of the 20th century. The real betrayal, if we can use a word implying a residue of integrity, is that of the Libyan foreign ministry, because the Tripoli government undoubtedly believes it has an important British daily presenting its views, just as in the period before World War II every second-rate power had their press organ in Paris. The venal Banda-led WRP has gotten itself a "good deal"—but not for long.

The WRP's fundamental character as political bandits and con men is well known. However, the WRP's unadorned press pimping for Qaddafi falls well outside the bounds of the working-class movement. It is a shameless and shameful act, a truly terrible betrayal of the most elementary class principles. If the WRP can swallow Qaddafi, what other anti-working class forces within Britain itself might they not find it to their advantage to do a deal with? ■

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Spartacist League Forum

"The Anti-Apartheid Revolts and U.S. Imperialist Moralism"

Speaker: Joseph Seymour
Spartacist League Central Committee

Date: September 24, 1977
Time: 8:00 p.m.
Donation: $1.00

Place: Barnard College
Broadway & 116th Street
Lehman Auditorium in Altschul Hall

NEW YORK CITY

"Brotherhood" Bureaucrats Collect...

(continued from page 5)

honcho Mike Klonsky had been received by Chairman Hua in Peking.

Fremont workers remember that these same *Call* supporters who worked for Mays' election in 1973 refused to defend their former ally and the entire shop committee when they were fired by General Motors for taking the Local out on strike last April. Only the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW) was a consistent pole of opposition to the policies of the International and the Local 1364 leadership, while defending the shop committee against the company attack.

None of the bureaucratic factions won control in these elections. There will be run-off elections for the posts of first vice president, second vice president and trustee. The CMUAW, which has been the only opposition group consistently refusing to support the Brotherhood, Nano or any other bureaucrat, made small but steady gains. Two CMUAW candidates ran, standing on a firm class-struggle program including demands for unlimited right to strike, industry-wide strikes against layoffs, 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay and "complete independence from the company, the government and the bosses' political parties." Lisa Gruber won 119 votes for executive board and Darlene Fujino won 174 votes (11 percent) for second vice president, an increase over the CMUAW's showing in the last Local elections.

The evolution of the Brotherhood Caucus offers a classic example of the bitter fruits of the Stalinist "strategy" of "left-center coalitionism." The fake-leftists who help put the Arnold Millers, Ed Sadlowskis and Earlie Mays into office are discarded the instant they can no longer further the careers of their mentors and are in addition subjected to red-baiting and bureaucratic throttling by their former allies.

Of all those who claimed to offer a militant program for leadership, only the CMUAW passed this test. Local 1364 members who draw a balance sheet of the demise of the Brotherhood Caucus, seeing its capitulation before the International in the April strike and the subsequent payoff, must reject the reformist policy of backing phony "lesser evils." Only by joining and building the Committee for a Militant UAW can they turn the combative Fremont plant into a model of militant struggle for the entire union. ■

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Anti-Apartheid Leader...

(continued from page 1)

cide" in the death of a political prisoner, an African National Congress (ANC) activist named Joseph Mdluli. After four days of testimony, the judge ordered their acquittal although the police account of Mdluli's death—they claim he suffered fatal neck injuries falling back on a chair in a dizzy spell—was totally discredited.

The murder of so prominent an individual as Biko produced a greater furor in the press, and even the South Africa Foundation, a semi-official international public relations operation, criticized the police. Biko was not only well-known among young South African militants but, through interviews with foreign journalists and U.S. liberals like senator Dick Clark, had gained an international reputation as one of the spokesmen for petty-bourgeois black nationalism with whom the U.S. might eventually have to deal. Along with an

Reininger/Contact

Black youth arrested by South African security police.

account of his murder, the *New York Times* (18 September) published a statement by Biko last December appealing to Carter to lend "...full-scale support of the struggle for the black man's liberation."

Under pressure, Kruger backtracked slightly from his initial endorsement of the police report, promising an investigation and suggesting that "heads may roll." Even as it contemplated a token scapegoat, the government was unequivocal in its hardline defense of the apartheid system. In an interview with the *New York Times* (17 September), Vorster reaffirmed that the National Party totally opposes electoral rights for blacks and is mobilizing the country's resources against any possibility of international economic pressure. The interview ended with this exchange:

> "Q. Could you tell us what you would regard as the consequences for the relations between the United States and South Africa of persistence by the Carter Administration in this policy?
> "A. Of one man, one vote? It can only lead to a worsening of relations because that will be blatant meddling in South African affairs."

The Bonn Connection

While Vorster feigns ignorance of the real thrust of Carter's South African policy (which only serves as liberal window-dressing for the fundamentally anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade), his bristling vehemence against U.S. "meddling" is backed up by more than the *laager* mentality of the Afrikaners. He emphasized South Africa's role as a regional imperialist power, armed with the most modern weapons and generating 40 percent of the total industrial production of Africa. Recent sensational revelations about West German-South African nuclear research provide a further backdrop to Vorster's cockiness.

In "West Germany Gets the Bomb" (*WV* No. 170, 26 August), we explained the real story behind the U.S./Soviet uproar over South Africa's apparent readiness to test an A-bomb—Vorster's bomb is a West German bomb whose key component is the Becker process for producing weapons-grade uranium. In the *Times* interview Vorster failed to rule out military uses of South Africa's nuclear potential but noted that "we can deal with everything that comes out of Africa to the north of us in a conventional way." Subsequently a number of sources have added information confirming our analysis, among them the West German weekly *Der Spiegel*, which reported in its 29 August issue:

> "...a release by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the Federal Republic asserted that the state-controlled company STEAG undertook construction of a uranium-enrichment plant in Valindaba, South Africa between 1 April 1974 and 31 March 1976. Bonn has not been able to produce anything to deny this. The Nuremburg firm MAN is supposed to have delivered the most important compressors for the project."

The initial American reaction was reserved, but in an August 23 press conference Carter's scepticism over Pretoria's denials was unmistakable. "We appreciate this commitment from South Africa and its information," said the chief of U.S. imperialism, hastily adding that he would "continue to monitor the situation very closely." A week later an obviously "authorized" front-page dispatch from the *New York Times* State Department correspondent praised on the government's behalf the "cooperation...between the Soviet Union and the United States in dissuading South Africa from proceeding with a nuclear bomb test.... American reconnaissance photography established a few days after the Brezhnev message of Aug. 6 that South Africa had built a testing tower and other structures required for a nuclear detonation in the Kalahari Desert."

From yet another source, S. Borissov of the Soviet press agency Novosti reiterates in *Jeune Afrique* (9 September) that:

> "The revelations by the African National Congress concerning the close and longstanding cooperation between Bonn and Pretoria in the military, and particularly in the nuclear, domain came in the wake of the announcement published by the Soviet news agency Tass, according to which the work aiming to create a nuclear weapon in South Africa was nearing its end and preparations for testing were underway."

Among the documents released by the ANC was a secret telegram from the South African embassy in Köln announcing a 1974 visit to South African nuclear facilities by Professor Becker who developed the exclusive West German process for uranium enrichment.

Another coded dispatch referred to a visit to South Africa a few months later by the German representative on NATO's military committee, Lt. General Günther Rall, who would appear "publicly...as the guests of Mr. Kurt Dahlmann, publisher of the *Windhoek Allgemeine Zeitung*" in Southwest Africa. A press statement by the East German magazine *Panorama* reveals that Dahlmann is a confidante of Vorster and a founder of the League of Nationalist Germans in the colony of ex-Nazis in Windhoek. Both Rall and Dahlmann are connected with a World War II veterans group, the German Fighter Pilots Association, noted for its nostalgia for the Third Reich. Rall, like Becker, visited the Valindaba nuclear facility. Thus the Bonn-Pretoria nuclear connection is cemented by neo-Nazis and Bundeswehr generals.

Evading post-World War II limitations on its armed forces, West Germany, through the state-controlled firm of Otrag, has leased 60,000 square miles of Zaire (an area larger than West Germany itself!) to test rockets and satellite launchers! According to an account in the Paris magazine *Afrique-Asie*, the secret Otrag-Zaire contract specifies that the company "requires a vast area of operations suitable for launching of rockets into the atmosphere and into space and for all activities directly or indirectly concerned." The contract also stipulates that "only those people expressly authorized by Otrag may remain in the territory" and the Zaire government must expel anyone from the area. There is to be no inspection of the site by anyone without company permission.

Imperialist Hypocrisy...

When Vorster blusters at the U.S., he does it secure in the knowledge that he has other powerful imperialist friends (not only West Germany but also Pretoria's main arms merchant, France) to fall back on. As ominous as is the developing Bonn-Pretoria axis, Carter's liberal refurbishing of U.S. imperialism presents a more immediate political

UPI

Biko's widow and sons give clenched-fist salute.

danger to the world proletariat.

Imperialist ideologues would have us believe that Carter's pique over the South African atomic adventure is motivated by revulsion against apartheid barbarism. In reality, the Americans (and the French) are fuming over the fact that they have been outfoxed by Bonn, which is leaping into the nuclear club with the aid of U.S.-supplied reactors, U.S.-trained physicists and French plutonium-generating reactors in South Africa. The cheap anti-apartheid rhetoric serves Washington both as a temporary lever against its imperialist rivals and as a smokescreen for gearing up a renewed political and military capacity to threaten the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states.

With the Portuguese withdrawal from Africa, the ignominious South African defeat in Angola and the escalating guerrilla incursions in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), the U.S.' strategic aims in Africa have shifted from reliance on the white-settler colonies in the south to wooing the bourgeois nationalist Arab and black regimes. Central to winning favor with the latter are the interminable Anglo-American attempts to pressure Ian Smith into turning power over to the aspiring Kenyattas and Kaundas of Rhodesia.

The latest settlement proposals, unveiled early this month, are no surprise to anyone. In essence, they stipulate a transition from white settler rule to black bourgeois rule through an interim return to British colonial control. A Blimpish resident commissioner, Field Marshal Lord Carver, would take up residence in the governor's mansion vacated following the 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence. A Zimbabwe Development Fund of $1 to $1.5 billion would be raised by the imperialists to buy off both propertied whites and the urban black petty bourgeoisie. A United Nations military force would oversee and discipline both the nationalist guerrillas and Smith's army.

Africans have some experience with UN "peace-keeping forces," notably in the ex-Belgian Congo in the early 1960's. Nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba went to his death cursing the day he appealed to the UN for "military assistance" against the colon-dominated Katangan secessionists led by Moise Tshombé. While placating the virulently anti-communist Tshombé, the UN command maneuvered to isolate the militant-talking prime minister, Lumumba, paving the way for his assassination and the eventual military takeover by the present dictator Mobutu.

...And Nationalist/Reformist Treachery

The U.S. and Britain hope to replay the Congo script in key aspects, mediating between contending forces while attempting to install a black regime totally subservient to imperialist interests. This scheme is doubly obscene insofar as Carter expects to chalk up another self-proclaimed victory for "human rights" through the imposition of a neo-colonial settlement in Rhodesia. He is aided in this by the feuding, servilely pro-imperialist black nationalist cliques and, above all, by the grand old man of left-talking, pseudo-socialist African rulers, Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere.

Nyerere was given substantial space in the July issue of the prestigious imperialist journal, *Foreign Affairs*, to make a direct and public appeal to Carter to forge an alliance to pressure the racist regimes while edging Soviet influence out of southern Africa:

> "Africa is therefore asking that America should recognize the conflict in southern Africa as the nationalist struggle which it is, and that it should refuse to be taken in by the communist bogey paraded by the racialists. It is asking that America should refrain from profit-making out of apartheid.... Africa is asking that America should carry its declared support for human equality and dignity into policies which will weaken the forces of racialism and colonialism in southern Africa, so that the peoples of those areas can triumph more quickly and with less bloodshed. "...We in Africa hope that the new Administration of the United States will fulfill its early promise, and help the peoples of southern Africa to get to the position where they can make a beginning."

Nyerere's self-serving vote of confidence in U.S. liberal imperialism is mirrored by the campaigns of left-liberals and fake socialists in the U.S.—most prominently the Socialist Workers Party and Revolutionary Communist Party—to cleanse the American bourgeoisie of the polluting taint of economic relations with Pretoria. Attempts to persuade universities, churches, banks and industrial corporations to divest themselves of all their investments in South Africa are, at best, impotent moral idealism and, at worst, a call for imperialist blackmail which to be effective would risk the threat of inter-imperialist war (see "What Strategy to Fight Apartheid?" *Young Spartacus* No. 57, September 1977).

The Leninist party is both the tribune of all the oppressed and the vanguard of the proletariat. The international Spartacist tendency addresses this historic task, sharply attacking the "democratic" pretensions of the Carter White House. We will not allow the leader of the world's most voracious and dangerous capitalist power to pose as a champion of progress and humanity. If the racist butchers in Pretoria have killed a thousand black militants in the last year, the U.S. war machine destroyed a thousand innocent *a day* at the

Der Spiegel

South African uranium enrichment plant at Valindaba produces weapons-grade uranium.

7/3/3(3-71)

OUTGOING SECRET TELEGRAM

To: The South African Embassy, London
From: The South African Embassy, Cologne
Date: 13 August 1974

No. 61

From Sole.

I have arranged for Lieutenant-General Günther Rall and Mrs Rall to visit South Africa as the guests of our Department of Defence, but ostensibly as the guests of Mr Kurt Dahlmann, editor of the Windhoek Allgemeine Zeitung. General Rall was until 31 March of this year Head of the Luftwaffe and is now German Military Representative to the Military Council of NATO. No publicity whatever is being given to this visit and for security reasons General and Mrs Rall will travel as Mr and Mrs Ball.

Panorama/D.D.R

Günther Rall, left, and Kurt Dahlmann in Nazi uniform during World War II. Above, telegram revealing Dahlmann's role as liaison between West German military and South Africa.

height of the Indochinese war! And Carter, the defender of My Lai mass murderer William Calley, was cheering on the slaughter.

Sanctimonious imperialist Carter will no more bring "human rights" to the world than Woodrow Wilson made "the world safe for democracy" or Franklin Roosevelt delivered "the four freedoms" or met "the challenge to life, liberty and civilization" through the ghastly slaughterhouse of World War II. The liberation of the non-white masses of South Africa requires a struggle by the proletariat for full democratic rights to smash apartheid and open the road to the goal of a black-centered workers and peasants government. This, in turn, requires the most powerful international labor solidarity, not neo-colonialist schemes or economic sanctions, which only mark the sharpening of inter-imperialist rivalries. The capitalist world is fundamentally divided not between "democratic" imperialist regimes and "reactionary" imperialist regimes but between murderous bourgeoisies, in the first instance the piously "democratic" American bourgeoisie, and the international proletariat, which alone can lead the oppressed masses of South Africa and the world to victory over imperialist barbarism. ■

Foreign Workers...

(continued from page 12)

assembling tape cassettes in ramshackle corrugated-steel warehouses near the border who are interested in maintaining the flow of cheap labor. From Wall Street to California agribusiness, the importance of maintaining a sufficient reservoir of unorganized labor without legal rights is recognized by big capital. The large-scale corporation farms of the Southwest have always relied on such pools of desperate workers—first American Indians, then Chinese, then Japanese, then in the 1930's the "Okie" migrants from the dustbowl, and from the 1940's on several million Mexicans annually—to do the miserably paid, backbreaking labor of harvesting.

This was formalized in the Bracero program initiated during World War II when a domestic labor shortage starved agribusiness of workers and the supply of prison work gangs and Japanese-Americans bused out of their wartime concentration camps wasn't enough. Under this highly profitable deal, the Mexican government agreed to supply U.S. growers with cheap and reliable contract-laborers who could be brought across the border when needed and dumped back when the economy contracted. While the Bracero program was in force, in 1954 "Operation Wetback" was launched, a massive INS dragnet and deportation of more than one million undocumented Mexican immigrant workers, in response to the economic recession following the Korean War.

The cynical brutality and open contempt for their desperate employees displayed by these capitalists and their political representatives reeks of the Victorian sweatshop era. The grinding exploitation, blatant cheating and open robbery of the workers is combined with the moral outlook of an African slave trader, revealing the barbarism of capitalism in stark relief. Many employers telephone orders to middlemen at border cities near Mexico for a certain number of live bodies, to be delivered on a set date. They work the unfortunate "illegals" mercilessly for a week or two, then call up the authorities to stage a raid just before payday, knowing that another shipment of human cargo is on its way.

Others employ the more up-to-date technique of paying by check and then having their workers deported, stopping payment long before the victims can reach a Mexican bank and cash the now-worthless piece of paper.

Where such desperate need exists, there are plenty willing to exploit it. The life of an "illegal alien" is indeed likely to be poor, nasty, brutish and short. Simply getting into the country costs all their meagre savings and sometimes their lives. Many die in "accidents" as *coyotes* (professional smugglers) send their trucks careening down embankments if they are afraid of being caught by the police. Once in the U.S., often deeply in debt to the smugglers who may hold the lives of their wives and children in Mexico as collateral on loans, the "illegals" are at the mercy of employers, landlords and a host of swindlers, blackmailers and petty criminals who can terrorize them at will without fear of complaint to the authorities.

INS Corruption

La migra, which is supposedly policing the borders, gets a sizable piece of the action itself. Although today the widespread corruption of INS officials is hushed up in the interests of presenting these armed hoodlums in uniform as the best defense against an "alien horde," several years ago reports of official corruption surfaced in the media. In 1972, charges that Immigration officials were involved in narcotics trafficking, smuggling of guns and "aliens," sexual abuse of women prisoners, theft and misuse of government property forced the Nixon administration to initiate a halfhearted "Operation Cleapsweep" investigating the Southwestern region of the INS.

Lurid tales of Immigration officials providing "illegals" as household servants, setting up special parties for high-ranking officials with prostitutes from across the border and a rash of compromising testimony from nervous INS officials hoping to get off the hook by telling all began to leak out and the Justice Department feared the investigation was getting out of hand. The operation was then quietly shut down. After the FBI had opened 321 case files, only nine government employees were ever prosecuted and only seven (all low-level) were convicted as a result of the investigation.

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!

The response of American labor officialdom to this pattern of brutal oppression and superexploitation has been nothing short of criminal. Reflecting the job-trusting mentality of the labor aristocracy, the AFL-CIO was the prime backer of the notorious Rodino bill. Even such "progressive" bureaucrats as the United Farm Workers (UFW) leader Cesar Chavez at one time supported this legislation aimed at driving out undocumented workers, and a couple of years ago the UFW launched a big campaign finking on "illegals" at particular ranches to the Border Patrol. But in spite of this treachery, no amount of cajoling the bourgeois state can overcome the pressure of hundreds of thousands of desperate workers without legal rights. It is this fact that has kept Los Angeles the principal open-shop metropolis in the U.S.

The only real, practical solution to the capitalists' use of undocumented foreign workers to break strikes, keep out unions and hold down wages is for the labor movement to demand that all foreign workers in the U.S. be accorded full citizenship rights. By demanding that the racist deportations be stopped and moving to organize these viciously exploited workers, the unions can make a vivid demonstration of internationalist labor solidarity which could win the trust of the millions-strong force of foreign workers presently totally alienated from the organized workers movement. Unless this is done, unions such as the UFW will continue to be unable to organize the vast bulk of a labor force based on the availability of millions of hungry workers without legal rights.

Down with Carter's "amnesty" fraud! Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Carter's "Amnesty" Fraud:

Foreign Workers Face Mass Deportations

Webb/Magnum

INS cops round up Mexicans near the border.

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!

A sizable segment of the American population—estimated at 6 to 12 million in number, the vast majority of them workers—lives in daily fear that they may at any instant lose their jobs and homes and be whisked out of the country, without trial, by a special police force which is aimed specially at them. These are the so-called "illegal aliens," foreign-born workers who cannot obtain legal status in this country because of racist U.S. immigration laws. In periods of high joblessness such as at present the daily threat escalates into calls for mass deportations as the bourgeoisie seeks to export unemployment, reduce expenditures for social services and direct the workers' anger against their "alien" class brothers and sisters.

This is precisely the purpose of the Labor Department's bill on undocumented non-citizen residents which was unveiled last month. But, as is to be expected from an administration which presents its every move, from inter-imperialist economic rivalries to an arms buildup, as an act of moral righteousness, the Carter plan for "illegal aliens" is presented as an "amnesty"! As the draconian U.S. Border Patrol steps up its sweeps through the Mexican ghettos of the Southwest, this plan for mass deportations will undoubtedly be presented as part of Carter's "human rights" crusade and an act of "Good Neighborliness" toward Latin America.

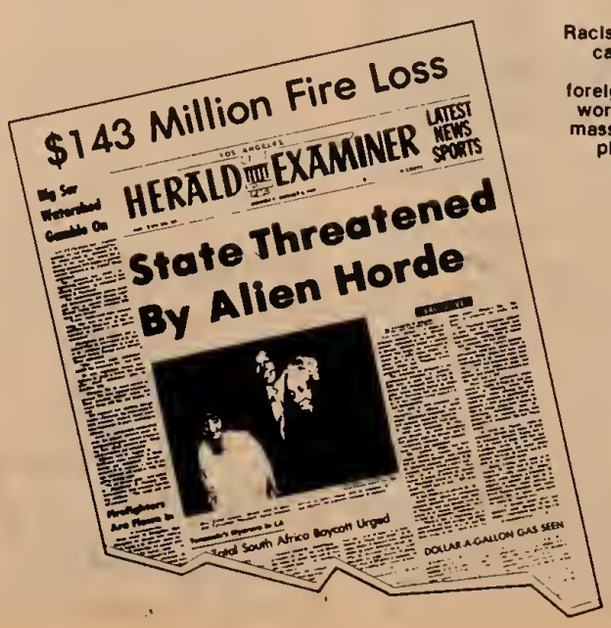
While starvation conditions in their native countries drive millions of workers from the Caribbean and Mexico to seek jobs in the U.S., their ability to enter and remain in the country illegally is made possible by the fact that a significant sector of American capitalists owe their super-profits to the availability of defenseless, and therefore cheap, undocumented foreign labor. Behind all the racist scapegoating of these workers as the cause of all of America's economic ills lies the truth that they are here because U.S. capitalism *needs* them.

Thus the response of the labor movement to the problem of mass unemployment must not be to join the chauvinist hue-and-cry for deportations but to demand full legal rights for foreign workers so they can join in militant class struggles for jobs for all, to force the bosses to bear the costs of the capitalist economic crisis.

"Amnesty" and Deportations

The Carter administration's proposals on "illegal aliens" are simply an attempt to ensure the continued availability of cheap labor for American employers, while simultaneously preventing these workers from enjoying the legal rights and social benefits of U.S. citizens. Thereby they intend to take financial pressure off heavily indebted state and local governments, unable to provide any longer basic social services to an increasingly economically hard-pressed population. Playing to racist reaction, the plans call for stepped-up state repression at several levels.

The bill put before Congress by the Labor Department includes provisions for an "amnesty" for those "aliens" who have been in the U.S. since 1970 (estimated at 5 percent of the total number of undocumented workers in the country), in the form of permanent resident status (but not citizenship). For those who can prove they arrived between January 1970 and January 1977, temporary residence status for five years is proposed. However, individuals in this category would be denied most social services (welfare, food stamps) even though they pay taxes; they would not be allowed to bring their families, could not become citizens, and there is no provision for them to remain after the five-year period.



Racist media campaign blames foreign-born workers for mass unemployment in U.S.

A fine for employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers, of up to $1,000 per violation, was also proposed. Most important, however, was the Carter plan's proposal to *double* the present size of the vicious and notoriously corrupt Border Patrol along the Mexican border.

It never has been and is not now the intention of U.S. rulers to *halt* illegal immigration; they merely want to control it better. Carter's latest "solution"—to impose civil sanctions against employers of "illegals"—has met with widespread opposition among influential sectors of the bourgeoisie. The *Wall Street Journal*, for instance, has called on the administration to drop this aspect of its program.

The capitalists who employ them *like* undocumented workers—and want to keep them that way. As long as the government, through the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), fearfully known as *la migra* in Spanish-speaking communities, continues its frequent mass round-ups and strong-arm tactics, these exploiters can continue to extract fabulous profits without fear of labor problems. As Harold M. Scherr, president of Santone Industries, Inc., a San Antonio men's wear manufacturer, cheerfully told *Business Week* (13 June): "I'm very fond of wetbacks and all illegal aliens. The illegals will do the unpleasant work, the dull work."

Although the U.S. House of Representatives has twice passed a bill imposing penalties on employers of undocumented workers, the so-called Rodino Bill, the Senate has refused to act on it. Significantly, James Eastland, Mississippi Democrat kingpin and chairman of the Senate subcommittee reviewing the bills, has a constituency whose influential large farmers rely heavily on foreign agricultural workers, particularly during cotton-ginning season.

The Bracero Program and Labor Contractors

It is not just a few "cockroach" capitalists packing contaminated shrimp or

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 175

30 September 1977

Racist Mobs Terrorize Black School Children in Chicago

Who Killed Busing?

For the black school children trying to enter Adlai E. Stevenson grade school in Southwest Chicago this term it was pure terror. They were surrounded and taunted by mobs of white racist adults. Fists pounded thundering threats on their school buses as they remained fearfully trapped inside. Herded off the buses the children had to make their way through packs of jeering, menacing racists—"the gauntlet."

That was on September 9, after a week-long racist school boycott that was 80-percent effective throughout the Southwest side. Since then it has become worse. By September 11 black people could not drive through the Bogan Park area without fearing for their lives. It was a "minefield" of racist assault. Thugs would surround cars carrying blacks, smashing windows and trying to pull out the passengers. Five blacks have so far been reported injured. And when one black driver trying to escape an attacking mob drove into some people by accident, he was immediately picked up by the cops and charged with "reckless driving."

The same day an anti-busing rally in Bogan drew 1,000 racists who burned effigies of the school board. The rally contained the usual assortment of those who preferred to burn crosses outright. The next week it began again with even more racist venom. When black children arrived at Stevenson they were faced by threatening mobs who blocked the doors screaming: "Go back, go back, go back where you belong." And: "Bus them back to Africa" (Chicago *Sun Times*, 13 September).

The children had been bused from Chicago's Southside ghetto, as part of the school board's "permissive transfer plan" involving in all less than 900 black students. It is certainly a courageous act for these children and their parents to send them in small isolated groups into this stronghold of racist reaction. No doubt some of these parents remember the heroes of the civil rights movement. They may have recalled Rosa Parks who sat defiantly on the bus in Montgomery, Alabama beginning the bus boycott in 1955; or James Meredith breaking the race barrier at the campus of "Old Miss" in 1962. At a "crisis meeting" of pro-busing leadership in Chicago, NAACP leader Charles Davis invoked this past: "I'm taken with a sense of déjà vu today. We've all been here before. Except that some of us are a little plumper, a little grayer, this could be a morning in the 1960's" (Chicago *Sun Times*, 7 September).

The NAACP leader could have added that he was also not much wiser. For at the end of this invocation of the past, Davis reflected on "the illusion of victory" that he and others had nurtured in early days of the civil rights movement. In 1977, in Chicago, only the dangers are comparable to the 1960's. The hope is long gone. And no wonder there was not the same belief that their struggle was breaking new ground for future social equality for blacks: by the time school opened in Chicago it was clear to all that the battle for busing had already been lost.

What pro-busing forces were preparing to defend was not a busing program to desegregate Chicago's school system. It was hardly even a token. The Chicago "voluntary" busing plan itself represented a surrender to racist mobilization. Far from an attempt to integrate the schools, the Chicago plan avoids any mention of race, instead allowing for "volunteers" from "critically overcrowded" schools to transfer to "underutilized" schools. An editorial in the *Sun Times* (6 September) asking the Southwest racists to "Make it Work" argued that, "the plan is, after all, modest...a few buses."

The racists, however, were dead-set against this "modest" gesture. Filled with the confidence inspired by a torrent of anti-busing decisions of the Supreme Court, racist legislation emanating from Congress and their victories in Boston and elsewhere, they would make it a battle on the streets of Chicago. Their rallying cry today was no longer the coded "No Forced Busing" heard so often at the beginning of the mobilizations in the streets of South Boston. Now it is the season for openly racist slogans: "No Integration!" and "No Blacks!"

Not only in Chicago, but across the country busing has been the target of years of frontal assault and guerrilla tactics that have defeated it in every major city as a basis of school desegregation. Each city places its particular stamp on the issue. In Los Angeles, for instance, the fight is over how many minutes may be spent in a school bus. It is more than an hour ride from Watts to the white-only city schools, so the "moderate" position is for 30-minute maximum bus rides.

But a pattern emerges. School desegregation plans are "ordered" after court suits are initiated by the NAACP and ACLU under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. These plans are then defied by boycotts and trimmed in the courts, school boards and halls of Congress. Liberal pro-busing advocates retreat. New plans are created that fit the new court decisions. "Limited" plans do not bus across the sacred line into the lily-white suburb. "Two-way" busing becomes one-way busing. Enforced busing becomes "voluntary" busing. And then comes no busing at all, except to bring white students to their white schools and black students to their black schools.

The battle in Chicago today is a "mopping up" action by the anti-busing segregationists. The fact that even this largely symbolic terrain is contested in blood by open racists, while there is no significant attempt to propose or defend busing in any U.S. city, underlines what has been obvious for some time—busing as a means of racial integration is dead. But ominously, as a focus for racist reaction it is very much alive. So who killed busing? Who is responsible for the defeat of school integration in the liberal North?

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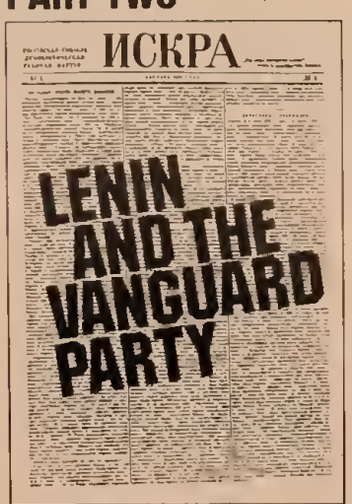
Chicago, 1977:

Love/Chicago Journal

Boston, 1974:

Boston Globe

PART TWO



Bolshevism vs. Menshevism: the 1903 Split

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Stalinists Hail Parisien Libéré "Victory"

Paris Printers Unions Give Up Closed Shop

PARIS, September 9—"WE'VE WON" was the giant headline in red in the "victory special" issue of the *Parisien Libéré* strike newspaper published by the Comité Intersyndical du Livre Parisien (Coordinating Committee of Paris Printers Unions). The strikers were served champagne at union headquarters to celebrate their "victory." The Communist Party's *L'Humanité* and *Vie Ouvrière* (the weekly newspaper of the Stalinist-controlled labor federation, the CGT) outdid each other in proclaiming the significance of this triumph. But in reality, the strike settlement abandons the most important trade-union conquest of the Paris printers, union control of hiring.

The newspaper's new boss, Mr. Claude Bellanger, who took over after the death of long-time *Parisien Libéré* publisher and anti-union hardliner Jacques Amaury, set the record straight to *Le Monde*:

> "No one disputes that this is a great date in the history of the press.... we have principles to defend which are directly linked to safeguarding freedom of the press. They are...the principles of *free enterprise, freedom of hiring* and the *freedom of union affiliation*. These are, in fact, recognized in the settlement, as are the monthly [instead of hourly] wage scale, conscientious work without restrictive work rules, and polyaptitude [the elimination of job classifications]."

Following a bitter 28-month strike, the union bureaucrats' claims of victory rest on the definite rehiring of only *62* out of a total of *550* printing workers at the *Parisien Libéré* plant. The others have been forced into early retirement, transferred to other print shops where they will not receive commensurate union benefits, rehired temporarily or moved out of Paris to areas with lower pay scales. *Above all, the strike settlement gives up trade-union control over hiring.* This capitulation was so outrageous that the CGT bureaucrats have not yet dared to publish the final accord!

During its more than two years' duration, the *Parisien Libéré* strike won the active sympathy of the French working class. Postal workers at sorting centers refused to handle the scab edition, while employees of the monopoly news distribution company blacklisted Amaury's racist, anti-communist, union-busting rag. About ten times in the course of the conflict all Paris dailies were shut down for 24-hour periods in solidarity with the strikers, and twice the CGT called national one-day work stoppages. On numerous occasions the union leadership staged "rodeos" which halted delivery trucks and dumped thousands of copies of the pirate edition into the Seine River. This resulted in more than a thousand court cases pending against *Parisien Libéré* workers.

The strike could not have held out for so many months had it not been for the tremendous combativity of the workers involved. This was seen in the daring occupation of *Parisien Libéré*'s Paris printshop in April 1975 and in its militant defense by the occupiers: so effective was it that the cops didn't even try to retake the plant until January 1977. As soon as the police attack was known, all Paris newspapers were immediately shut down. This underlined the strong support from the printers union ranks, who had instituted a strike fund by taxing themselves one day's salary every month.

This unusual militancy and solidarity can be explained by the high stakes involved in the *Parisien Libéré* strike, which was far more than the collision between a right-wing anti-union boss and "his" workers. In all of France, only dock workers and Paris printers are organized into industrial unions with an effective closed shop. At the beginning of the "cold war," in the major trade-union split which gave rise to the social-democratic Force Ouvrière (FO), the printers federation stayed with the CGT. Through harsh class battles, including a struggle against the 1945-47 government of "national union" which included Communist and Socialist ministers, the Fédération Française des Travailleurs du Livre (FFTL) won wages for "master printers" that are among the highest in French skilled trades.

Paris printers work a five-day week, six hours a day, with a total of seven weeks vacation. The precise number of workers per job is defined in the contract, and it is forbidden to use a worker for any job outside his classification. These conditions are codified in "technical annexes" for the Paris dailies added to the national printing trades agreement. But now a breach has been opened in this wall of trade-union job protection. Under the watchwords of "polyvalence" and "conscientious work," production standards and job classifications will be gutted; wages will henceforth be based on the pay scales of provincial newspapers of the Amaury-Bellanger chain (one quarter to one third less than Paris levels). Thus the hollow "victory" of the *Parisien Libéré* strike means massive lowering of job standards and wages.

Publisher Bellanger boasted that the settlement meant the end of "the abusive monopoly [of hiring] imposed by the CGT printers union." It is clear that future negotiations between the syndicate of the Paris press (management) and the printers union will be based on extending the *Parisien Libéré* settlement terms to the rest of the industry. This will mean the end of the closed shop, as other unions will move in on the CGT turf—and will consequently reduce union bargaining power vis-à-vis management. The social-democratic CFDT and FO federations are in principle in favor of "trade-union pluralism," and Force Ouvrière has already played a despicable role in the recent strike. Amaury had *Parisien Libéré* printed on his own terms at St.-Ouen, with the scab work performed by FO members with the explicit agreement of the strike-breaking FO leadership!

Parisien Libéré Strike and the French Left

Within the framework of the "normal" practices of the French labor movement, the Coordinating Committee of Paris Printers Unions conducted a relatively militant strike at *Parisien Libéré*, for it was well understood that thousands of jobs and its own existence as an industrial union were at stake. But it is untrue that everything possible was done to win the strike. An obvious measure was deliberately avoided: instead of dissipating militancy through ineffectual one-day work stoppages, the Committee could have shut down the entire Paris newspaper industry indefinitely to win the demands of the striking printers. Nor were other publications of the Amaury chain shut down in solidarity with the *Parisien Libéré* printers.

But the FFTL bureaucrats were too conscious of their "responsibilities" to undertake such crucial action. Leaders of the popular-front Union of the Left would complain that an all-out strike could upset the applecart in one or another election, potentially alienating middle-class voters. The government and big business spokesmen would seek just that by whipping up hysteria about "Communist dictatorship" over the press (a battle cry they used against printing workers who sought to insert union communiqués in the newspapers to counter management lies about this and other strikes). And the bourgeois components of the Union of the Left would threaten to break the class-collaborationist alliance over this issue.

Already in 1975 the French Stalinists had indicated their willingness to bargain away union control of hiring in the Paris newspaper printing industry. Georges Séguy, general secretary of the CGT and a member of the Communist Party (PCF) political bureau, stated: "One can well imagine management raising this question [eliminating union control of hiring]...without this causing a breakdown in negotiations" (*Le Monde*, 6 September 1975). And during the *Parisien Libéré* strike the only real demand of the bureaucrats was "for negotiations." Instead of defending these vital union gains, the CGT has sought to channel French workers' struggles against threatened job losses into chauvinist economic nationalism.

For the last two years the central slogan of the FFTL has been "repatriate jobs," denouncing the flight of printing work to Belgium in particular. The same treacherous protectionist appeal has been at the center of the French Stalinists' campaign around the Concorde supersonic jetliner. The PCF plastered Paris walls this summer with posters proclaiming: "New York keeps out the Concorde, let's keep out Boeing"; and "They're taking our factories out of the country, they're taking our jobs away...let's build French!" Although the PCF ostensibly denounces the lack of patriotism of the bosses, the purpose of this propaganda is to recall the days during and after World War II when the Communist Party collaborated "loyally" with the Gaullists in the Resistance and post-war governments.

It is one thing for an American communist organization to denounce the economic protectionism behind the refusal to grant landing rights to the Concorde in New York, as the Spartacist League/U.S. has done (uniquely, it should be noted, since the fake-lefts are busy tailing the environmentalists). And the Belgian printers unions demonstrated militant internationalism in refusing to print the pirate edition of *Parisien Libéré*, carrying out joint actions with French printers at the border to intercept the few issues which were printed by Belgian scabs. But for the French Stalinists to launch campaigns to "produce French" is an anti-proletarian diversion aimed at sidetracking demands for militant struggle.

As befits loyal camp followers of the popular front, the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and Lutte Ouvrière (LO) supported the Stalinists' "victory" claims on the *Parisien Libéré* strike. When the outlines of the settlement were first announced, the LCR's *Rouge* (12 July) ran a banner headline on its front page, "Management Gives In." Its editorial stated, "After 28 months of struggle, the *Parisien Libéré* workers have won a success, with the essentials of the FFTL demands satisfied." The LCR was silent on the abandonment of the closed shop, and a month later still maintained that "the balance sheet is positive in favor of the workers of the *Parisien*" (*Rouge*, 17 August).

LO, although somewhat more guarded, termed the agreement (which directly eliminated more than 400 jobs) a "relative success for the workers" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 16 July). But where the LCR Pabloists remained silent, the LO syndicalists were actually pleased at the blow struck against industrial unionism. Repeating the bourgeoisie's complaint about the FFTL "monopoly on hiring," LO complained that the CGT had taken up the battle only to "preserve its advantages."

The third major ostensibly Trotskyist organization in France, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), formally denounced the *Parisien Libéré* strike settlement for the betrayal that it is and published excerpts from the secret agreement. But if the LCR

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Editions Sociales

Vigil in support of Parisien Libéré strike.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Busing...

(continued from page 1)

In the case of busing, as with so many other issues, yesterday's organizers of defeats pose as the saviors of today's struggles. They must be exposed and ousted as part of the fight to organize for victory tomorrow.

The simple truth is that it was the liberals, not the racist mobs, who actually killed busing. And those in the left and workers movement who capitulate to liberalism share the blame. Liberals and reformists, both black and labor, united in the civil rights movement around a program of pressuring the government, especially the federal government, to enforce democratic rights. For a time in the early 1960's this program combined with mass demonstrations brought limited gains. When the courts and federal government submitted the racist fabric of American society to benign neglect and then began backtracking even on democratic rights, the NAACP et al. cried "betrayal!" But it wasn't the capitalist state which betrayed.

When the battles for desegregation of schools and public facilities began in the South, liberals saw it as a morality play. The villains were local racists: sheriffs like Bull Conner and neanderthal governors like Ross Barnett. The images were vicious police dogs and fire hoses turned on peaceful demonstrators. The heroes were the courts, particularly the Supreme Court; Martin Luther King, Jr., a black liberal; and the Kennedy Democrats who held court in Washington, D.C. As the last vestiges of Jim Crow fell, they believed, with passage of the Civil Rights Act, blacks would finally have "equal opportunity" in the land of golden opportunities.

By the late 1960's, segregationist laws had been wiped off the books, but it was immediately apparent that this failed to relieve the poverty and slum conditions which trapped the black masses in the northern cities. In the resulting disaffection with liberalism, former civil rights activists turned to the reactionary-utopian ideology of black nationalism and the ghettos exploded in rage and frustration. But when the ghettos had been burned out and black nationalism proved incapable of anything but surrender to "separate but unequal" (glorified as "community control"), civil rights liberals reasserted themselves with a new issue: busing.

Busing made sense to a liberal civil rights activist. It combined two critical elements of his accustomed political strategy: a utopian (either cynical or naive) faith in upward mobility through education, and a complete reliance on the instruments of the capitalist state to accomplish this goal. It would sidestep thornier issues such as residential segregation (i.e., enforced ghettoization of the black population) which were not a question of "public policy." But it soon became obvious that the social realities of racist America could not be ignored. Demagogues were able to mobilize the discontents of working-class and petty-bourgeois inner city white neighborhoods against the integration plans, and the suburbs appealed to the courts to stop the buses at the city limits.

In Boston there was an explosion of night-riding attacks on blacks and racist mobilization of white ethnic working-class communities to block the buses and boycott the schools. With the anti-busing forces taking to the streets, black liberals pinned their hopes on the government. With the aid of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which organized mass demonstrations on their behalf, the NAACP and black Democrats made the demand for federal troops a major focus in Boston. For enforcement of the busing plan they relied on a liberal federal district judge.

But the anti-busing racists in ROAR and similar groups around the country had a better sense of which way the

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Heat Walkout Pickets Face Jail

UAW Must Defend Trenton Chrysler Seven!

DETROIT—Over 125 protesters jammed a federal courtroom here September 19 as seven United Auto Workers (UAW) militants went on trial. The charges against them stem from their alleged involvement in a wildcat strike this summer which shut down Chrysler's Trenton Engine Plant for nearly a week. Facing up to six months in jail and a $1,000 fine apiece, the Local 372 members are charged with criminal contempt of a Chrysler-obtained restraining order which prohibited picketing at the key plant. Chrysler has already fired the workers—now it is vindictively trying to railroad them in the courtroom as a warning to all UAW members not to act against the company-union enforced no-strike clause.

U.S. district judge John Feikens made clear early on what kind of "justice" he had in mind. Though Feikens' old law firm still handles Chrysler business and his son is on the Chrysler legal staff, the "impartial" judge refused to disqualify himself. Feikens even tried to appoint Chrysler attorneys as special U.S. prosecutors for the case and, reaching a height of arrogance, refused the workers' request for a jury trial. Without massive protest by the UAW ranks, the judge's verdict, due October 6, is highly predictable.

The strike at the Trenton plant was the largest and longest of many walkouts that hit Detroit-area auto plants this summer, most of them sparked by a heat wave that sent temperatures skyrocketing to 120 degrees inside the factories. With UAW officialdom completely unwilling to shut down the infernos which claimed the lives of several workers through heat stroke and heart attack, angry workers hit the bricks on their own.

After a walkout at the Trenton plant July 20, one of the hottest days of the summer, Chrysler management fired chief steward Bob Paolucci and five production workers. On the afternoon shift August 8 hundreds of workers, demanding that the disciplines be dropped, walked out and kept the plant shut down until the following Monday. They continued to picket the plant throughout the week, ignoring Local 372 and UAW International officials who ordered them to return to work. When Trenton police handed out dozens of court orders barring picketing, they were torn up and flung on the ground by pickets who chanted, "Hell no, we won't go!"

The strike remained solid and was beginning to shut down other Chrysler plants which rely on Trenton's engines when Paolucci, looked to for leadership, came through for Chrysler and the UAW hierarchy and urged the workers to end the strike. Though Paolucci has gotten his job back, no doubt thanks to his effort in ending the wildcat, chief steward Dave Heindrich, alternate steward Roger Elkins, executive board member Thomas Cunningham plus rank-and-filers Al Larcinese, Dennis White, James Hart and Thomas Kemp were fired and are now singled out for prosecution.

An agreement in late August between Solidarity House and Chrysler secured the rehiring of every other worker fired this summer in the heat walkouts, but the seven Trenton workers remained fired and are on trial for a reason: neither Chrysler, the UAW nor the courts want to tolerate violation of the sacrosanct no-strike clause in cumbersome grievance procedure which chains the workers to the assembly lines. Though over 50 workers in the city got their jobs back, the Trenton Seven are being pilloried as an object lesson in "labor discipline."

In an August 26 press release announcing that most fired Chrysler workers would be reinstated, UAW vice president and Chrysler department director Marc Stepp drove the no-strike point home, taking the opportunity to get in a little "outside agitator" baiting as well. Stepp announced:

> "I plan to meet in the very near future, with the leadership of the Chrysler local unions to review with them their responsibilities for handling disputes through the use of normal grievance procedure, as outlined in the collective bargaining agreement with the Chrysler Corporation and the UAW constitution.
>
> "In addition, I want to serve notice that we will no longer tolerate outsiders who choose to interfere in the affairs of our union and its members and who try to obstruct the collective bargaining process, nor will we tolerate management's disregard of the health and safety of our members.
>
> "I want to assure all Chrysler workers in all Chrysler locals that I stand ready to work with them to resolve whatever problems they may have, provided the established procedure is followed. Unauthorized walkouts only serve to hamper that procedure severely and preclude me from giving the assistance that may be needed by the membership."

What "precludes" the UAW hacks from backing up the membership, much less leading them, is not just the no-strike clause which these hypocritical fakers re-negotiate into every contract. It is their iron-clad commitment to keep peace in the plants on behalf of the bosses that is the real source of the bureaucrats' treachery. The UAW ranks must fight not only for the right to strike over all grievances without the grudging and seldom-given approval of the International. They also need to boot the betrayers out of office and replace them with a militant class-struggle leadership.

Drop the Charges!

In his summary remarks at the trial, defense attorney Leonard Jaques noted that the prosecution of the Trenton Seven was an "unprecedented case in this court's history." Restraining orders have, of course, been used to break UAW wildcats, but it is quite rare that contempt charges are pursued once a strike is over. Denouncing the selective victimization of the seven workers—out of hundreds of pickets—Jaques correctly charged that the proceedings made the court a "pawn of Chrysler" and that "all labor is on trial in this city, where labor rose up and grew strong."

WV Photo

Auto worker arrested last August outside Chrysler engine plant in Trenton, Michigan.

At a September 18 meeting of Local 372 the membership voted a resolution demanding that all charges against the Trenton Seven be dropped and that they be immediately reinstated in their jobs; that there be no disciplines for the wildcat and that all records be cleared. In addition they demanded that the International throw its full weight behind the defense, including if necessary an authorized strike by Local 372 and all other Chrysler plants.

But Solidarity House has let the Trenton Seven stand trial alone. For fear of appearing to condone an "illegal" strike, the union is providing neither legal assistance nor funds for the workers' defense. A Trenton Defense Committee has been formed in Local 372 and over $2,000 has been collected in the plant. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a contribution to the Defense Committee and encourages readers of *WV* to do likewise. UAW members throughout the country have a stake in this case. They must rally to the defense of the Trenton Seven and demand that the International take all necessary action, including a strike, to secure dropping of the charges, rehiring of the seven and wiping out all disciplines.

Contributions can be sent to: Trenton Defense Committee, c/o UAW Local 372, 4571 Division Street, Trenton, MI 48183. ■

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Front Man for Auto Bosses Wins Primary

Coleman Young's Phony Renaissance in Detroit

DETROIT—Mayor Coleman Young, the nation's bellwether "progressive" black local politician, easily defeated ten rivals in the September 14 mayoral primary here. Young took a commanding 55 percent of the vote, with the two leading white candidates trailing a distant third and fourth. He will now face the runner-up, city councilman Ernest C. Browne, Jr. in the November general elections. Thus for the first time in a major U.S. city, two black politicians will face each other as the top contenders for the mayor's office. But for Detroit's predominantly black working class and the huge mass of chronically unemployed, the "choice" means nothing. Neither candidate will bring relief from the squalor and grinding exploitation of decaying "Motor City."

Young based his campaign on the claim that he "turned Detroit around." Shaken by the 1967 ghetto explosion, a group of corporate investors led by Henry Ford II bankrolled the showcase multi-million dollar Renaissance Center on the Detroit River, which was inaugurated last spring. The mayor claims this as proof of the city's revitalization. However, the much ballyhooed RenCen towers featuring luxury accomodations for businessmen and tourists loom over rotting slum dwellings and empty office buildings in a downtown that is deserted after dark.

Even the current "recovery" of the auto industry, far and away the largest employer of Detroit workers, is temporary, based on an unsustainable expansion of consumer credit. The upturn was accompanied by the permanent elimination of nearly 100,000 jobs in the industry and enforcement of the worst speed-up campaign in decades. As a result unemployment in Detroit officially stands at nearly 10 percent, the highest rate of any American metropolis. Six out of ten black youth are jobless, and for every four employed one person is on welfare. The crime rate is so astronomical that Kentucky Fried Chicken outlets are guarded by rent-a-cops with high-powered pistols and sometimes shotguns.

For the Detroit bourgeoisie, Young's accomplishment was getting through his first term without a major crisis despite the presence of all the ingredients for a violent social upheaval. Thanks to the sellouts at United Auto Workers (UAW) Solidarity House, he weathered the 1974-75 depression-level unemployment. He rode out a sensational wave of youth gang violence and several near-revolts in the scandal-ridden, predominantly white police force. When the city's "fiscal crisis" hit this year, he cut the budget and the city workforce with a vengeance, while avoiding prolonged strikes with the help of Teamster and public employee union bureaucrats. For his success in keeping the lid on a tinder box of race and class discontent, Colemen Young received the endorsement of the entire Detroit political establishment, from UAW chief Doug Fraser to Henry Ford II and financier/real estate magnate Max Fisher.

Cops and Crime

Although Detroit has the largest single concentration of workers in heavy industry in America, the absence of a workers party representing this proletarian mass has meant that politics in "Motor City" is centered on racial hostility. With voters about equally divided between white and black (due to lower registration among blacks), Young's strategy has been to sweep the black vote and pick up enough white liberal support to win. His opponent in the runoff, Ernest Browne, is aiming to do just the opposite. Browne hopes to sew up the white vote and appeal to enough conservative, middle-class and older black voters to put together a majority. Thus the campaign for the November election promises to see both candidates hurling the obvious charge that their opponent is playing racialist politics.

Young presents himself as a man who can bring together blacks, industry and labor while projecting a style that is a combination of Southern preacher and hip poverty program hustler. During the primary he blasted Browne as the "first black white hope" in history and a "racist." Browne, who concentrated his campaign in white neighborhoods, called Young a "hoodlum street fighter with gutter values" and a "bad example" for Detroit children. In contrast to Young's mod bachelor image, Browne stresses that he is a family man, a regular church-goer and long-time Boy Scout leader.

Browne's biggest issue is "crime in the streets." He calls for the reintroduction of STRESS (Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets), the Detroit police department's plain-clothes decoy killer squad which Young disbanded in 1973. Browne also vows to put more cops on the streets and opposes Young's "affirmative action" program which has raised the number of black police from 18 to 30 percent of the force while enraging white cops. This appeal to white racism has brought him the support of the Detroit Police Officers Association and the Lieutenants and Sergeants Association.

Such endorsements will cost Browne a lot of black votes, however. Young's pledge to abolish STRESS, which gunned down 13 innocent victims in one year alone, was key to his 1973 victory over police chief John "Blackjack" Nichols. Blacks who recall that the Detroit police department traditionally sent recruiters into the South to hire Dixie's finest racist thugs have little sympathy for white cops passed over for promotion or laid off out of line of "seniority." But as a capitalist politician, the "progressive" Young has no alternative to cop terror. He simply proposes to change the color of the faces of these killers in blue and oust a few of the more notorious racists.

WV Photo

Coleman Young

"Bringing Home the Bacon"?

Young plays on his ties to the Democratic administration in Washington. One of Carter's earliest black supporters, Young helped the president ride out the furor over his racist "ethnic purity" remarks and squeak through to victory in the Michigan primary. Now the mayor says Detroit can collect on this IOU. To prove it, just before the election, Housing and Urban Development (HUD) secretary Patricia Harris conveniently presented Young with a $10-million rehabilitation grant for the city's squalid southeast side. TV spots showed a bank vault door slamming shut "if Mayor Young isn't re-elected," and giant billboards carried the message: "Mayor Young brings home the bacon."

But there hasn't been much bacon for the workers and poor in Detroit. While Young dined with his friend "Hank the Deuce" and other industry fat cats on sterling silver plates at the inaugural dinner in the RenCen's revolving tri-level restaurant, Detroit's laid-off workers live in surroundings of burnt-out storefronts, rubble-strewn ghetto lots and potholed streets. The HUD grant for 300 new housing units pales next to the estimated 10,000 abandoned homes owned by the housing agency in the city. Eighty thousand Mexican Americans are crowded into the southwest section and an equal number of Arabs, the largest concentration in North America, live in even worse conditions.

Anti-Labor "Progressive"

It should be obvious that the candidate of the auto bosses will not and cannot relieve the plight of blacks, poor and working people in Detroit. Equally predictable has been Young's faithful carrying out of the directives of the banks and businesses during the "fiscal crisis." When city revenues nose-dived in 1975 as a result of depression conditions in the auto industry, Young cut the city payroll by 20 percent. Last year, when a seven-bank syndicate demanded more budget cuts as a condition for purchasing municipal bonds, Young pink-slipped 3,000 more employees.

Early in 1977 Young was admonished by Moody's and Standard and Poor's bond rating services that the city's credit rating was endangered by excessive pay scales and fringe benefits. Once more, Young did the bidding of the financiers.

WV Photo

RenCen—Detroit business' "answer" to urban blight.

He vowed to "take a strike" of city employees rather than grant them more than a lousy 4-percent wage increase, far below the increase of the cost-of-living index. With the help of AFSCME bureaucrats who halted a city workers walkout in July after only one day, Young shoved the de facto wage cut down the workers' throats. Detroit teachers got even less—3 percent and an extra quarter hour added onto every class period with no additional pay.

Like Atlanta's black Democratic mayor Maynard Jackson, who last spring broke a strike of the predominantly black AFSCME municipal employees union by firing the strikers en masse, Young has made it clear that any resistance by labor to his job-slashing policies will be met by brutal force. When school bus drivers wildcatted earlier this year in a contract dispute, the

WV Photo

Ken Cockerel

city threatened to fire every worker who did not immediately return to work. During the summer, brief walkouts by nurses at Detroit General Hospital and Teamster garbage truck drivers were ended by court order.

This "big stick" policy could not work, however, particularly in a bastion of organized labor like Detroit, were it not for the collaboration of the labor skates, who have offered up their members' jobs to Young's budget-cutting ax with virtually no fight. And on the heels of these attacks they are giving enthusiastic support to Young's re-election campaign. As in other traditional union towns—New York, where bank-controlled "emergency" boards have ripped up labor contracts left and right, or San Francisco, where a liberal Democratic city administration smashed a 1976 municipal workers strike against massive wage cuts—the situation in Detroit cries out for a labor candidate. And here especially, where the Democratic party exists essentially at the unions' behest, it is clear that the main obstacle to forming a workers party is the pro-capitalist labor hureaucracy.

Not Young But a Workers Party!

Like his counterparts elsewhere in the country—Newark's Gibson, Los Angeles' Bradley, Atlanta's Jackson—black Democrat Young has performed an important service for the racist ruling class of capitalist America by channeling the ghetto unrest that boiled over in the 1960's into the small change of electoral reformism. Not only has Young *not* brought home the bacon, not only has he launched an attack on the municipal unions, but he doesn't even fight for such elementary democratic rights for blacks as school integration. After the metropolitan busing plan was

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Spartacus Youth League
CLASS SERIES

Fundamentals of Marxism

Alternate Tuesdays beginning
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No to Forced Retirement

On September 23 the U.S. House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly to raise the mandatory retirement age in private industry from 65 to 70 and to eliminate any mandatory retirement for most of the federal government's civilian workers. Its proponents chalked the measure up as another "human rights" victory, but the sanctimonious Carter administration itself played no role in passage and is pressuring for major amendments before the bill goes to the Senate.

The national legislative drive follows a spate of municipal and state laws eliminating or raising the mandatory retirement age. Major lobbyists included organizations of the elderly and retired and the American Civil Liberties Union. As one of them noted: "It's a very emotional issue, near to motherhood. It's hard for members of Congress to vote against it" (*Business Week*, 19 September). The vote tally in the House (359 to 4) certainly bore him out. While bourgeois politicians are viciously attacking the democratic rights of racial minorities, women, homosexuals and foreign workers, generalized sympathy for the aged and the significant voting strength of the 21 million people over 65 allows minimal legislative reforms in this area despite the general rightward political drift.

The issue of mandatory retirement focuses on the drastic drop in living

Bob McCullough

standards experienced by the elderly as they are forced out of the labor market. The majority of the over-65 population live at or below the official poverty level. The brute statistics are underlined by the hideous conditions of the nation's nursing homes, the tragic plight of aged derelicts and the sight of old people buying canned dog food as their only affordable source of meat. The plague of malnutrition and poor health is compounded by the trauma of being wrenched from the economic and social mainstream. Having extracted the life's blood of its workers for 40 to 50 years, capitalism discards them into a limbo of enforced idleness and desperate poverty while they wait to die.

The social-democratic reformist Michael Harrington wrote in *The Other America* that the United States is a country where"...youth is worshipped and death is rarely mentioned by name." The Kennedy and Johnson administrations, whose "war on poverty" programs were supposedly inspired by Harrington, ushered in an official lexicon of euphemisms and a mythic conception of the "twilight years" where "senior citizens" contentedly pursue leisure activities and enroll in "golden age" clubs. While Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid and similar measures provide some alleviation of the condition of the aged, their impact is marginal; the major beneficiaries are profit-gouging doctors, drug companies and nursing home proprietors. Such laws have aimed at making the retirement years more bearable without altering the societal exclusion of the elderly. Moreover, welfare programs for the elderly in the U.S. are among the worst in the industrialized capitalist world and qualitatively inferior to the social facilities, services and pensions for the aged in the deformed workers states of the Soviet Bloc.

The question of mandatory retirement encapsulates certain aspects of capitalism's glaring contradictions. Breakthroughs in medical science have dramatically increased life expectancy. At the turn of the century, white Americans lived an average of 47 years (slightly more for women); non-whites lived an average of 33 years. By 1968 life expectancy had grown to 67 years for white men, 74 for white women and 65 for all non-whites. This meant, among other things, a larger potential labor pool.

But capitalism is a system in decline, and the U.S. reversed its historic pattern of labor shortages as the twentieth century wore on. Except in periods of war, the American imperialist economy has been marked by widespread official unemployment and broader disguised unemployment of students, housewives and the retired (along with periodic mass deportations of foreign workers). In fact, the 1935 Social Security Act was drafted by a group of New Deal braintrusters partly to reduce astronomical jobless rates by establishing 65 as the general retirement age for industrial workers.

The labor bureaucracy has generally supported mandatory retirement for the same reason—as an artificial means of keeping the lid on unemployment in a decaying economy. Until this month, the AFL-CIO leadership had worked in tandem with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to block any changes in the mandatory retirement age. To the individual worker, the question of retirement usually reduces itself to the dilemma of choosing (where he is allowed a choice at all) between accepting a drastic cut in income or remaining at a back-breaking, monotonous job. Productive labor is a socially useful activity which forms the nexus of industrial societies. Yet capitalism with its drive for heightened productivity and profits degrades and brutalizes this essential human activity.

A recent Roper poll summarized its findings:

> "Nearly two-thirds of working Americans would like to retire before age 62, and over one-third prefer to quit working before they hit 60. However, for people closest to retirement, those 60 and over, only one-third would opt to stop working before 62."
>
> —*Wall Street Journal*, 13 September

More significantly, the opinion survey indicated that 61 percent would prefer to work *part-time* rather than retire completely.

A collectivized economy administered by a workers government would certainly allow older workers a choice between retirement at a decent income or staying at their jobs with working hours reduced to a level commensurate with their desires and physical abilities. The socialist solution to unemployment is not the forced exclusion of healthy, productive human beings from the workforce but a general shortening of the workweek at no loss in pay. Many of the most boring and onerous jobs would be automated out of existence with the remaining jobs equitably shared out among the entire workforce.

The Spartacist League supports the raising of the mandatory retirement age (indeed, we favor its total abolition) as a simple extension of democratic rights. We also demand a national welfare system with a decent standard of living for the non-working population, and a socialized medical system to provide effective health care to all at no cost. At the same time we warn that the reactionary bourgeoisie always attempts to extract a price for any concessions it makes to the needs of the masses. Already Carter's Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps has suggested raising the age for full Social Security benefits from 65 to 68 and for partial retirement payments from 62 to 65. And private employers are no doubt scheming for ways to cut back on their contributions to already meager pension funds. While opposing mandatory retirement, the workers movement must fight any attempt by the capitalists or government to raise the age of pension eligibility or otherwise cut back present retirement benefits.

It is the responsibility of the labor movement to champion the interests of all the oppressed. But this is not the program of the wretchedly pro-capitalist, racist, job-trusting labor bureaucracy. The construction of a revolutionary vanguard party with deep and authoritative roots in the trade unions and the toppling of the venal bureaucracy by a class-struggle leadership are key to unlocking the enormous wealth of American capitalism and placing it at the service of the masses through a workers government and a planned economy. ■

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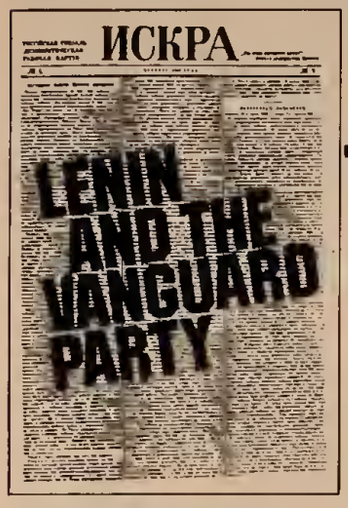
Bolshevism vs. Menshevism: the 1903 Split



PART TWO

To understand the principle of the communist vanguard party, it is necessary to recognize the evolution of Lenin from a revolutionary social democrat to the founding leader of the Communist International. Various revisionists, notably the British workerist-reformist Tony Cliff, have attempted to deny or obfuscate the principle of the democratic-centralist vanguard party by pointing to those elements of classic social democracy retained by the pre-1914 Bolsheviks and conditioned by the particularities of the Russian situation. This series seeks to trace the development of Lenin's position on the party question. The first part (WV No. 173, 16 September) focused on the Kautskyan doctrine of the "party of the whole class" and its relevance to early Russian social democracy.

The Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), held in Brussels and then London in July-August 1903, was to be the culmination of the Iskraist project to create a centralized party based on a comprehensive program. (In part because of repression, the formal founding congress of the RSDLP in 1898 did not change the nature of Russian social democracy from a movement of localized propaganda circles.) The Economists were not excluded from the Congress, but it was arranged so that the Iskraists would be a decisive majority. The *Iskra* group accounted for about two-thirds of the Second Congress' 46 delegates. Of the remaining third, about half were anti-Iskraists. These consisted of a few prominent Economists (Martynov, Akimov) and the semi-nationalist Bund, which claimed to be the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat and demanded a federated party.

In the first phase of the Congress, a solid Iskraist majority carried its line. The Iskraist group, including future Mensheviks, voted unanimously for a program which included elements later very much characteristic of Leninism. For example, the section "On the Trade Union Struggle" contains the following passage:

> "...in so far as this struggle develops in isolation from the political struggle of the proletariat led by the Social Democratic Party, it leads to the fragmentation of the proletarian forces and to subordination of the workers' movement to the interests of the propertied classes."
>
> —Robert H. McNeal, ed., *Resolutions and Documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1974)

However, beneath the seemingly solid front of the *Iskra* group were very considerable tensions. One such potential polarity was between Lenin and Martov, who was consistently more conciliatory to the non- and anti-Iskraist elements of Russian social democracy. Even before the Congress, Martov was generally known as a "soft" Iskraist and Lenin as a "hard." Consequently, those *Iskra* supporters who favored a greater role for non-Iskraists in a unitary party looked to Martov as their natural leader; those wanting the Iskraists to keep a tight control of the party looked to Lenin.

The tension between Lenin's "hards" and Martov's "softs" manifested itself in a series of minor disputes from the very beginning of the Congress. As is well known, this tension exploded over the first paragraph of the rules which defined membership. Martov's draft defined a member as one who "renders it regular personal assistance under the direction of one of its organizations." Lenin's membership criterion was "by personal participation in one of the Party organizations."

Lenin's narrower definition of membership was motivated by both a general desire to exclude opportunists (who were less likely to accept the rigors and dangers of full organizational participation) and by a desire to weed out dilettantes who had been attracted to Russian social democracy precisely because of its loose circle nature. Interestingly, it was Plekhanov who stressed the anti-opportunist aspect of a narrower party, while Lenin emphasized more practical, conjunctural considerations. Here is the heart of Plekhanov's argument:

> "Many of the intelligentsia will fear to enter, contaminated as they are with bourgeois individualism; but this is all to the good, since those bourgeois individuals usually constitute representatives of all kinds of opportunism. The opponents of opportunism should therefore vote for Lenin's project, which closes the door to its penetration into the party."
>
> —quoted in Leopold H. Haimson, *The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism* (1955)

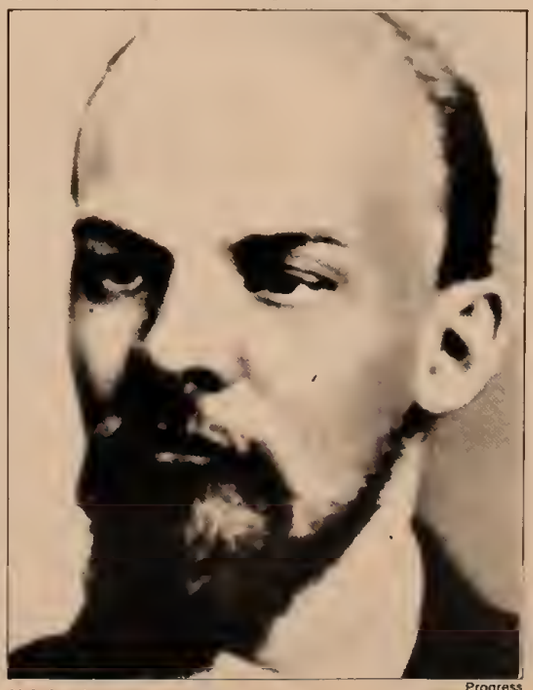
Leon Trotsky

Lenin argued on somewhat different grounds:

> "The root of the mistake made by those who stand for Martov's formulation is that they not only ignore one of the main evils of our Party life, but even sanctify it. The evil is that, at a time when political discontent is almost universal, when conditions require our work to be carried out in complete secrecy, and when most of our activities have to be confined to limited, secret circles and even to private meetings, it is extremely difficult, almost impossible in fact, for us to distinguish those who only talk from those who do the work. *There is hardly another country in the world* where the jumbling of these two categories is as common and as productive of such boundless confusion as in Russia.... It would be better if ten who do the work should not call themselves Party members...than that one who only talks should have the right and opportunity to be a Party member. That is a principle which seems to me indisputable, and which compels me to fight against Martov." [our emphasis]
>
> —"Second Speech in the Discussion on the Party Rules" (1903)

With the support of the Economists, Bundists and centrists, Martov's formulation carried. However, the Economists and Bundists soon thereafter quit the Congress when it refused to accept their respective organizational claims. This gave Lenin's "hards" a slight majority. The decisive split occurred over the election of the *Iskra* editorial board. The old editorial board contained four Martovite "softs" plus Lenin and Plekhanov. Lenin proposed that the board be reduced to three with him and Plekhanov forming a "hard" majority. This proposal was a highly emotional issue since the veterans, Axelrod and Zasulich, were sentimental favorites in the party. When Lenin's proposal carried, the Martovites refused to serve

Jules Martov


V. I. Lenin

Progress

on either the editorial board or central committee.

Much acrimonious debate centered on whether Lenin had informed Martov of his plan to reduce the editorial board before the Congress, whether Martov agreed, etc. The pre-history of the editorial board fight is unclear because it involved private discussions. What is clear is that Lenin's unwillingness to compromise on the issue derived from the vote on membership criteria. It was definitely Lenin who began the *factional* struggle. He refused to regard the difference on membership criteria as an incidental dispute, but insisted it be made the basis for majority-minority representation on the party's leading bodies.

The period between the Second Congress and the beginning of the revolution of 1905 was marked by the erosion of the Leninist "hard" majority. Throughout this period most of Lenin's political energy was directed against those majority supporters who wanted to restore unity by capitulating to the Mensheviks, reversing the decisions of the Second Congress and liquidating the Bolshevik tendency.

The Mensheviks first counter-attacked at a congress of the Foreign League of Russian Revolutionary Social Democracy in October 1903, where they secured a slight majority. When the League refused to recognize the authority of the leading bodies elected at the Second Congress, the Bolsheviks walked out. This finalized the split.

While Plekhanov supported the Bolshevik faction, he shrank from a definitive split over what appeared to be a purely organizational rather than a principled question. At a Bolshevik caucus meeting in November, he reportedly blurted out: "I cannot fire at my own comrades. Better a bullet in the head than a split" (quoted in Samuel H. Baron, *Plekhanov: Father of Russian Marxism* [1963]). He thereupon used his authority to co-opt to the *Iskra* editorial board the four Martovites from the old board; Lenin resigned in protest.

During 1904 the all-Bolshevik Central Committee, which Lenin joined after resigning from *Iskra*, followed Plekhanov's course. Lenin, believing that his supporters were stronger among the committee men *in Russia* than among the more intellectual exile milieu, came out for a new party congress to reestablish his majority and recapture the now-Menshevik central organ, *Iskra*. The Central Committee opposed a new congress, co-opted three Mensheviks and effectively expelled Lenin from that body.

In late 1904 Lenin completely broke with the official central party bodies and established a de facto Bolshevik central committee called the Bureau of Majority Committees. At the start of 1905, the Bolsheviks established their own organ, *Vperyod*.

The logic of the factional struggle drove the Mensheviks to the right; gradually they replicated the politics of the defeated Economists. Martov and Plekhanov wrote self-critical articles about the old *Iskra*, stating they had been one-sided (in other words, Leninists) in their attacks on the Economists. The organic fusion of the Mensheviks and Economists was signaled by the co-optation of A.S. Martynov to the editorial board of the new *Iskra*.

The Leninists saw their struggle against the Mensheviks, both politically and organizationally, as a repeat of the fight of Iskraism versus Economism. One of Lenin's lieutenants, Lyadov, instructed a Bolshevik supporter in late 1904 to re-fight the campaign against Economism:

> "We are not to leave the party, but to fight for all our worth.... We have to conquer Russia [i.e., the committees] despite the central institutions, and we shall do this in the same way as *Iskra* once did. We have to repeat the work of *Iskra* and bring it to completion."
>
> —quoted in J.L.H. Keep, *The Rise of Social Democracy in Russia* (1963)

By early 1905, Lenin was convinced the leading Mensheviks were incorrigible and organizationally unprincipled opportunists, and came out for a complete split. In contrast to the policy toward the Economists, Lenin opposed allowing the Menshevik leaders to participate in a new party congress, at which he intended to found a Bolshevik *party*:

> "The [Menshevik] centres may and should be invited, but to accord them voting status is, I repeat, madness. The centres, of course, will not come to *our* Congress anyway; but why give them another chance to spit in our faces? Why this hypocrisy, this game of hide-and-seek? We bring *the split* into the open, we call the *Vperyod*-ists to a congress, we want to organise a *Vperyod*-ist party, and we break immediately *any and all* connections with the disorganisers—and yet we having loyalty dinned into our ears, we are asked to act as though a joint congress of *Iskra* and *Vperyod* were possible." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Letter to A.A. Bogdanov and S.I. Gusev" (11 February 1905)

As Lenin projected, the Mensheviks boycotted the Third (all-Bolshevik) Congress held in London in April 1905 and convened their own rival gathering.

What did Leninism represent in 1904? Above all it represented a firm commitment to revolutionary social democracy, particularly the leading role of the proletarian party in the struggle against tsarist absolutism. It further represented an intransigent attitude toward demonstrated opportunists, like the Economist leaders, and a distrustful attitude toward their possible conversion to revolutionary politics. Lenin was committed to a centralized, disciplined party, and consequently intransigently hostile to the circlism-cliqueism characteristic of the Russian social-democratic movement. Apart from the question of membership criteria, these differences between 1904 Bolshevism and Menshevism were difficult to express as counterposed principles. They manifested themselves over concrete organization matters and appeared to most outsiders (like Kautsky) to represent differences in degree rather than in principle.

Panorama/DDR

Rosa Luxemburg

Karl Kautsky

Trotsky's Menshevik Polemic

Among the numerous anti-Lenin diatribes in 1903-04, Trotsky's "Our Political Tasks" was much less significant than those of Axelrod, Plekhanov and Luxemburg. However, because of Trotsky's later authority as a great revolutionary, various reformists and centrists have given prominence to his 1904 polemic. Tony Cliff, long-time leader of the International Socialists (now Socialist Workers Party) of Britain, has devoted a whole essay to Trotsky's "prophecy" that Lenin's organizational conceptions would lead the party to "*substitute* itself for the working classes" ("Trotsky on Substitutionism," *International Socialism*, Autumn 1960; reprinted in the I.S. collection, *Party and Class* [London, n.d.]). In particular, such left social democrats, claiming that Trotsky foresaw that Leninism must lead to Stalinism, invariably cite the following passage:

> "In the internal politics of the party, these [Leninist] methods, as we will see, lead to the party organization replacing the party itself, the central committee [replacing] the party organization and finally a dictator [replacing] the central committee...."
>
> —from "Unsere politischen Aufgaben," in Leo Trotzki, *Schriften zur revolutionären Organisation* (Hamburg, 1970)

Conversely, the Stalinists have exploited "Our Political Tasks" to argue that Trotsky's hostility to the Soviet bureaucracy was nothing but an expression of unregenerate Menshevism.

Apart from a large dose of subjective hostility toward Lenin motivated by a sentimental attachment to the pioneers of Russian Marxism, Trotsky's polemic, like Luxemburg's, is based on an ultra-Kautskyan conception of the party question. He sees the tasks of the party as raising the entire class to social-democratic consciousness through a lengthy, pedagogical process:

> "One method consists of taking over the *thinking for the proletariat*, i.e., political *substitution* for the proletariat; the other consists of political *education* of the proletariat, its political *mobilization*, to exercise concerted pressure on the will of all political groups and parties....
>
> "The party is based on the *given level of consciousness of the proletariat*, and intervenes in every great political event with the aim of shifting the line of development in the direction of the interests of the proletariat; and, even more importantly, with the aim of raising the level of consciousness, in order then to base itself on that raised level of consciousness and again use it to further this dual aim." [emphasis in original]

Trotsky is here strongly influenced by Axelrod, frequently quoted in the polemic, who at this time came out for convening an inclusive, non-party "workers congress." This would, in effect, have liquidated the weak, fledgling RSDLP.

To postpone the revolutionary struggle for power until the entire working class has achieved socialist consciousness is to relegate it "to the Greek calends"; under capitalism, the working class in its overwhelming majority cannot completely transcend bourgeois ideological influence. The revolutionary vanguard party must *lead* the mass of active workers in struggle, but among these workers there are many whose socialist convictions will be partial, inconsistent and episodic.

In his major anti-Menshevik polemic of this period, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back" (May 1904), Lenin replies succinctly to the Axelrod/Trotsky position:

> "The Party, as the vanguard of the working class, must not be confused, after all, with the entire class. And Comrade Axelrod is guilty of just this confusion (which is characteristic of our opportunistic Economism in general)....
>
> "We are a party of a class, and therefore *almost the entire class* (and in times of war, in a period of civil war, the entire class) should act under the leadership of our Party, should adhere to the Party as closely as possible. But it would be...'tail-ism' to think that the entire class, or almost the entire class, can ever rise, under capitalism, to the level of consciousness and activity of its vanguard, of its Social-Democratic Party." [emphasis in original]

It should be noted that Lenin's formulation of class-party relations here still does not completely break with the Kautskyan "party of the whole class" since he obviously assumes only a single party based on the proletariat.

It is not substitutionism for a revolutionary party to lead—through the trade unions, factory committees, soviets, etc.—masses of workers who are not conscious socialists. This is precisely the task of the revolutionary vanguard. Substitutionism is when the vanguard engages in *military* action against the bourgeoisie without the support of the non-party masses. Substitutionism manifests itself in putschism, terrorism/guerrillaism, dual unionism or minority attempts at general strike action (like the German March Action of 1921). Despite repeated Menshevik accusations of Blanquism, Lenin's Bolsheviks did not engage in such adventurist activities. By the eve of World War I the Bolsheviks had become the mass party of the Russian industrial proletariat, far outstripping the ill-organized, disparate Mensheviks.

In any case, those who would use the early Trotsky's polemic against Leninism must come to terms with Trotsky's own later renunciation and critique of his Menshevik and conciliationist position in those years. In *My Life* (1929) he wrote of the 1903 RSDLP congress:

> "My break with Lenin occurred on what might be considered 'moral' or even personal grounds. But this was merely on the surface. At bottom, the separation was of a political nature and merely expressed itself in the realm of organization methods. I thought of myself as a centralist. But there is no doubt that at that time I did not fully realize what an

continued on page 8

1903 Split...

(continued from page 7)

> intense and imperious centralism the revolutionary party would need to lead millions of people in a war against the old order."

Trotsky never authorized a reprinting of "Our Political Tasks," and it was explicitly not included in the Russian edition of his works published before the Stalinist usurpation.

Behind Luxemburg's Anti-Leninist Polemic

Rosa Luxemburg's "Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy," published in the SPD theoretical journal *Neue Zeit* and the Menshevik *Iskra*, is probably the most intrinsically significant of the anti-Lenin polemics following the 1903 split. It stands back from the immediate issues and personal recriminations of the split, and it does not engage in superficial unity mongering. Luxemburg's differences with Lenin exist both at the level of the problems, tasks and perspectives of the Russian movement and of the organizational nature of social democracy in general. In both the Russian and general cases these differences center on the nature of opportunism and how to combat it.

Their differences over social-democratic opportunism *in Russia* can be briefly expressed as follows. Before the 1905 Revolution, Lenin saw the main opportunist danger as adaptation to tsarist absolutism; Luxemburg saw it as the subordination of the Russian proletariat to revolutionary bourgeois democracy out of power. For Lenin, a social-democratic opportunist was a dilettante quick to make a personal peace with tsarist society, and perhaps an aspiring trade-union official. For Luxemburg, a social-democratic opportunist was a bourgeois radical demagogue actually striving for governmental power, a Russian version of the French Radical leader Georges Clemenceau, an ex-Blanquist.

For Lenin from 1901 through 1904, and for the *Iskra* tendency as a whole, the main expression of Russian social-democratic opportunism was Economism, an amalgam of minimalist trade-union agitation, passive adaptation to liberal tsarism, organizational localism and individualistic functioning. Luxemburg was no less opposed to pure-and-simple trade unionism than was Lenin, but evidently did not regard Economism as a serious opportunist current in Russia, as a serious contender for influence over the working class. As for the circle spirit and anarchistic individualism which Lenin took as his main enemy at the organization level, Luxemburg seemed to consider these traits an unavoidable overhead cost at the given stage of the social-democratic movement in Russia. When the socialist proletariat is small, believed Luxemburg, a loose movement of localized propaganda circles is the normal and, in a sense, healthy organizational expression of social democracy:

> "How to effect a transition from the type of organization characteristic of the *preparatory* stage of the socialist movement—usually featured by disconnected local groups and clubs, with propaganda as a principal activity—to the unity of a large, national body, suitable for concerted political action over the entire vast territory ruled by the Russian state? That is the specific problem which the Russian Social Democracy has mulled over for some time.
>
> "Autonomy and isolation are the most pronounced characteristics of the old organizational type. It is, therefore, understandable why the slogan of the persons who want to see an inclusive national organization should be 'Centralism!'....
>
> "The *indispensable* conditions for the realization of Social-Democratic centralism are: 1. The existence of a large contingent of workers educated in the political struggle. 2. The possibility for the workers to develop their own political activity through direct influence on public life, in a party press, and public congresses, etc.
>
> "These conditions are *not yet* fully formed in Russia. The first—a proletarian vanguard, conscious of its class interests and capable of self-direction in political activity—is only now emerging in Russia. All efforts of socialist agitation and organization should aim to hasten the formation of such a vanguard. The second condition can be had only under a regime of political liberty." [our emphasis]
>
> —Luxemburg, "Organizational Questions of the Russian Social Democracy"

Luxemburg's belief in the *gradual* transition from a movement of localized circles to a centralized, unitary party was not only counterposed to Leninism, but logically placed her outside and to the right of the pre-split *Iskra* tendency as a whole.

The view expressed above is at some variance with Luxemburg's actual organizational *practice* in the Polish part of the Russian empire. The Luxemburg/Jogiches Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL) was a very small, but highly centralized, propaganda organization. And, unlike Lenin's Bolsheviks, Luxemburg's SDKPiL made serious sectarian and ultra-left errors (see "Lenin vs. Luxemburg on the National Question," *WV* No. 150, 25 March 1977).

Mention of the SDKPiL is a reminder that one cannot simply take "Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy" at face value. Though from very different motivations, Luxemburg's Polish social democracy was just as protective of its organizational autonomy as was the Bund. The SDKPiL sent two observers to the second RSDLP congress, where they negotiated for broad autonomy within an all-Russian party. Lenin's advocacy of a centralized party of all social democrats in the Russian empire challenged, at least in principle, the highly-valued organizational prerogatives of Luxemburg's SDKPiL.

Luxemburg looked for Russian social-democratic opportunism in exactly the opposite direction than did Lenin. Luxemburg feared that the Russian social-democratic intelligentsia would give rise to a radical bourgeois party using socialist rhetoric, and thus suppress the development of political class consciousness among the Russian proletariat. With this prognosis, Luxemburg saw in Lenin's centralism, rather than in Menshevism, the most likely source of opportunism (i.e., adaptation to the bourgeoisie). Lenin's insistence on the leading role of social democracy in the struggle against absolutism and on the leading role of professional revolutionaries in the party appeared to Luxemburg (and not only to her) as characteristic of a *bourgeois* radical party.

In fact, it was common in Menshevik circles in this period to accuse the Leninists of being bourgeois radicals in social-democratic clothing. The leading Menshevik, Potresov, for example, likened the Bolsheviks to Clemenceau's Radicals. Luxemburg saw in Lenin's "Jacobinism" the unconscious desire of radical bourgeois intellectuals to suppress their working class base *after* overthrowing tsarism and coming to power. She advocated a broad, loose social-democratic movement as a curb on radical bourgeois demagogues à la Clemenceau the ex-Blanquist:

> "If we assume the viewpoint claimed as his own by Lenin and we fear the influence of intellectuals in the proletarian movement, we can conceive of no greater danger to the Russian party than Lenin's organizational plan. Nothing will more surely enslave a *young* labor movement to an *intellectual elite hungry for power* than this bureaucratic strait jacket...;
>
> "Let us not forget that the revolution soon to break in Russia will be a bourgeois and not a proletarian revolution. This modifies radically all the conditions of proletarian struggle. The Russian intellectuals, too, will rapidly become imbued with bourgeois ideology. The Social Democracy is at present the only guide of the Russian proletariat. But on the day *after* the revolution, we shall see the bourgeoisie, and above all the bourgeois intellectuals, seek to use the masses as a steppingstone to their domination.
>
> "The game of *bourgeois demagogues* will be made easier if at the present stage, the spontaneous action, initiative, and political sense of the advanced sections of the working class are hindered in their development and restricted by the protectorate of an authoritarian Central Committee." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Ibid.*

A central premise of Luxemburg's 1904 anti-Leninist polemic was that tsarist absolutism would soon be replaced by bourgeois democracy ("the revolution soon to break out in Russia will be bourgeois"). That is why she anticipated that radical parliamentarian demagogy would be the principal expression of social-democratic opportunism. The revolution of 1905 proved Luxemburg's prognosis wrong. The revolution demonstrated that bourgeois liberalism was totally cowardly and impotent. It also demonstrated that social democracy was the only consistently revolutionary-democratic force in the Russian empire.

During the revolution Luxemburg condemned the Mensheviks for tailing the constitutional monarchists (the Cadets) and moved close to the Bolsheviks. Agreeing with Lenin on the leading role of the proletarian party in the anti-tsarist revolution, Luxemburg/Jogiches' SDKPiL formed an alliance with the Bolsheviks in 1906, an alliance which lasted until 1912 and gave Lenin leadership of the formally unitary RSDLP. At the fifth RSDLP congress in 1907, Luxemburg defended the narrowness and intransigence of the Bolsheviks, albeit with "soft" reservations:

> "You comrades on the right-wing complain bitterly about the narrowness, the intolerance, the tendency toward mechanical conception in the attitudes of the Bolsheviks. And we agree with you.... But do you know what causes these unpleasant tendencies? To anyone familiar with party conditions in other countries, these tendencies are quite well known: it is the typical attitude of one section of Socialism which has to oefend the independent class interests of the proletariat against another equally strong section. Rigidity is the form adopted by Social Democracy at one end when the other tends to turn into formless jelly, unable to maintain any consistent course under the pressure of events."
>
> —quoted in J.P. Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg* (1966)

Liberals and social democrats have systematically suppressed reference to Luxemburg's close alliance with Bolshevism from the revolution of 1905 until 1912 and again from the outbreak of World War I until her assassination during the Spartacus uprising in 1919. They have, however, fully exploited her 1904 polemic in the service of anti-communism. Thus, the widely-circulated Ann Arbor Paperbacks for the Study of Communism and Marxism reprinted "Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy" under the slanderous title "Leninism or Marxism?"

No less pernicious have been the efforts of many left-reformists and centrists to portray the Leninist democratic-centralist vanguard party as valid *only* for backward countries, while solidarizing with Luxemburg's 1904 anti-Bolshevik position for advanced capitalist countries. We have already noted that this was exactly the position of the reformist-workerist Tony Cliff, before "hard" Leninism became fashionable among radical youth in the late 1960's.

It is to be expected that an outright revisionist like Cliff would solidarize with Luxemburg against Lenin. What is not expected is that an ostensibly orthodox Trotskyist (i.e., Leninist) organization would adopt the "Luxemburgist" line as valid for advanced countries. Yet this is just what the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) does. In an introduction to a popular French edition of *What Is To Be Done?* OCI leader Jean-Jacques Marie dismisses Lenin's advocacy of a democratic-centralist vanguard as peculiar to early twentieth-century Russia, and asserts that Luxemburg's 1904 position is appropriate to an advanced country with a highly developed workers movement.

> "The centralist rigidity of *What Is To Be Done?* is linked to the particular characteristics of the Russian proletariat; that is to say, of a nascent proletariat which had just recently come out of the countryside impregnated with the traits of the Middle Ages, lacking education, crushed by conditions of existence similar to those of the French or English proletariat at the beginning of the nineteenth century....
>
> "The role of the revolutionary intelligentsia as a factor of organization and consciousness, such as Lenin depicted it, is thus proportional to the degree of relative backwardness of a proletariat legally deprived of any form of trade-union or political organization.
>
> "Thus the conflict between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, for example, appears—if you leave aside their personal traits—as the expression of the enormous difference which separated one of the most uneducated proletariat in Europe and the German proletariat, at that time the most powerful and politically most vigorous and mature in the world....
>
> "If the struggle for the socialist revolution is international in essence, its immediate forms and also the means to lead it depend on numerous factors, among them the national conditions in which each party matures."
>
> Introduction to *Que faire?* (Paris, 1966)

The viewpoint which J.-J. Marie here attributes to Luxemburg is so diametrically opposed to her actual position it is hard to believe he has ever read "Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy." As we have seen, Luxemburg's opposition to Leninist centralism *for Russia* was predicated precisely on the *under*development of proletarian movement. *In 1904*, Luxemburg was a centralizer and disciplinarian in the German party because the revisionist right was formally a minority. And this is explicitly stated in "Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy":

> "The Social Democracy must enclose the tumult of the nonproletarian protestants against the existing society within the bounds of the revolutionary action of the proletariat....
>
> "This is only possible if the Social Democracy already contains a strong, politically educated proletarian nucleus class conscious enough to be able, as up to now in Germany, to pull along in its tow the declassed and petty bourgeois elements that join the party. In that case, *greater strictness* in the application of the *principle of centralization and more severe discipline*, specifically formulated in party bylaws, may be an effective safeguard against the opportunist danger. That is how the revolutionary socialist movement in France defended itself against the Jaurèsist confusion. A modification of the constitution of the German Social Democracy in that direction would be a very timely measure." [our emphasis]

Luxemburg's pressure for greater centralization in the SPD was successful at the radical-dominated 1905 Jena congress, which adopted a genuinely centralist organizational structure. For the first time the officers of the basic party unit were made responsible to the national executive. Later on, of course, the SPD's famous centralized apparatus was used to suppress the revolutionary left led by Rosa Luxemburg.

The heart of the differences between Luxemburg and Lenin in 1904 and also later did *not* center on the degree of centralization, but on the nature of opportunism and how to combat it. The question of centralism and discipline derives its significance only in that context.

Luxemburg's 1904 anti-Lenin polemic was strongly conditioned by frustration at her essentially hollow victory over Bernsteinian revisionism. Revisionism was formally rejected by the SPD, the opportunists changed their tack and the party political activities continued much the same as before, in the spirit of passive

expectancy. Not long after writing "Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy," Luxemburg expressed in a letter (14 December 1904) to the Dutch left socialist Henriette Roland-Holst her disillusionment with internal factional struggle in general:

> "Opportunism is in any case a swamp plant, which develops rapidly and luxuriously in the stagnant waters of the movement; in a swift running stream it will die of itself. Here in Germany a forward motion is an urgent, burning need! And only the fewest realize it. Some fritter away their energy in petty disputes with the opportunists, others believe that the automatic, mechanical increase in numbers (at elections and in the organizations) is progress in itself!"
>
> —quoted in Carl E. Schorske, *German Social Democracy 1905-1917* (1955)

Luxemburg's belief that an upsurge of militant class struggle would naturally dispel the opportunist forces in the SPD proved very wrong. In 1905 and again in 1910 a rising line of mass agitation against restricted suffrage was effectively suppressed on the initiative of the trade-union bureaucracy. In 1910 the *Neue Zeit*, under Kautsky's editorship, even refused to publish Luxemburg's article advocating a general strike.

In concluding "Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy," Luxemburg develops a theory of the inevitability of opportunism and even opportunist phases in a social-democratic party. Attempts to preserve the party against opportunism through internal *organizational* means will, she contends, only reduce the party to a sect. Herein lies Luxemburg's fundamental difference with Lenin in 1904 and later:

> "It follows that this movement can best advance by tacking betwixt and between the two dangers by which it is constantly threatened. One is the loss of its mass character; the other, the abandonment of its goal. One is the danger of sinking back to the condition of a sect; the other, the danger of becoming a movement of social reform.
>
> "That is why it is illusory, and contrary to historic experience, to hope to fix, once for always, the direction of the revolutionary socialist struggle with the aid of formal means, which are expected to secure the labor movement against all possibilities of opportunist digression.
>
> "Marxist theory offers us a reliable instrument enabling us to recognize and combat typical manifestations of opportunism. But the socialist movement is a mass movement. Its perils are not the insidious machinations of individuals and groups. They arise out of unavoidable social conditions. We cannot secure ourselves in advance against all possibilities of opportunist deviation. Such dangers can be overcome only by the movement itself—certainly with the aid of Marxist theory, but only after the dangers in question have taken tangible form in practice.
>
> "Looked at from this angle, opportunism appears to be a product and an inevitable phase of the historic development of the labor movement."

Due to attempts by semi-syndicalist and ultra-left communist elements (e.g., "council communists") to claim Rosa Luxemburg as one of their own, it is often ignored that her polemic against Lenin on the organizational question was rooted in orthodox social-democratic concepts. The above quoted passage is ultra-Kautskyan in identifying the social-democratic party with the entire labor movement. From the premise of Kautsky's "party of the whole class," Luxemburg's logic is unassailable. Not only is there an opportunist wing of a social-democratic party, but there must be periods in which the influence of this wing is expanding.

From her German vantage point, Luxemburg saw that to form a Leninist party must mean a break with significant working-class tendencies under opportunist leadership and influence. This anti-social-democratic conclusion was blocked from Lenin's view by the *unorganized* state of the Russian party. In contrast to Luxemburg, Lenin was not faced with opportunist social-democratic tendencies which enjoyed a mass base. He believed the Mensheviks to be an intellectualist tendency incapable of building a mass workers movement.

Kautsky/Bebel Intervene to Restore Unity

While Luxemburg's 1904 anti-Leninist polemic is today far better known, at that time the active pro-unity intervention of the SPD central leadership, Kautsky and Bebel, was more significant. It is important to consider Kautsky/Bebel's intervention in order to realize that Lenin built a programmatically homogeneous revolutionary party in Russia in the face of opposition from the leading authorities of the Socialist International.

In early 1904 one of Lenin's lieutenants, Lydin-Mandelstamm, wrote an article on the split for publication in Kautsky's *Neue Zeit*. Kautsky refused to publish it, and his reply to Lydin in mid-May 1904 is his earliest written statement on the split. He found the split entirely unjustified and profoundly irresponsible. He was also astute enough to recognize that it was Lenin's intransigence on the organizational question which perpetuated the split:

> "Great responsibility rests upon the Russian social democracy. If it cannot unite, then it will stand before history and the international proletariat as a group of politicians which, out of personal and organizational difficulties of a very minor nature compared with its great historic task...has let slip an opportunity for striking a blow at Russian absolutism. But Lenin would bear the responsibility for having initiated this destructive discord." [our translation]
>
> —quoted in Dietrich Geyer, "Die russische Parteispaltung im Urteil der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1903-1905," in *International Review of Social History*, 1958

On the substantive organizational question which led to the split, Kautsky saw "neither a principled opposition between the needs of the proletariat and intellectuals nor between democracy and dictatorship, but rather simply a question of appropriateness."

Kautsky sent a copy of his reply to Lydin to the Menshevik leadership, who rightly regarded it as support to their side. With the author's permission, it was published in the new *Iskra*. In a letter (4 June 1904) to Axelrod, Kautsky deepened his pro-Menshevik stance to the point of giving them advice on how to best Lenin:

> "But to a great degree the differences between you and the other side seem to rest upon misunderstandings. Not between you and Lenin, that I consider out of the question, but between you and Lenin's supporters in Russia. I have at least had the opportunity of conversing with various supporters of Lenin who came from Russia and I have found among them no views which would render cooperation...impossible. Their prejudice against you seems often only to rest on misinformation. If this is so, then unification would have to be possible, over and above Lenin's head, if these elements are treated judiciously...."
>
> —*Ibid.*

And, in fact, the Mensheviks sought, with some success, to win over the more conciliatory Bolsheviks.

A more public indication of Kautsky's anti-Lenin stance was that *Neue Zeit* published Luxemburg's "Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy" without dissociating the journal from the views expressed therein. When Lenin wrote a reply, Kautsky refused to publish it on the grounds that *Neue Zeit* was not the appropriate arena to fight out the RSDLP split. In a letter (27 October 1904) to Lenin, he justified publishing Luxemburg's article by asserting that:

> "I did not publish Rosa Luxemburg's article *because* it treated the Russian disputes but *in spite of this*. I published it because it treated the organizational question *theoretically*, and this question is also a subject of discussion with us in Germany. The Russian disputes are touched on there only in a fashion that will not draw the uninformed reader's attention to them." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Ibid*

Kautsky's last assertion is disingenuous.

Kautsky advised Lenin to recast his reply in more theoretical terms if he wanted it published in the German organ. So far as we know, Lenin did not reply. One presumes Lenin regarded as decisive the specifics of the RSDLP split and didn't want to be drawn into an abstract discussion on principles of organization.

In October 1904 August Bebel, the venerated chairman of the SPD, proposed to the Menshevik leadership that they call a unity conference of all the groups present at the Second Congress of the RSDLP. Shortly thereafter, the German leadership urged a *far broader* conference including the petty-bourgeois populist Social Revolutionaries and national-liberationist Polish Socialist Party. Thus in 1904 the German Social Democratic leadership favored a bloc, if not a party, embracing all the oppositional forces in the tsarist empire to the left of the bourgeois liberals. The Mensheviks rejected such a broad unity as opportunist. This was an early indication that the Martovites were *not*, as Lenin mistakenly believed, to the right of the SPD central leadership.

Kautsky believed that the Mensheviks were as desirous of restoring unity as he was. But the Mensheviks' pro-unity stance was in part a pose for foreign consumption. In theory committed to a broad, inclusive party, the Menshevik leadership did not want to be in the same organization with Lenin's "hards." In response to Bebel's proposal, they agreed to call a "unity" conference inviting the Bund, Luxemburg/Jogiches' SDKPiL and some smaller social-democratic groups. But they *refused* to invite the Leninists! By this time Lenin had lost the former leadership of the RSDLP and had set up the Bureau of Majority Committees.

Kautsky now criticized the Menshevik leaders as irresponsible splitters. In a letter (10 January 1905) to Axelrod, he wrote:

> "I don't understand your not inviting Lenin. This may well be justified on *formal* grounds, but one cannot view the matter so formally. From a *political* standpoint the exclusion [of Lenin] from the invitation seems to me an error. Even if he does not formally represent a particular organization, still he has a great deal of support, and your task is either to win him along with his supporters or separate these supporters from him.... In the present situation, which demands a unity of all revolutionary forces, it is my view that your task is to go the utmost in conciliation. If unity is then demonstrated to be impossible, then Lenin will have placed himself in a bad light, then you can proceed against him with much greater force and success than at present, where your conflict appears almost solely one simply of authority...." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Ibid.*

Following the Bloody Sunday massacre in January 1905, the SPD leadership once again attempted to reunite the Russian social-democratic movement. Bebel publicly offered to arbitrate the differences. Bebel's offer concluded with a paternalistic scolding of Russian social democracy:

> "The news about this split has stirred up great confusion and definite discontent in the international social democracy and everybody expects that after a free discussion both sides will find a common basis for struggle against the common enemy."
>
> —quoted in Olga Hess Gankin and H.H. Fisher, *The Bolsheviks and the World War* (1940)

The Mensheviks, knowing Bebel was close to them politically, readily accepted his proposal. Lenin in effect rejected the unity proposal. In a reply (7 February 1905) to the German party chairman, he stated that he had no authority to accept the arbitration offer, which had to be put to a new party congress. He then added that in view of Kautsky's one-sided intervention, "it will not surprise me if intervention on the part of representatives of the German Social Democracy encounters difficulties within our ranks."

The all-Bolshevik Third Congress in April took no position on Bebel's proposal, in effect rejecting it. The Bolsheviks' self-confident spirit and unwillingness to accept German tutelage is well expressed by the delegate Barsov in his speech on Bebel's offer:

> "...our German comrades are a force, they have matured through an inexorably critical, internal struggle against all forms of opportunism at party congresses and other meetings—and we must mature in the same way in order to play our great role, independently forging our own organizations into a party, not merely ideologically but in reality.... We must become active leaders of the entire proletarian class of Russia, by uniting and organizing ourselves immediately for struggle against autocracy for the glorious future of the reign of socialism."
>
> —*Ibid.*

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Busing...

(continued from page 3)

political winds were blowing. Liberal senator Kennedy stayed out of the issue entirely; liberal mayor White adopted a pose of neutrality while pressuring the court to "modify" the busing plan; and the judge agreed to greatly reduce its scope. President Ford, meanwhile, openly sided with the anti-busing forces, and the Supreme Court began issuing a series of decisions which add up to a ban on further court-ordered school desegregation plans.

The first decision was a key ruling against a "metropolitan" plan incorporating the suburban school systems in a common pool with the predominantly black inner-cities. In 1974 the Supreme Court ordered that busing in Detroit would stop at the city line. More recently, in 1977, the Court has ruled that it is necessary to show "intent" to keep blacks out in order to knock down discriminatory residential zoning ordinances. Then this same doctrine was extended to school segregation within a city when it

Jimmy Carter WV Photo

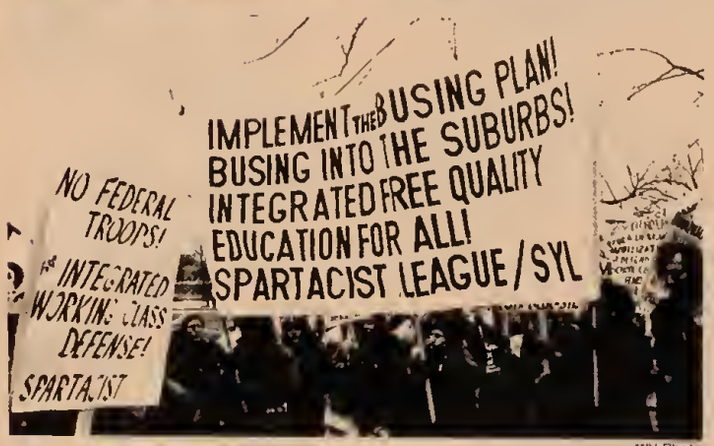
election of Carter, not only is the Supreme Court no longer liberal, the Senate is not liberal, the president is not liberal and the liberals are not "liberal." As U.S. imperialism declines and the crumbs become scarcer, the bourgeoisie and its state are no longer disposed to endorse limited or even token reforms on behalf of the oppressed.

The role of liberalism was to keep the struggle for black social equality within capitalist bounds and subordinated to the bourgeois state—and of course to prevent the development of a revolutionary proletarian vehicle to lead those struggles. But now busing is dead and the same state which once was hailed by civil rights liberals was the murder weapon. What has changed?

The liberals say it is the attitude of the government. The obvious conclusion: elect a new government, more sympathetic to the downtrodden and oppressed. And that is exactly what the black liberals and labor reformists claimed they were doing in 1976 when they backed Carter. But instead of a sympathetic hearing in Washington, what they got was more of the same.

What has changed is the objective situation of American capitalism, and thus of the liberal bourgeoisie as well. The new posture of liberalism is expressed in Carter's remark that "life isn't fair." The Democratic Party, which used to promise pie in the sky to labor and the poor, now smugly advises impoverished blacks to abandon all hope and make their peace with this hell on earth. And so the reformists, whose policies, as always, are centrally defined by partnership in crime with the Democrats over the key question of faith in the capitalist state, become the last apologists of liberalism, an ideology without true believers.

While the SWP, the Communist Party and other reformists were relying on the judge in Boston to implement busing and calling for its enforcement by federal troops, the Spartacist League demanded the busing plan be implemented as an



WV Photo

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent in December 1974 pro-busing march in Boston.

rejected the Indianapolis busing plan. While a number of other busing plans are still at one stage or another in the judicial pipeline, the "intent" doctrine will ensure that they are rendered meaningless or simply thrown out.

With "white flight" assuming mammoth proportions, the Supreme Court has thus put the judicial stamp of approval on the increasing segregation of urban and suburban America. But this is not its only crime. The Court and liberal Congress which trampled on the democratic rights of blacks in schools, jobs and housing also ruled in favor of capital punishment, against federal funds for abortions for the poor, etc.

So for liberals and reformists it has been difficult to explain how the state which could be pressured by legal, peaceful and orderly means to become the vehicle for democratic and progressive social change has suddenly become the instrument of reaction. For a time they could blame it on Nixon, and then the "Nixon court." But now with the elementary democratic right of blacks to equal education, called for it to be extended to the suburbs and called for labor/black defense to enforce school desegregation against the racist mobs. This demand was an expression of the transitional program which is the route to enlisting the ultimately decisive social power of the organized workers movement in the fight for black freedom.

Under slavery it was a crime to teach a slave to read. The idea that a black slave had a right to an education was a dangerous idea. The decisions of the Supreme Court today mimic its Dred Scott decision of 1857. They offer democratic rights only in the abstract while practically condemning the oppressed black masses to a life of increasing misery with no legal means to realize their rights. It took a civil war to overturn slavery, and it will take a socialist revolution by the united proletariat to make capitalism go the way of slavery. To lead this struggle for human liberation is the task of the communist vanguard. ■

Steel...

(continued from page 12)

necessary—plants must be closed, thousands of steel workers thrown onto the scrap heap, and more brutal forms of exploitation instituted.

Wall Street Demands: "More Youngstowns"

When the American steel bosses make their case that they are the victims of "unfair competition," they are lying through their teeth. They know full well that the domestic industry is not competitive with the Japanese. Were it otherwise, they would never have scrapped millions of tons of steel-making capacity. But it is necessary for them to whip up patriotism and scream "foul" at their antagonists, principally the Japanese, in order to win public support for their protectionist drive.

Nevertheless, a quite powerful section of the American bourgeoisie has no use for this mystification and has been actively debunking the myth of an efficient American steel industry. A recent comparative study of the Japanese and American steel industries carried out by the Wall Street firm of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith ripped the steel bosses' case to shreds. The findings indicated that the U.S. steel bosses have been unable to cut into the 30-percent Japanese cost advantage since 1972, despite the effects of a devaluation of the dollar and relatively higher increases in raw material costs for the Japanese. This was essentially due to the much more rapid increase in the productivity of Japanese steel. By 1976 U.S. steel productivity stood at 302 tons annually per production worker, compared to 459 tons per worker in Japan—a decisive 50 percent differential.

Japanese mills are newer and more technologically advanced. Only one medium-sized mill has been built in the U.S. in the last 15 years, while eight giant mills have been constructed in Japan, in the same period. Few Japanese plants are older than 20 years, while some U.S. plants go back almost a century.

All steel production in Japan is carried out in basic oxygen or electric furnaces, while 18 percent of U.S. steel is still produced in the antiquated open hearths; some 36 percent of Japanese steel is shaped by the modern continuous casting method, compared to only 10 percent of U.S. production; electric furnaces are 30 percent more productive in Japan; blast furnaces are larger and more efficient (Inland Steel is using Japanese advisors to build its new blast furnace); and industrial processes that more efficiently utilize coking coal offset the greater cost of raw materials used in making pig iron in Japan.

Steel protectionism is unpopular on Wall Street as well as among the liberal bourgeoisie, major consumers of steel (e.g., the auto industry) and; thus far, the Carter administration. There are rational reasons for this. A *New York Times* editorial of 5 September is fairly representative of these sentiments:

> "While some producers in other countries—notably Japan—were building new plants based on the most advanced technology, the big American companies were content to patch up existing facilities.... Protecting ineffi-

Detroit...

(continued from page 5)

struck down by the courts in 1974, Young came out against any proposal for busing within the city.

Following in Young's footsteps is a new layer of black careerists eager to get their hands into the pork barrel. Ken Cockrel, once a leader of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and well-known in Detroit for his legal defense activities, received over 100,000 votes to place in runoffs for city council. Having dropped all pretense of revolution, Cockrel now has his eyes on the mayor's mansion. When he submitted his election petitions in July, this one-time "Marxist-Leninist" told *WV*: "I'm not opposed to police. If the citizens of the city of Detroit indicate that they want more police, that's fine."

Joe Madison, 28-year-old former executive director of the Detroit NAACP and frequent guest speaker at functions sponsored by the reformist Socialist Workers Party, also qualified for the city council runoffs. Madison shamelessly pushed a campaign centered on an Anita Bryant-like attack on prostitution and pornography.

As for the left, it has been largely silent on Detroit elections, mainly out of a desire not to criticize the "friend of labor and blacks" mayor. However, the Communist Party, which in 1973 aggressively beat the drums for Young and sent Angela Davis to Detroit for his victory celebration, could not restrain itself from denouncing "ultra-rightist forces" that have the mayor under attack. A 15 January 1977 *Daily World* article by Billy Allen, veteran CP toady for Solidarity House, called on the Detroit labor movement to "unite to repulse the ultra-right, anti-labor forces and help elect a progressive Council majority."

Even at the heart of American industry, urban decay continues to spread in times of capitalist "recovery" as well as during the increasingly severe economic crises. Despite the presence of a few "progressive" black capitalist politicians in office, conditions for the working people, poor and ghetto masses of Detroit will remain intolerable so long as the capitalist system which enriches itself on their misery remains. ■

Paris Printers Unions...

(continued from page 2)

tails behind the CFDT and occasionally the CGT bureaucrats, the OCI has a longstanding softness toward the Force Ouvrière tops. Thus when FO authorized its members to print the scab edition of *Parisien Libéré* at St.-Ouen, the OCI could only manage the most weak-kneed "protest": "The printing workers... correctly consider the position of Bergeron, general secretary of FO, on this question as incorrect." And this in the face of open strikebreaking!

The *Parisien Libéré* strike was a victim of the popular front, as the CGT bureaucrats successfully hamstrung the workers' militancy even when facing a defeat which could destroy the FFTL as an industrial union. The inability of the would-be Trotskyist centrist organizations to present a strategy for a strike victory was no less political: it would have meant a direct clash with the reformist apparatuses. By instead tailing after the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucrats they have utterly failed to defend such vital trade-union gains as industrial unionism, the closed shop and union control of hiring. A truly Bolshevik vanguard would have fought tooth and nail to protect these conquests and to oust the treacherous misleaders who sacrificed them on the altar of class collaboration. ■

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cient American companies from efficient Japanese companies would raise steel prices, hampering efforts to expand the economy without increasing inflation.... Shielding steel from the long-term discipline of competition, moreover, does nothing to eliminate the basic problem of high production costs."

The fundamental problem with protectionism for the imperialist bourgeoisie is that it would perpetuate costly and inefficient operations in the steel industry. Given the central role of steel in the economy, higher steel prices would translate themselves into higher prices universally, and the inefficiency of a protected steel industry would weaken American industry as a whole. Thus, steel protectionism in the long run would accelerate the decline of American imperialism.

The anti-protectionist bourgeoisie has another solution: force the steel companies to continue to rationalize their operations, eliminating their less-productive plants and probably forcing bankruptcies and a concentration of capital through mergers. The *Times* editorial bluntly made just this recommendation:

"Left on its own, the American steel industry undoubtedly faces rough times ahead. Older plants will be closed and employment will decline. Adjustment will be hard for steelworkers. From the nation's point of view, however, the burden of protecting the industry from unpleasant realities would be too great."

In other words, more Youngstowns, more Lackawannas, more Johnstowns! Having determined that the dollar devaluations, Nixon's wage controls and the union's no-strike agreement have not achieved a reversal in the declining role of American steel, a powerful section of the bourgeoisie is determined upon a full-scale rationalization of the industry, to be accomplished by scrapping obsolete facilities, laying off thousands of workers and building new, more productive plants requiring fewer employees.

Protectionism

However, any rationalization of the American steel industry would proceed slowly. To significantly retard the decline of the American steel industry would require sizable investments in new plant and equipment. In the meantime, the unemployment rate is already high. Continued layoffs in steel are both socially dangerous and could have major repercussions on an already tottering economy.

Hence it is possible that the bourgeoisie could opt for some form of steel protectionism. However, this would not mean more jobs for steel workers, as the reactionary USWA bureaucracy promises. It would only slow down the reorganization of the steel industry, with a certain number of jobs that would have otherwise been slashed conserved at the expense of foreign steel workers. The lesser efficiency of such a method would necessarily require that it be accompanied by stringent labor discipline, speed-up, etc.

Were effective steel protectionist measures actually implemented by the American bourgeoisie, it could well set off a series of retaliatory responses by foreign governments, ushering in a period of greatly intensified economic nationalism. The likely victim of such a policy would be Japan, whose economy is heavily dependent upon foreign trade. (For example, Japan exports 28 percent of its steel products, while almost all American steel is produced for the domestic market.)

If American workers support protectionist legislation that drives Japanese workers out of jobs, they will be lumped together with the American bourgeoisie as targets for a reinvigorated Japanese nationalism, whose social base in part would be embittered unemployed workers and whose program will be to recover lost markets by force of arms. Protectionist ideology is a poison which welds the proletariat to the imperialist designs of its own bourgeoisie, and it must be fought down the line by those who stand for the interests of the *international* working class.

Reformist Bureaucrats Take Up Protectionism

Whatever the fate of the protectionist schemes, the main target for the American bourgeoisie is clear: steel is to be made profitable through intensified exploitation of the steel workers, and by victimizing tens of thousands who work in unprofitable plants. The question is, what is the Steelworkers union going to do about it?

The USWA International bureaucracy has already given its answer. Continuing the policy laid down by his predecessor, I. W. ("No Strike") Abel, and MacDonald and Murray before him, McBride is marching in lockstep with the steel bosses in their drive for protectionist legislation. Against the mass layoffs and plant closures they have done and will do nothing at all.

And Ed Sadlowski? Earlier this year several hundred thousand steel workers voted for the "rebel" bureaucrat, then director of the Chicago-Gary District 31 of the USWA, for president of the union. Most undoubtedly believed they were voting for a more militant policy than Abel/McBride's. But just as on the basic steel contract, the Sadlowski camp has utterly failed to provide steel workers with a fighting program to counter the companies' protectionism/layoffs offensive. Instead, all that these "Fight Back" bureaucrats have done is to send up a cloud of smoke about "price gouging."

According to Jim Balanoff, Sadlowski's handpicked successor as head of District 31, foreign competition is irrelevant; overpricing by the companies is the real problem. If the steel companies lower their prices, they will be able to compete, steel workers will have jobs and everything will be rosy. Thus at a time when American steel companies can't compete at the lower prices established by foreign steel producers, Balanoff calls for price cuts as a way to bail out the industry!

But, unfortunately for Balanoff, he must descend to earth and confront the threatened closing of the South Works plant in his own district. And it is at South Works' Local 65, whose president is Sadlowski supporter John Chico, that one can find the real politics of these "reform" bureaucrats. The reality is that their program is no different from McBride & Co.

On August 29, Local 65 officials accompanied by Balanoff met with South Works management to discuss company requests that the union local participate in lobbying for protectionism and endorse a management proposal for a thinly disguised productivity campaign. Shortly afterwards the Local 65 leadership issued a special newsletter, the gist of which was that it would *not* oppose the company's speed-up and protectionism drive. The newsletter noted:

"We have been seriously considering the suggestion from the Company that we lobby in opposition to foreign steel imports, and after many hours of deliberation and research on this complex problem, have decided to ask our government representatives to investigate the entire question of steel production—imports, prices, costs, together with obsolete plant facilities, tax credits, subsidies, etc."

Thus, while McBride goes to Washington to lobby for protectionism, the Sadlowski forces decide to ask the advice of the capitalist politicians! This is a cowardly betrayal and backhanded support to McBride's chauvinism. The Local 65 leadership also pledged itself to a massive lobbying effort to enlist federal, local and state politicians, building contractors, merchants and religious organizations in South Chicago, the Environmental Protection Agency[!], etc., in a campaign to pressure U.S. Steel to keep South Works open. Not militant action, but the same miserable pleas to management that failed in Youngstown, Lackawanna and Johnstown! As one can see, the Sadlowski bureaucrats are but small-time versions of McBride & Co.

Seize Shut-Down Mills—For an Industrywide Strike!

Steel workers must not become helpless victims of capitalist competition and the scramble for profits. Workers at shut-down mills like those in Youngstown must answer the companies by plant seizures. Steel workers throughout the country must fight for a national strike against mass layoffs in response to these attacks. Such militant actions would frighten the steel barons as an attack on their sacred property and inspire the entire workers movement to resist the attack on jobs *politically*. Bankrupt steel companies or operations must be expropriated without compensation; all jobs must be maintained at full union wages and conditions.

It is obvious that Carter and his labor flunkies like McBride would never support such an attack on "property rights," even when such "rights" are deliberately used to throw tens of thousands of workers onto the pavement. Plant seizures and expropriations require a determined struggle against the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, leading to a workers party based on the trade unions.

Ultimately, American imperialism requires a viable domestic steel industry. This means either the wholesale rationalization of the industry, with mass layoffs, plant closings and intensified exploitation, or major doses of chauvinist protectionism, which will spawn trade wars and lay the basis for a third world war. Thus the fight against steel layoffs is intimately bound up with the revolutionary struggle for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie and lay the basis for international socialist planning. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Youngstown, Buffalo, Who's Next?

Crisis in Steel

New York Times

Right, steel workers leaving Youngstown Sheet and Tube Campbell Works after plant closure announced last week. Below, Ohio steelworkers demonstrating against plant closures on the steps of the Capitol, September 23.

Shock waves emanated from the banks of the Mahoning River in Ohio as the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company announced the elimination of 5,000 jobs at the massive Campbell Works in Youngstown last week. As a result, steel workers with well over ten years seniority will be driven out of this dying industrial area to search for new jobs, and many forced out of the industry entirely.

The massive job elimination followed only a month after the nation's second largest producer, Bethlehem Steel, announced that it was cutting back its production capacity by 10 percent. Some 7,500 workers were canned—3,500 at Bethlehem's Lackawanna facilities outside Buffalo, and 4,000 in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. These workers, like those in Youngstown, will not get their jobs back even if the economy picks up—their jobs are gone for good.

Meanwhile, at U.S. Steel's South Works complex in Chicago, rumors continue to circulate about a total or partial shutdown of plant facilities. The plant, which began operations in 1880, has been a consistent money-loser over the last two years. As a belt-tightening measure, U.S. Steel has already announced that 1,000 administrative workers at its five plants in Indiana and Illinois will be laid off by December.

The immediate trigger for the layoffs and job cuts was the stuttering economy. The faltering recovery has not generated any qualitative increase in spending for industrial expansion and non-residential construction. Since some 70 percent of all steel products are consumed by the capital goods sector, the steel industry is hurting.

The steel industry has traditionally been volatile. Since World War II, beginning in the recession-laden 1950's, there have been periodic layoffs. But this time it is different. The American steel industry has not only lost its competitive edge, but it has been decisively surpassed by Japan. Thus, substantial sections of American steel are deficit operations at any time except during peak production periods. The Youngstown plant, for example, was dominated by open hearth production, an antiquated method of steel-making.

Lackawanna and Youngstown were not mere layoffs, nor even partial temporary plant shutdowns such as those that swept the auto industry three years ago. These are the permanent scrapping of obsolescent facilities, and only the first wave of such closings, as the American steel trust desperately seeks to catch up with its foreign competitors. If the steel companies get their way, the burden of this drive to restore profitability is to be borne by the steel workers—through mass layoffs, speed-up and a clamp on wages—and by the rest of the economy, in the form of price increases caused by protectionist curbs on imported steel. Wrapping themselves in the American flag, the robber barons are trying to put the screws on everyone.

Thousands of steel workers are on the street. The axe hangs over the head of thousands more. This attack must be fought, through powerful industrywide strike action for jobs for all. The bourgeoisie is striking at the vitals of a key section of the American proletariat. The United Steelworkers (USWA), one of the most powerful unions in the country, must strike back decisively, preparing to mobilize broad sectors of the working class in its defense, or have its strength broken.

Obsolescent Mills

The central weakness of the American steel industry has been dramatically highlighted in the past period. With the economic downturn reaching more advanced stages abroad, the U.S. market has become a battleground for competing steel producers. But although its location gives it a strategic advantage in this competition, the American steel industry has fared badly. The share of foreign imports has risen to its highest level in several years, up to almost 20 percent. In 1976 Japanese steel imports jumped 36 percent, while the rate of Common Market steel exports to the U.S. doubled in the first half of 1977. Under the whip of this intensified capitalist competition, the weakest elements of the American steel industry are being driven out.

This represents a real defeat for the policies of the American bourgeoisie. A prime consideration in Nixon's draconian economic measures of 1971 was concern over the declining position of the once-hegemonic American steel industry. In fact, these measures were imposed immediately after the 1971 steel settlement and the subsequent disclosure of an intended price increase by the steel companies. The devaluation of the dollar and the institution of wage controls were designed to arrest the decline of American capitalism. The recent shutdowns demonstrate that it has not worked—at least for steel, whose viability is central to the maintenance of American imperialism.

In response, the American steel trust, backed loyally by its lackeys in the bureaucracy of the USWA, is mounting a major drive to back protectionist legislation. Already a number of Congressmen from steel-producing areas have been rounded up to constitute a so-called Steel Caucus in Washington, whose goal is import quotas on foreign steel.

Wide World

An article in the *Gary Post Tribune* of September 11 by Edgar Speer, chairman of the giant U.S. Steel Corporation, laid out the basic arguments the steel companies are making for trade quotas:

> "Too few Americans seem to realize that foreign competition is unfair competition...that the steel industry's battle is not with free trade, but with unfair trade. There are still those who suggest—falsely—that what the domestic steel industry wants is 'protectionism,' ignoring the fact that the American steel industry is an efficient industry, anxious to compete openly in world markets if such competition can be made both free and fair."

Speer charged further that "steel exports have been dumped into this nation's market...sold at prices below those being charged overseas...prices that have not reflected their own full production costs." This, said Speer, was "the result of a deliberately planned strategy on the part of governments overseas."

But it is the steel workers who will pay the biggest price for the crisis in the industry. For years the Abel/McBride leadership of the Steelworkers has served as the loyal handmaiden of the bosses' efforts to keep American steel profitable. Abel sat on Nixon's pay board, and when wage controls expired he instituted the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). The ENA was justified on the grounds that steel strikes provided major opportunities for foreign steel-producers to gain a foothold in the American market. But this gift to the steel trust has achieved nothing. Steel imports are now higher than ever, and the competitive position of American steel is at a low point.

While there are sharp differences over the demand for protectionist legislation the American bourgeoisie as a whole is determined to reorganize its steel industry so that it can compete effectively with its imperialist rivals. The message to McBride & Co. is: "ENA is not enough!" More drastic measures are

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 176 7 October 1977

Break with the Union of the Left!

French Popular Front on the Rocks?

Laurent/Gamma

Leaders of the Union of the Left at post-election press conference last April. From left, Radical Fabre, Communist Marchais and Socialist Mitterrand

With French legislative elections only six months off, and the Union of the Left showing at least a 53-47 edge in the public opinion polls, the breakdown of summit discussions between leaders of the Communist Party (PCF), the Socialist Party (PS) and Left Radicals (MRG) came as a bolt out of the blue. The talks were first suspended on September 14 when Left Radical leader Robert Fabre stalked out of a meeting denouncing the PCF for attempting to lead France toward a "collectivist society," and for not giving enough weight to the minuscule MRG within the popular front. Thereupon leaders of each party rushed before the TV cameras insisting on their willingness to continue discussions and their "sincere desire" to reach an agreement, while blaming their partners for "intransigence" and supposed refusal to negotiate.

There followed ten days of political ballet, in which each of the three components of the popular front executed a series of pirouettes and pas de deux, trying to make the others look like clumsy oafs and themselves like the most serious, militant and statesmanlike opponents of the Giscard government (a combination rather difficult to achieve). Each posed as the best defender of an "up-dated" version of the 1972 Common Program. But to the great surprise of everyone—evidently including the main protagonists—the reconvened talks, which had been expected to undo Fabre's theatrical gesture and to lead to an agreement on how to "actualize" the Union of the Left platform, again broke down on September 24 and currently remain suspended.

J. Haillot

Steelworker demonstrating against plant shutdown earlier this year.

Since then there has been wide speculation in the press on the meaning of these spectacular events. The leading Paris bourgeois dailies have questioned the "independence" of the PCF, speculating on pressures from the Kremlin, for the purpose of whipping up traditional anti-Communist fears. The *New York Times*, transparently reflecting the line of the U.S. State Department, has sought to use the same speculation to widen the breach between Moscow and its troublesome "Eurocommunist" allies. In Spain, where relations between Communists and Socialists are at an uncertain stage, the right gloated and the left worried about an apparent "Suicide of the French Left" (*Triunfo*, 24 September).

The most apocalyptic visions of a definitive break-up of the Union of the Left are clearly inspired by wishful thinking and political strategems. The French political world is nearly unanimous in seeing the current blow-up as the product of complicated electoral maneuvers. But the purposes of the maneuvering, and the reactions to it by the self-proclaimed "far left," reveal much about the shape of the next crucial months and the upcoming elections, to be held under the sign of the popular front.

Disunion of the Left

The seeming split in the Union of the Left comes at a time when it not only appeared to be in a position to win at the polls, but when the governing "presidential majority" is deeply divided as well. The venomous rivalry between President Giscard d'Estaing and former prime minister Jacques Chirac, combined with severe unemployment and economic stagnation, have profoundly discredited the regime. Thus it was in the first instance the prospect of a left victory at the polls, turning the Common Program from an election platform into a government plan, that sparked the recent blow-up.

Added to this are the pressures on each of the parties of the Union of the Left to hold and expand its electorate. Since the alliance was formed five years ago, the PCF and MRG have essentially stagnated, while the electoral following of the Socialist Party has gone from about 5 percent in 1972 to an estimated 30 percent at present. Consequently, both the Communists and Left Radicals want to appear as playing a more active role in defending the interests of their respective audiences, while the PS is content with the status quo.

Fabre's Left Radicals must defend themselves against rightist accusations of being sucked into a "socialist-communist plot." This is particularly true since their 3 percent of the electorate is open to raiding both by parties of the "presidential majority" (notably the Radicals of Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber) and the would-be "fourth component" of the Union of the Left, various dissident Gaullists. Without some attention-grabbing stunts, the MRG ran the risk of being squeezed between the considerable hostility toward them from the PCF/PS workers and the suspicions toward the popular front among middle-class voters. The Left Radicals are asserting their role as guarantor for the bourgeois character of the Union of the Left. It is not by accident, therefore, that Fabre has stressed his commitment to private enterprise in his attacks on the PCF.

As the main benefactors from the left electoral alliance, the Socialists are in no hurry to amend the Common Program or compromise with either the MRG or PCF. PS leader François Mitterrand's leverage is increased by the fact that he is now in a position to be kingpin either in a government of the Union of the Left or in a "center-left" coalition such as held sway during the last years of the Fourth Republic, before DeGaulle's 1958 sei-

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The National Question in Sri Lanka.....6

by Edmund Samarakkody

Chicano Raza Unida Party the Target

Gas Company Turns Off Crystal City, Texas

At 9:26 a.m. on September 23 officials of the LoVaca Gathering Company, a subsidiary of the Coastal States Gas Corporation, ordered a valve closed, and the natural gas supply to 8,000 residents of impoverished Crystal City, Texas was shut off. The company is demanding $744,000 in accumulated rate increases before fuel is restored to this overwhelmingly Chicano community, where the average per capita income is $1,600 per year.

In 1972 Crystal City signed a 15-year contract with the gas company at $0.36 per thousand cubic feet of gas. Two years later the Texas Railroad Commission approved the utility's request to pass rate increases on to its customers. Currently the charge is $2.05—a 450 percent jump! The city council, which in 1975 was controlled by the Chicano nationalist Raza Unida Party (RUP), refused to pay the increase and a lengthy court battle ensued.

An injunction blocking the cutoff was issued September 2 by Zavala County judge José Angel Gutiérrez, founder and leader of RUP, but on September 21 a state appeals court overruled him, and two days later the gas stopped flowing. LoVaca president William Greehey stated: "The events of the past few weeks, and indeed the past two and one-half years, clearly indicate the futility of attempting to arrive at any kind of common-sense settlement" (*New York Times*, 24 September).

At the urging of Senator Edward Kennedy, half of a $310,000 U.S. grant to the city was allotted for a down payment on the "debt." But when several other cities, including San Antonio, indicated that they too would seek federal relief from the gas company's price gouging, the government announced that none of the grant could be used to pay the utility's ransom. It suggested instead that the money be used for the purchase of electrical appliances and conversion to other energy sources such as solar power!

The Crystal City government is currently controlled by the Barrio Club, which broke from the RUP in 1975 and has ties to the Democratic Party. This group attempted to appease the company by offering to pay the $744,000 over a ten-year period. They assented to the rate increase and were willing to give the company mineral rights to natural gas deposits below a town park as well as control over the municipal gas pipeline system. All these concessions were rejected by the utility along with a proposal to pay $50,000 now and an equal amount in six months.

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) blamed these concessions on the Barrio Club and bemoaned their "unfortunate" split from the RUP. The city council certainly has no program to fight this outrage by the gas monopoly. "We're just going to have to do without hot water, without hot food and without a lot of other things that we usually take for granted," a councilman told the *New York Times*. But neither do the would-be capitalist politicos in the RUP have a strategy to fight LoVaca. Gutiérrez claims he could turn the gas back on by declaring a state of emergency, but that his hands are tied because the city council refuses to request such a ruling!

The utter helplessness of the RUP in the face of the gas company's display of naked power underscores the bankruptcy of its bourgeois-nationalist politics, which offer no answer to the oppression of Mexican Americans or other racial-ethnic and national minorities under American capitalism. From the beginning the Raza Unida Party has stood for "Chicano capitalism" and a national rather than a class struggle. This orientation has been fully supported by the SWP, which printed without comment an article by Gutiérrez in which he openly states:

> "We sought to expose, confront, and eliminate the gringo. We felt that it was necessary to polarize the community over issues, into Chicanos versus gringos."

In the same article the RUP leader puts forward as the solution to the oppression of Mexican Americans the "transfer of existing businesses from gringo hands to Chicano hands" (*International Socialist Review*, June 1971).

Texas authorities, of course, treat the RUP as a dangerous red menace. At the beginning of this year, Raza Unida was locked in battle with Governor Dolph Briscoe over an attempt to establish a 1,000-acre community-owned farm which Briscoe called "a little Cuba in Texas." Gutiérrez responded: "The whole thrust of this program is to put capital into the hands of poor people. It is good old-fashioned capitalism. Except this time it's going to be the have-nots who get a chance at it" (*Militant*, 28 January 1977).

It is no wonder that the SWP can hail Crystal City's simple refusal to pay the gas price hike as "an example for others in Texas to follow," since these ex-Trotskyists likewise have no strategy to fight the utility company aside from pressuring the government. Following an August 30 session of the Southern Governors Conference SWP spokesman Peter Camejo declared that the meeting, which was addressed by the president of Exxon, "should be discussing nationalization of the energy industry, opening up the books of the energy corporations and placing them under the control of the industry's workers." No doubt Camejo also thinks that the southern governors and the oil barons should carry out the socialist revolution while they're at it!

A consumer boycott, even if organized by a "radical" city council can be defeated simply by closing a valve. LoVaca, which earned a profit of $3.9 million during the first six months of this year (more than double the profit during comparable periods of 1975 and 1976) can simply freeze Crystal City into submission. If the gas is not restored, this is exactly what will occur as migrant workers return from the November harvest to face a winter with neither stoves nor heat. Already many in the town must burn wood for cooking and hot water.

In fact, the Chicano residents of Crystal City are by no means the only victims of the oil, gas and power companies. By seeking to mobilize the Texas labor movement in defense of this just refusal to submit to robbery by some of the most hated monopolies in the country, a powerful movement could be sparked demanding that they be expropriated without compensation. With the energy trusts threatening to send fuel prices skyrocketing through deregulation of natural gas prices, this demand could win massive support from American working people. But this is not the task of the capitalist politicians, who from the Kennedys to the petty-bourgeois nationalist RUP will carefully respect the limits of bourgeois legality and sacrosanct "property rights." The irrational shortages and rapacious profit gouging by the fuel/power giants will be ended only by a workers government and the introduction of socialist economic planning on a world scale. ■

WV Photo

Ardrella Lenard speaking at September 29 forum sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League.

UAW Must Defend Bennie Lenard

CHICAGO—Bennie Lenard, the black United Auto Workers (UAW) member brutally beaten by racist cops in the suburb of Melrose Park last January, goes on trial October 11 at the Fourth District Court in Maywood, Illinois. Lenard's arrest and trial must be denounced as a blatant frame-up. In the atmosphere of racist mobilization which has gripped Chicago for the past two years, his case is a stark example of the vicious police terror against racial minorities which characterizes American society.

Lenard, who is a repairman at the suburban International Harvester plant (UAW Local 6), was plunged into a nightmare of terror following a minor accident driving home from work. He asked that the police be called to the scene, but when they arrived and saw that the other driver was a white woman they beat him unconscious. Dumped unclothed into a freezing cell and drenched with buckets of cold water, Lenard found himself charged with assaulting the other driver, assaulting the police and illegal possession of a gun. As a result of the beating he has spent months in the hospital, undergoing several painful operations and completely losing the sight of his right eye. Yet on October 11 it is Bennie Lenard who goes on trial, not the racist cops who assaulted him.

In the nine months since Lenard was beaten and jailed, Chicago has seen a full-scale cop riot against Puerto Ricans in Humboldt Park which killed two and injured 147. Marquette Park, a Southside white enclave, has been the scene of more than one provocative rally by the KKK and Nazis. Segregationist forces are currently terrorizing black school children bused to schools on the Southwest side. Only a mobilization of the city's powerful, integrated union movement can reverse this racist upsurge. The demonstration called by UAW Local 6 committees outside the Maywood courthouse on the morning of Lenard's trial can and should be the beginning for such a mobilization of labor/black defense.

Lenard's union brothers and sisters have rallied to his defense, passing a motion in Local 6 demanding that the charges be dropped in this frame-up. They voted to set up a committee to defend him, and have contributed to the cost of his legal defense through plant gate collections. At one pre-trial hearing scores of his fellow workers from the plant showed up to demonstrate their solidarity. The membership also voted for a motion presented by the Labor-Struggle Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the Local, demanding that the International officially take up Lenard's defense.

The UAW bureaucracy from top to bottom has done everything to frustrate this rank-and-file support. The Local 6 resolution was squelched at the union's Los Angeles convention and Mrs. Lenard was prevented from speaking to the delegates about her husband's plight. The Local 6 leadership has refused to allocate union funds to his defense and sought to bury the issue in a bureaucratically controlled committee. Unfortunately some of Lenard's supporters have too readily accepted the bureaucratic brush-off, and seek to go around the official union channels. Instead, they should be constantly putting Local 6 officials on the spot, demanding that the UAW wholeheartedly take up his case and gain the support of the rest of Chicago labor.

The Labor-Struggle Caucus, Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) have all been active in defense efforts for Lenard fighting for this perspective of a militant working-class defense. A recent SYL forum on "Revolutionary Integration and the Fight Against Racist Terror" featured an address by Ardella Lenard and a collection of money for the defense of her husband. She pointed out that what happened to Bennie Lenard was a horror

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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After Losing Out on Peking Franchise

Avakian & Co. on PL's Road to Oblivion

Set Up Workerist-Economist Front Group at Chicago Meeting

CHICAGO—Things have not been going very well of late for Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Its scandalous support to racist anti-busing mobilizations had made it something of a pariah on the American left. Then its Maoism brought further discredit when China lined up with the Pentagon and white-supremacist South Africa in Angola. To top it off, after years of shamefacedly apologizing for the sordid betrayals of Peking foreign policy, this August saw the official China franchise go to its arch-rival, Mike Klonsky's October League (now the Communist Party [Marxist-Leninist]).

It was in this context that the RCP decided to throw all its resources into building NUWO (National United Workers Organization), hoping that some flashy, phony "mass work" would bolster morale inside the party and make up for losses on the international scene. So it was with all the cheers, foot-stomping and "fightback" hoopla these Maoist workerists could muster that the new RCP front group was launched in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend.

Months of work went into the conference, and with over 1,000 people pulled into Chicago for the event it looked at first as if they might be able to pull it off. Held in the Great Hall (!) of the Pickwick Hotel, the conference kicked off with five solid minutes of chanting "The People United Will Never Be Defeated," while Chairman Avakian grinned down from the balcony in satisfaction. In a demonstration of hoary Stalinist manipulative techniques, politics were downplayed at first, and the participants were warmed up by front-loading the sessions with movies, solidarity telegrams, testimonials and so forth. The expectation was that in the final hours the RCP would be able to ram through its program with perfunctory "discussion," the hands would be raised and after a song or two the crowd could be safely packed back into the buses and sent home.

Things didn't turn out quite that simply, however, as the RCP's best-laid plans to avoid political discussion and debate kept going awry. For the better part of two days, through some two dozen workshops and plenaries, the organizers spent their time dodging sticky questions from both the left and right. By the end, only the chairman's heavy gavel and the RCP's majority voting bloc kept the conference from turning into a shambles.

Avakian & Co. had thrown their nets wide and drew in a disparate catch—opponents on the left, union militants who were shocked at the RCP's Jim Crow line on busing, liberal moralists with a plethora of quack proposals and backward workers who blamed unemployment on "illegal aliens." For the most part it went well enough—until these contacts were allowed to open their mouths. Even guest speaker Buddy Cochran, the mechanic who drove his sports car into a July Fourth KKK rally in Plains, Georgia, caused a moment of embarrassment for the "communist" organizers of the conference. Cochran, who is the RCP's big defense case at present, told the audience that what really got him riled up was when the Grand Dragon "called Jimmy Carter a slang name."

RCP Says No to Busing and Full Employment

The real trouble began in the workshops. A predictable stumbling block was the issue of busing, particularly since the conference took place only a few days before school opened in Chicago amid a full-blown racist mobilization against a sham "voluntary" busing plan. Discussion in the discrimination workshop was focused on "affirmative action" schemes while the RCP handed out a resolution calling for evaluating desegregation plans on "a case by case basis." The resolution, which opposed the Boston "forced busing" plan, was approved in the workshop without discussion.

The pandora's box was opened at the Sunday plenary during discussion of plans for a "march and rally against attacks on minority nationalities and divide and conquer schemes" over lunch break. An RCPer stated that, while the Chicago plan was presently supportable, it "will later be turned into forced busing." This didn't go down well, as one Latin woman rose to ask why *anyone* would oppose busing, and a West Coast auto worker remarked that "there should be no such thing as black schools and white schools. We ought to fight for that."

The RCP was not about to fight for desegregation, but it was feeling the pressure. The day before it had handed out a list of chants for the demonstration, including such slogans as "Divide and Rule, We Say No—Forced Busing Has to Go!" By the time the march snaked its way through the deserted Loop on Sunday afternoon, however, all the anti-busing chants had mysteriously disappeared.

If the Jim Crow Maoists had a hard time explaining to militant black workers why "forced busing" was bad, they fared no better with their opposition to demands for full employment. The discrimination-workshop chairman catered to all sorts of liberal schemes, such as the proposal by one politically raw contact for a "week of fasting" to really "hurt" merchants and another's call for laws to enforce early retirement in order to make more jobs. But when one participant proposed that NUWO endorse the slogan "Jobs for All," all hell broke loose.

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WV Photo

Bob Avakian

This was instantly ruled an "unfriendly amendment," and an RCPer rushed to explain that "we don't have to promise everybody a job.... That's a bunch of bullshit. Everybody ain't gonna get a job." Similarly, RCPers in the auto workshop quickly quashed a discussion on a proposal to fight for 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay. There would be no such "Trotskyite" nonsense in NUWO—only the most sub-reformist demands which in no way challenge the capitalist system!

The Cheering Stops

By the Sunday plenary the circus atmosphere had vanished, along with Chairman Avakian's smile. A revised agenda was handed out and the trade-union program quickly pushed through. But after lunch the fireworks began. Throughout the weekend the RCP hadn't breathed a word about China, not in a single document, presentation or floor intervention. Obviously it was afraid that someone might ask about the "Gang of Four" or Klonsky's prized handshake with Chairman Hua. Instead, the conference organizers figured they could demonstrate their Maoist loyalties by virulently denouncing the Soviet Union.

Thus in the final session a major resolution on "The Threat of War" was distributed, calling for struggle against the "ruling exploiters" in the USSR and railing against Russian "aggression and war preparations." The sharp contrast to the vacuous workshops the day before stunned the uninitiated. Moreover, halfway into the session a speaker moved to delete the anti-Soviet passages. "I think we can all agree," he said, "that the USSR is not the same as the United States and has in fact helped workers and progressive causes in Cuba and Africa." Cleverly playing on the apolitical atmosphere fostered by the RCP, he ended: "The NUWO is a domestic organization and it doesn't have to take a position on a question like this."

Whoops! In an instant the mask of apolitical economism dropped, and the roomful of "fellow workers" suddenly became a meeting of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Pounding for order, the chair announced that the hall had to be emptied in 45 minutes, explaining poker-faced that "I really don't want to cut the discussion off but we are pressed for time." For the rest of the session, one RCPer after another crawled out of the closet. One wanted the anti-Soviet section to stand because his friend Eddie, a working-class youth killed in Vietnam, "would have wanted it that way." Another explained that anyone could tell Cuba was capitalist because a guy in his plant paddled 80 miles on a rubber raft to get to the U.S.!

After these appeals to the most despicable anti-Communist prejudices, the question was called, the proposed deletion defeated—and an extra hour's time found to continue the meeting. But

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L.A. Killer Cops Rampage

LOS ANGELES—Kill-crazy L.A. cops have slaughtered 28 people so far this year. Many of their victims were unarmed; many black or Chicano. All of them are victims of the police gun-barrel "justice" which has increasingly replaced the facade of "due process" in the capitalist courts.

This rash of police killings has even disturbed the bourgeois press, and the LAPD has attempted to cleanse its image with a new set of cosmetic rules governing the use of police firearms. Though the preamble to the new code hypocritically claims that "a reverence for the value of human life" shall be the guide in the use of weapons, assistant police chief Daryl Gates brazenly admitted that "this isn't going to change [police] shootings in the city of Los Angeles" (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 September).

As if to underscore Gates' words, the "new centurions" shot four more on September 10, a day after the new code was announced. Three were allegedly involved in an armed robbery; the fourth was an innocent pedestrian stopped for questioning about a stolen car.

Last month Gates told reporters that he couldn't explain why the number of fatal shootings "was a little ahead this year" of its normal death quota. (The LAPD killed 30 people in all of 1976 and another 30 the previous year.) The head of the internal police unit that investigates police shootings reported that the cops weren't *shooting* more people, they were simply *killing* a higher percentage of those shot! The reasons are not hard to find—a police force whose heavy weaponry is the envy of cops across the country; whose bloody exploits are glorified in movies, TV shows and pulp fiction; which patrols the streets in squad cars and helicopter gunships, routinely accosting "suspects" with shotguns, and operating with the bravado and deadly efficiency of an occupation army.

Public attention was riveted on the pattern of street executions by the particularly atrocious slaying of Ronald Burkholder on August 4. A lone cop gunned down the 35-year-old pacifist and inventor outside his storefront studio. The killer-cop claimed he spotted Burkholder running down the street naked, attempted to arrest him and shot in self-defense when the man assumed a "martial arts stance" and lunged at him. The coroner's report revealed six bullet holes and a number of other wounds on the body, but the killer has gone scot-free.

Barely two weeks after the Burkholder shooting, a second unarmed man, 33-year-old Floyd Thomas, was killed by police after he was stopped for car theft. The police maintain that the shooting was "accidental" and occurred during an escape attempt, but numerous eye-witnesses report that the victim made no escape attempt and put up no struggle. Again, the trigger-happy cop has not been subjected to any disciplinary action.

These butchers in blue should be tried and jailed for their crimes. But instead, as mass unemployment ravages the ghettos, bourgeois politicians like L.A. mayor (and ex-cop) Thomas Bradley and police chief Ed Davis build their careers around racist "law and order" campaigns, and their minions murder innocent victims in the streets. The reformists peddle various hoaxes such as "review boards" and "community control" of the cops. The disbanding of the bosses' hired thugs will occur only after a victorious proletarian revolution. But all opponents of cop terror and defenders of democratic rights must demand: Disarm the police! Jail the killer cops!

Even with Lies

CP Nails SWP

In their perpetual attempt to discredit Trotskyism, the Stalinists' favorite accusation has always been that Trotskyism serves as a cover for the imperialists' revanchist aims against the Soviet Union. To buttress this claim, they have resorted to the most despicable slanders. But now, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has given the consummate reformists of the pro-Moscow Communist Party USA (CP) some real ammunition.

In August, the SWP fused with the Revolutionary Marxist Committee (RMC), a decomposition product of the third-period Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). Although the RMC stood significantly to the left of the SWP on most questions, it proved unable to break with its origins in Shachtmanism, an ideology which posits that the USSR (and by extension the other deformed workers states) is capitalist and that therefore the working class has no interest in the victory of either side in a conflict between the USSR and U.S. imperialism. As *WV* has already noted, the fusion with the "third camp" RMC was significant as a signal that the SWP's orthodox Trotskyist stance on the "Russian question" is an empty formalism which will not be permitted to hamper the SWP's drive toward reformist rapprochement with its "own" bourgeoisie.

A recent article in the SWP's *Militant* (30 September) heralded the RMC fusion as a step toward the SWP's aim of becoming the inclusive party of American social democracy (the SWP's new slogan, "Our party is your party," certainly rivals the CP's earlier "Communism is twentieth-century Americanism" in repulsive populism). At the same time, the *Militant* gently chided the RMC for the view that the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Eastern Europe, etc. are capitalist. And it quoted James Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism: "We are, in fact, the party of the Russian Revolution...."

For decades the Trotskyists have had to fight against the slander that our program meant capitulation (or worse) to the schemes, campaigns and ultimately wars of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. The Stalinists were forced to create out of the whole cloth slanders against Trotsky and the movement he led. Stalin and his henchmen claimed that Trotsky was an agent of the Mikado, that the Fourth International was in league with the fascists. The Trotskyists were ruthlessly persecuted in Russia and murderously pursued around the world. But the Trotskyists held firm. They knew that the October Revolution was their own. Even as they were hauled out of the prison camps to face the firing squads, they shouted their defense of the revolution and their opposition to its Stalinist gravediggers.

Now the ex-Trotskyist SWP is helping to facilitate the Stalinists' indictment of Trotskyism. Fusing with a "Third Camp" grouping while quoting Cannon's fine words about defensism, the SWP demonstrates that the Trotskyist program is indeed nothing but words for the SWP. The CP, of course, need merely accept the SWP's Trotskyist pretensions as good coin in order to "prove" that "Trotskyism" is simply a left cover for anti-Sovietism.

The *Militant* article, based on Larry Seigle's report to the SWP Convention, was made to order, for it shows the SWP to be not merely anti-Communist, but hypocritically so. While admitting that the RMC is defeatist toward the USSR, the article goes on at some length (including quotes from Trotsky and Cannon) about the orthodox Trotskyist position in defense of the Soviet Union—something of a rarity for the SWP these days.

So it is no wonder that the CP's *Daily World* (1 October) is helping the SWP publicize its "important accomplishment" with an article entitled "Trotskyism Embraces 'Carter's Escalation of Arms Race'." Drawing heavily on the *Militant*'s own report, anti-Trotskyist hack Erik Bert does not need to work very hard to show that the fusion is a living repudiation of defense of the USSR. To the SWP's attempt to distance itself from the "Third Camp," he responds with the prurience of a Stalinist peeping Tom who has finally caught a couple of "Trotskyites" engaged in an unnatural anti-Soviet act:

> "What shall we say, then, of the SWP which claims to oppose 'Carter's escalation of the arms race,' taking into its bed the RMC which, the SWP says, does not oppose 'Carter's escalation of the arms race?'
>
> "It means this: At the heart of Trotskyism, of the SWP line, is anti-Sovietism. It will stoop to anything to further that end. It has taken to its bosom every anti-Soviet renegade whom U.S. imperialism has promoted. It has, in the case of the RMC taken unto its bosom a revolutionary supporter of Carter's escalation of the arms race.
>
> "After one finds RMC in the SWP's bed what credibility can one accord SWP's claim that it has a 'major difference' with 'fundamental political ramifications,' with RMC's lining up with imperialism, with 'NATO led by American

Healyite Slander Mill Grinds On

The Healyite gang has struck again. As part of the latest installment in its disgusting two-year smear campaign against SWP chief and ex-Trotskyist Joseph Hansen, the British Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party has published (*News Line*, 30 July 1977) what it melodramatically terms "the most incriminating document in the history of the Trotskyist movement." The Healyites' latest exhibit is a two-sentence letter evidently written by Hansen to one George P. Shaw, the U.S. consul in Mexico City in 1940.

This letter is cited as unimpeachable "evidence" that Hansen secretly collaborated with the FBI to "shield known GPU agents" responsible for the assassination of Trotsky in 1940. It is backed by other "damning" corroborative testimony, such as the following quotation, dramatically blown up and set against a black background in *News Line*:

> "Mr. Joseph Hansen, secretary to the late Leon Trotsky, called yesterday to ask for a picture of Trotsky's assassin. I told him I would be glad to see if we could give him one."
>
> —U.S. Embassy in Mexico City

Of Hansen's meeting with an embassy official, *News Line* howls:

> "There is nothing to rival it in the annals of the world Trotskyist movement: a secretary of imperialism's most feared enemy is walking in and out of the American embassy and holding private discussions with the FBI's head men in Mexico City!"

News Line implicitly acknowledges that the entirety of its "case" for Hansen's involvement as an "accomplice" in the Trotsky assassination rests on the alleged "secrecy" of Hansen's contact with the police agencies of U.S. imperialism. The article concedes that "It is true that other members of Trotsky's household also visited the U.S. Embassy—Albert Goldman and guard Charles Cornell among them." The article further admits that Trotsky himself met with Robert G. McGregor, the same embassy official with whom Hansen supposedly met. The difference, claims *News Line*, is that "Trotsky made no secret of his meeting with McGregor."

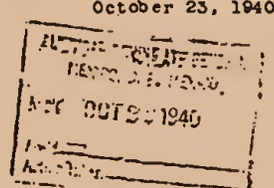
Healyite yellow press is completely given over to lurid lies and paranoid ravings. Articles that do not slander Joseph Hansen as an FBI/GPU "accomplice" praise Libyan dictator Qaddafi.

The Healyites' "exposé" of Hansen, they boast, will "certainly be news to every member of the SWP from the oldest veteran to the youngest rank-and-filer." We doubt it. The "most incriminating document in the history of the Trotskyist movement" has a return address on it. That address is 116 University Place, New York City. This is not a secret—or even a private—address for the correspondence which Hansen was supposedly trying to hide from the Trotskyist movement, but the *public headquarters of the SWP*! We would be surprised indeed if any correspondence routed through this mailing address could be "news" to the SWP.

Hansen has much to answer for before the working class: his role as a leader of a reformist organization which has become a roadblock to the construction of a Trotskyist party. But there is no evidence whatsoever of any unauthorized contact or "collusion" by Hansen with the FBI or GPU. Rather, it is perfectly clear that Trotsky and the SWP *assigned* Hansen to undertake such confidential contact on behalf of the movement and the Healyites are simply exploiting this fact, which for self-evident security reasons would hardly have been officially noted or bandied about at the time. It is the Healyites who, with their cop-baiting smear campaign, have made themselves "accomplices" of the Stalinists' half century of slander against the Trotskyist movement. ■

"Incriminating," "secret" Hansen letter bears SWP return address:

October 23, 1940



Mr. Geo. P. Shaw
American Consul
American Consulate General
Mexico, D.F., Mexico

Dear Mr. Shaw,

I received your letter concerning Mr. Sackett in good condition and shall visit him shortly.

There was a little delay in my receiving your communication due to my absence from New York for some days while I was at Boston.

Respectfully,

Joseph Hansen

Joseph Hansen
116 University Pl.
New York City, N.Y.

This is the most incriminating letter in the history of the Trotskyist movement. Joseph Hansen, present-day leader of the Socialist Workers Party (USA), writes to U.S. Consul George P. Shaw in Mexico City, "respectfully" thanking him for arranging the contact with Mr. B.E. Sackett, head of FBI operations in New York.

imperialism' with 'Carter's escalation of the arms race,' etc. etc.?..."

To be sure, there are plenty of distortions in these paragraphs. The RMC is not a "supporter" of Carter's escalation of the arms race. Its capitulation to imperialism is not so explicit. It "merely" refuses to defend the USSR against imperialism. The *Daily World* need not have recourse to slander to demonstrate the hypocrisy of the SWP's protestations of Soviet defensism, but of course old habits die hard. Even without the distortions, Erik Bert has made his "case"; this Stalinist peeping Tom *has* finally caught a couple of "Trotskyites" engaged in an unnatural anti-Soviet act.

Unlike the SWP, Trotskyists stand squarely for the unconditional defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialism and capitalist restoration. This has been the hallmark of our fight against the bureaucratic castes which politically expropriate the proletariat in these states, and which through their nationalism and class collaborationism threaten the property forms established by the Bolshevik revolution. It is the Trotskyists who are the best defenders of the gains of October through the struggle for international proletarian revolution.

And how does the CP "defend" the Soviet Union? It is the CP which most actively tails the liberals in the Democratic Party—the party of "Carter's escalation of the arms race"! When the anti-Soviet "human rights" bandwagon gets going, it is not only the SWP which rides, but the CP as well. In fact, the CP's record in supporting "progressive" imperialists—including direct electoral support to the dominant party of the American bourgeoisie, the Democrats—is a far greater crime against the USSR than anything the SWP has done, so far.

The Stalinists seek to create an amalgam between the Trotskyist program of political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste and the "anti-Stalinism" which abandons the defense of the deformed workers states and offers aid and comfort to imperialism. The ex-Trotskyist SWP is a godsend to the Stalin school of falsification, for the CP can demonstrate that despite Sunday speechifying, the SWP is the left tail of the bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet campaign. Witness the *Daily World*'s facile denunciation of the SWP's pandering to "dissidents":

> "The SWP's anti-Sovietism has been blatant for years. It has taken to its bosom every anti-socialist renegade from the Soviet Union. There is no renegade for whom the SWP has not beat the drums.
>
> "In this it has provided a sounding board to the 'Left' for the anti-Soviet hysteria which the *New York Times* operates out of its Moscow Bureau. There is no renegade whom the *New York Times* has sponsored, that the SWP has not cheered."

While there is no conspiracy between the *New York Times*' Moscow Bureau and the SWP, none is necessary. The SWP does indeed regularly cheer every reactionary "dissident" that takes to the podium to rail against the "soft, democratic West" for "appeasement" of the totalitarian USSR. Most recently in New York City on October 2, the SWP claque out-clapped even the Ukrainian nationalists at the anti-Communist diatribes of Leonid Plyushch and Andre Amalrik.

The SWP and RMC are not such strange bedfellows. The *Militant* article boasts that the "RMC's fraternal delegation voted unanimously for the gener-

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Teamster Dissidents Conference

TDU: Putting Uncle Sam in the Driver's Seat

"Put yourself in the driver's seat" was the official theme of the second "rank and file convention" of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), held in Cleveland September 24 and 25. By the end of the second day, however, TDU leaders had called on everyone but the membership—from the cops and courts to Jimmy Carter—to take charge of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). In fact, a TDU brochure depicted none other than Uncle Sam himself calling for union reform from the driver's seat of a truck cab.

The TDU wasted no time in demonstrating its confidence in bourgeois authority. Approximately 400

TDU pamphlet pushes Uncle Sam unionism.

supporters of IBT president Frank Fitzsimmons assembled in protest outside the conference at the orders of $192,000-per-year Cleveland Teamster vice-president Jackie Presser. TDU organizers sought a court order to prevent the rally. The court order was refused, but a cop checked everyone's credentials at the door.

Less than 200 attended the lackluster affair, and TDU organizers were distressed that the turnout, considerably smaller than last year's, represented only half the early registration. In one session a lengthy review of local experiences was chiefly a recitation of the group's failures during the last 12 months. Supporters were constantly reminded that only the rank and file—not the TDU—can reform the Teamsters union. This workerist "modesty" actually represents the disorientation of TDU leadership, which has no conception of a class-struggle policy to oust the gangster-ridden bureaucracy of the IBT, and whose main orientation has been to haul the union into the capitalist courts.

The TDU, which is heavily and uncritically backed by the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.), typically campaigns for minimal reformist challenges to undemocratic local bylaws and election rules. The convention approved a proposal to oppose the delegate election of national officers at conventions, instead favoring referendum voting by the entire membership. This is to be achieved through publicity, bumper stickers in truckstop bathroom stalls across the country and, most importantly, through the federal courts.

Revolutionaries support the election of union officers at conventions where leaders can be selected on the basis of counterposed programs debated before elected delegates. Referendum voting is a pseudo-democratic gimmick by which the dispersed votes of the membership are more easily manipulated (and falsified) by the bureaucrats in power. Even more serious is TDU's invitation to the U.S. government, on the basis of the notoriously anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act, to rewrite the IBT constitution. Any self-respecting unionist militant must oppose this treacherous call for capitalist state control of the unions.

The big draw for the TDU meeting was the appearance of United Mine Workers (UMW) secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick, fresh from assisting UMW president Arnold Miller in breaking a two-month wildcat this summer. Describing himself as just a rank-and-file miner, Patrick had the audacity to declare that the right to strike was "most dear to his heart." Initially Patrick cautioned the Teamsters against unnecessarily replacing union leaders who can be made more responsive to the membership, "for if you cut off the head, surely the body will die." Under questioning, he modified this by saying that new leadership must be trained to replace corrupt officials. And like many a bureaucrat in a non-election year, Patrick was willing to distance himself from the Democratic Party. Admitting that he had campaigned for Carter last fall, Patrick added: "If we can't get a labor party in this country at this time, I'm all for it because we're sure not getting anything out of the Democrats."

TDU's portrayal of Patrick as an exemplary militant (he was made an honorary TDU member) is a shameless lie. The I.S.' *Workers' Power* described his appearance as "one of the most important events of the labor movement in years." In reality, Patrick has been indistinguishable from Miller in opposing the waves of massive wildcats that have swept the coalfields during the past several years.

If Patrick has lost confidence in Carter, TDU leaders have plenty to spare. In the hope that ever more government supervision will end bureaucratic abuse of the huge Teamster pension fund, a pamphlet distributed at the conference announced: "TDU is organizing a letter writing campaign to President Carter and Labor Secretary Ray Marshall asking them to use their powers under the Pension Reform Act (ERISA) to remove the current Teamster trustees on the grounds that they have acted in an imprudent manner."

The Federal government has already gotten its hands deep into the Teamsters pension fund. On April 30, several trustees of the IBT's Central States Pension Fund, including Fitzsimmons, were forced to step down by a Labor and Justice Department task force and the Internal Revenue Service. Thus total control of the assets and investments of the $1.4 billion fund was handed over to outsiders. Yet for the TDU's junior G-men this is not enough! Militant Teamsters must not forget that government regulation of United Mine Workers health and retirement trusts enabled the coal bosses to block a needed transfer of money from a pension fund to a financially troubled medical fund, thereby provoking the recent 80,000-strong wildcat which the UMW's "rank-and-file" secretary-treasurer helped to crush.

Pete Camarata, a leading spokesman for TDU, admitted to a *WV* reporter that there is some controversy within the organization whether to continue the present "rank-and-file" orientation or to "identify ourselves with a leader," i.e., an aspiring bureaucrat. Camarata was particularly impressed with Patrick's "credibility." When the reporter pointed out that, as in the case of Miller and Patrick, a bureaucrat's credibility among militants ends with broken strikes, Camarata shrugged and said, "You're probably right."

TDU leaders hope they have found such a dissident bureaucrat in Jack Vlahovic, elected secretary-treasurer in January of IBT Local 213 in Vancouver—the largest Teamster local in the Canadian Conference. The fight by this labor faker on-the-make to hold onto his office in defiance of the dictatorial fiat of International vice president Ed Lawson gives ample proof that TDU-style reformism and run-of-the-mill business unionism are utterly compatible.

In a kangaroo-court union hearing last month, Vlahovic was found guilty

WV Photo

Pete Camarata

of spending Teamster funds (to hire four staff members and open a new office). He was fined nearly $11,000 and barred from union office for life. Vlahovic refused to step down and instead went to the government for help. In response, British Columbia labor minister Williams appointed a representative to investigate the IBT "trial" decision.

Unlike Vlahovic, the Local 213 membership has demonstrated sound class instincts in opposing the International's bureaucratic assault. Teamster

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Behind the Anti-Tamil Terror

The National Question in Sri Lanka

by Edmund Sammarakkody

COLOMBO, 15 September—The outbreak in mid-August of the anti-Tamil pogrom (the third such outbreak in two decades) has brought out the reality that the Tamil minority problem in Sri Lanka has remained unresolved now for nearly half a century, leading to the emergence of a separatist movement among the Tamils.

As on previous occasions, what took place recently was not Sinhalese-Tamil riots, but an anti-Tamil pogrom. Although Sinhalese were among the casualties, the large majority of those killed, maimed and seriously wounded are Tamils. The victims of the widespread looting are largely Tamils. And among those whose shops and houses were destroyed, the Tamils are the worst sufferers. Of the nearly 75,000 refugees, the very large majority were Tamils, including Indian Tamil plantation workers.

The violence that broke out during the height of the language issue in 1956 and again in 1958 was of the same character. It was plainly a question of anti-Tamil pogroms. In 1961, it was anti-Tamil violence of the bourgeois government. This was the violence unleashed by the Sirima Bandaranaike regime, when it sent an army of occupation to the Northern Province for the suppression of the Tamils when the Tamil bourgeois Federal Party (FP) launched a satyagraha movement (civil disobedience) against the government on the issue of the oppressive Language of the Courts Act.

Among the factors leading to the increase of Sinhalese-Tamil antagonisms and the outbreak of the recent anti-Tamil pogrom were:

(a) The intransigence of the [recently defeated] coalition government in regard to the problems of the Tamil minority and the intensification of discriminatory practices against the Tamils in regard to employment, land colonisation, educational and medical facilities, aggravated by government repression of the Tamil people through police violence; an aspect of this repression being detention without trial of Tamil youth and launching irresponsible prosecutions against Tamil leaders.

(b) The formation, about two and a half years ago, of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF—an amalgam of the Federal Party, the Tamil Congress [TC], the Ceylon Workers Congress [Thondaman] and some Tamil petty-bourgeois groups), and the opting of this party for a separate Tamil state, "Tamil Eelam."

(c) The propaganda of Sinhalese bourgeois leaders and the impression created by the government that the just demands of the Tamils are inimical to the interests of the Sinhalese; and, on the other hand, the impression created by the Tamil bourgeois leaders that the Sinhalese are the enemies of the Tamils, and that Tamil rights have to be wrested in struggle against the Sinhalese people—this communalism on both sides being nothing new.

In any event, the aftermath of the anti-Tamil pogrom is widespread communalism. Undoubtedly, sections of the working class also have been affected by this virus of communalism.

Conditions are favourable for the further strengthening of the forces of Sinhalese communalism, as both the governing party, the United National Party (UNP) of J.R. Jayewardene, as well as the other bourgeois mass party, Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), are communalist and will seek to further their political interests through Sinhalese communalism. And outside these parties leading Buddhist monks and their associations are even now calling for drastic legislation to suppress the Tamils, to illegalise the right to carry on propaganda or agitation on the issue of a separate Tamil state. They are also calling on the government to send more and more Sinhalese into Tamil-majority areas for land colonisation, and to keep the military in occupation of those areas.

Legacy of Colonialist "Divide and Rule" Policies

Viewed historically, the Tamil minority problem has been conditioned by the reality that the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Sri Lanka remain uncompleted. This is indeed the case in regard to minority oppression in the backward countries. More generally, capitalism in decay has the need to utilise pre-capitalist forms of oppression and also to widen and perpetuate old divisions based on nationality, religion and caste, on the principle of "divide and rule."

The British conquerors commenced the superimposition of capitalism in Sri Lanka with the overthrow of the feudalist Sinhalese kingdom in Kandy in 1815. Capitalist development called for, among other matters, the unification of the country. The Kandyan Sinhalese kingdom was only one part of the island, the region of the hill country. The peoples in the rest of the country were in two other distinct regions—the low-country Sinhalese, occupying the southern part of the country, formerly a separate kingdom; and the northern region of the Tamils, also a former separate kingdom. Within the three regions, there were further divisions through the operation of the caste system.

The unification of the peoples in those regions was possible only on the basis of mutual agreements in regard to their special cultural and other interests. But the British rulers had no need for forging national unity in that way. As the new foreign oppressors of the country, whose aim was the speedy consolidation of their rule for realising a colonialist economy, they were not to be guided by concepts of democracy and of the overall needs of an all-sided development of capitalism in Sri Lanka. Besides, such a unity of the peoples of the country could well lay the foundation for undermining British rule.

What the British did in the situation was to achieve unification on an administrative basis. It was the fiat of the ruler that the whole of Sri Lanka be administered as a single entity. This meant that the welding of the peoples of these three regions did not take place. It was thus that old antagonisms between the up-country Kandyan Sinhalese and the Sinhalese of the low country remained, and especially the antagonisms between the Sinhalese and the Tamils continued unresolved. So also the caste jealousies and antagonisms which persist up to this date in many parts of the country.

Sinhalese Bourgeoisie Oppresses Tamil Nationality

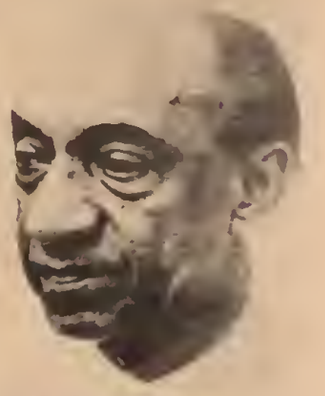
It was thus that an unpostponable task before the Sri Lanka bourgeoisie when they obtained political power from the British in 1947 was to carry out even belatedly this unification of the country, especially between the two main nationalities, the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

The story of how the Sinhalese bourgeoisie and vested interests accomplished this task is now all too well-known. The plain truth is that all bourgeois governments—UNP, SLFP and the SLFP/LSSP [Lanka Samasamaja Party] CP [Communist Party] coalition—have hopelessly failed in this regard. Far from seeking to settle by mutual agreements with the Tamils the problems concerning their rights and interests, all Sinhalese bourgeois governments have rushed to increase their privileges over the Tamils, and in consequence have reduced the Tamils to the status of an oppressed minority.

This situation in Sri Lanka is by no means unique. As in the case of the bourgeoisie of all backward countries in this twentieth century, in the context of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, it is inconceivable that the bourgeoisie in Sri Lanka could have given leadership to the struggle of the minorities against their state of oppression. Far from playing any such progressive role they have proved themselves reactionary in that regard. Both the UNP and the SLFP and other bourgeois groups have not concealed the fact that keeping the Tamils as an oppressed minority is an important aspect of their respective political programs.

Edmund Samarakkody WV Photo

Sirima Bandaranaike AP



J.R. Jayewardene AP

For the same reasons, the Tamil bourgeoisie cannot lead the struggle of the oppressed Tamils for their liberation from national oppression. The history of the struggle of the Tamil minority for their just rights is the history of betrayal by the Tamil bourgeois parties, the Tamil Congress and the Federal Party. The recently formed TULF is only an amalgam of the TC, FP and other petty-bourgeois groups.

Incidentally, the reactionary role of both the UNP and also of the so-called national bourgeoisie (the SLFP) in regard to the minority problem, and especially the record of the SLFP/LSSP/CP coalition government, has exploded the myth of the Stalinists (supported by the LSSP) that the uncompleted democratic tasks can be accomplished in alliance with the "national bourgeoisie" in the first or "democratic" stage of the Sri Lanka revolution.

In this context the leadership of the struggle of the oppressed Tamil minority as well as of all sections of the oppressed falls to the Sri Lanka proletariat. In fact, it is a condition for the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie that the proletariat becomes champion and leader of all the oppressed sections of the people of Sri Lanka, seeking to mobilise and bring them into the mainstream of the class struggle. And it is precisely in this way that the Sri Lanka proletariat will overcome the problems arising from the reality that it forms only a minority of the population.

Concretely this means that it is in the interests of the Sri Lanka proletariat to categorically support the struggle of the Tamil minority for their just rights, and against their state of oppression. This further means that the struggle of the Tamil minority for its rights cannot be a separate struggle apart from the class struggle of the proletariat. The democratic struggle will merge in the struggle of the proletariat for socialism. Thus there is no democratic stage for realising Tamil minority rights separated from the next, that is the "socialist stage" of the Sri Lanka revolution. We live in the age of Permanent Revolution. The Tamil minority struggle as well as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie can be consummated only in the process of the Permanent Revolution.

Demands of Tamil Minority

The adoption of the demand for a separate Tamil state by the TULF, and

Asiaweek

Police chase Tamil youth in the streets of Jaffna during post-election riots.

the winning of 18 out of the 24 seats this party contested in the State Assembly, does not necessarily mean that the Tamils have irrevocably opted for a separate state. What indeed is a reality is that the Tamils have lost faith in the possibility of Tamil-Sinhalese harmony and achievement of the just rights of the Tamil people under a UNP-led or SLFP-led government or under any other Sinhalese bourgeois government.

In any event, this demand for a separate Tamil state has not suddenly fallen from the skies. It is the latest phase of the movement of the Tamil minority to end its state of oppression. And it is the case that for over three decades 2 million Tamils, including the Indian Tamil plantation workers, have suffered severe discrimination in regard to language rights, employment opportunities, land colonisation and educational facilities.

What the Tamil minority struggled for, and the response of the Sinhalese capitalist governments, may be summarised as follows:

(a) From 1948 on, it was the demand of the Indian Tamil plantation workers that their citizenship rights, which the then UNP government deprived them of, be restored. But what the Indian Tamil workers got in response to their representations was the notorious "Sirima-Shastri Pact," in terms of which sections of these workers were to be forcibly repatriated to India as Indian citizens. In return the Sri Lanka government undertook to grant a small section of these workers citizenship rights, but left as "stateless" a very large number of them.

Incidentally, the problem of citizenship rights of the Tamil plantation workers was never a problem of the Indian government, but a problem of the Sri Lanka government.

(b) What the Ceylnn Tamils demanded from the 1930's on was not a separate state, but a more just representation in the legislature, and ending discriminatory practices against them in regard to land colonisation and employment.

(c) Since 1956, the main demand of the Tamils was language rights—that Tamil also be declared a state language. Against attempts to organise a peaceful protest movement on this issue, the Sinhalese communalist forces backed by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and groups (SLFP, UNP, Philip [Gunawardena] group, Sinhalese Language Fronts, Bhikku Front), unleashed, in the same year, anti-Tamil violence leading to the killing of 150 persons, including Sinhalese in the Gal Oya Valley (east Ceylon).

(d) In 1957, in pursuit of the goal of blocking the road to any concessions to the Tamils on the language issue (breaking of the Bandaranaike-Chelyanayagam Pact) Sinhalese communalist forces led by UNP leader J.R. Jayewardene (the present prime minister), SLFP parliamentarians and others organised mass demonstrations, which very soon escalated into unprecedented anti-Tamil violence in May-June 1958, in which hundreds of Tamils and also Sinhalese were killed, atrocities perpetrated, and much property destroyed and looted

The goal of the Tamil bourgeois Federal Party was to realise a federal state. However, this goal was never seriously pursued. The content of the movement led hy the Federal Party was agitation around the language demand and the demand to end the many discriminatory practices against the Tamil minority.

It was in this context, when all capitalist governments—the UNP, SLFP and SLFP/LSSP/CP—had over a period of three decades denied them their just rights, that all political organisations of the Tamil minority regrouped themselves as the Tamil United Liberation Front, which adopted a separate Tamil state as its goal.

A separate Tamil state is not at all a solution to the problems of the Tamil people. On the contrary, all their problems could well become more acute than before. Besides, a separate Tamil state could also be the beginning of another period of oppression of the Tamil minority by different oppressors.

The Duty of Revolutionary Marxists

But if, indeed, the Tamils have irrevocably opted for a separate Tamil state, the question is what is the correct attitude of the workers and toilers on this issue. The question can be decided only on the basis of the needs of the struggle of the proletariat and all the toilers in the whole of Sri Lanka for socialism.

Far Eastern Economic Review

Tamil plantation workers pick tea.

In terms of Leninism, "the development of nationality in general, the movement to establish a separate nation, is the principle of bourgeois nationalism." And this concept of nationalism connotes the idea of national solidarity of the people. This "community of interests" between the exploiting capitalist class and the exploited working class and toilers is a thoroughly deceptive and mystifying ideology to prevent or retard the independent class organisation and class struggle of all the workers and toilers (Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim, etc.). Thus bourgeois nationalism, whether of the Sinhalese bourgeoisie or of the Tamil bourgeoisie (the nationalism of the oppressed Tamil minority), is reactionary, and must be opposed and fought against by the proletariat.

However, the national oppression of the Tamil people by the Sinhalese bourgeoisie and their governments, invoking the principle of exclusiveness (that is, privileges for the Sinhalese people), severely obstructs the self-determination of the working class in their organisation as a separate class and the development of the common struggle of the Sinhalese and Tamil workers. This means that it is clearly in the interests of the proletarian class struggle to support the Tamil people's struggle against their oppression by the Sinhalese bourgeoisie. In Lenin's own words, "*Any bickerings on this national question obscures and retards the class struggle.*"

Concretely, revolutionary Marxists in Sri Lanka must support the struggle of the Tamils for language rights, i.e., that Tamil also be declared a state language; against discriminatory practises against them, for equality of the Tamil nationality with the Sinhalese nationality. This must necessarily mean support of the *right* of the Tamils to establish themselves as a nation, *if that is their desire.*

More specifically, the position of revolutionary Marxists in regard to the demand of the Tamils for a separate state is one of *recognition of the right* of the Tamils to secession. This means the proletariat is not committed to support this demand for a separate Tamil state or support such a struggle; revolutionary Marxists will reserve the right to carry out propaganda against such separation. However, revolutionary Marxists will *defend the right* of Tamils to demand and agitate for a separate state. This would mean that if the Sinhalese bourgeoisie or their state seek to prevent the Tamils from making this demand, revolutionary Marxists will give military support (not political support) in defence of the *right* to raise and agitate for this demand.

Opposition or refusal to recognise the right of the Tamils to secession is inescapably the condoning of or support for Sinhalese bourgeois nationalism, and of the oppression of the Tamil minority. And in this regard, what the revolutionary George Plekhanov wrote as far back as 1903 becomes especially relevant: "If we are to forget it [the right of nations to self-determination] or hesitate to advance it for fear of offending the national prejudices of our fellow countrymen of great-Russian nationality, the call... Workers of All Countries Unite, would be a shameful lie on our lips."

To those who seek to object that recognition of the right of the Tamils to a separate state would surely encourage the Tamil separatists, there could be no better reply than that Lenin gave to those who raised the same objection from within the ranks of the Marxist movement itself. Answering no less a Marxist than Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin said:

> "To accuse those who support freedom of self-determination, that is freedom to secede, of encouraging separatism is as foolish and hypocritical as accusing those who advocate freedom of divorce of encouraging the destruction of family ties."

Reformists Refuse to Defend Tamils' Right of Self-Determination

It is by no means a surprise that the LSSP and CP reformists reject the right of self-determination of the Tamils by resort to the familiar slogans of Sinhalese nationalism, "Division of the country cannot be permitted!" Both these parties have for a long time now been partners with the Sinhalese bourgeois party, the SLFP, the oppressors of the Tamils, in a common government, which during the last seven years was opposed to the slightest concession to the Tamils on their just demands. Instead, these two parties jointly with the SLFP intensified the oppression of the Tamils.

It is the deep-rooted Sinhalese chauvinism of these two parties that limited their intervention in the anti-Tamil pogrom situation to calling for "Peace Committees"! Of the smaller "left" parties and groups, the pro-Peking Stalinist CP (Shanmugathasan) and the Left Samasamajists (Vasudeva Nanayakara) followed positions no different from those of the CP (Moscow) and the LSSP.

The Healyite Revolutionary Communist League, that claims to be Trotskyist, is shamelessly trailing behind the Stalinists and LSSP reformists on the issue of the right of self-determination of the Tamils. For these fake-Trotskyists, the reality that a Tamil

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French Popular Front...

(continued from page 1)

zure of power. It is noteworthy that in some localities, for example in Paris, in the preparations for the March parliamentary elections, the PS has formed blocs with the MRG for joint first-round candidates against the Communists. Mitterrand's main concern is to appear statesmanlike, as befits a future head of government, and to "hold the line" against the putative "Communist menace."

The Communist Party is certainly in the most uncomfortable position, caught between its electoralist/governmental ambitions and the pressures exerted by its working-class base. For once PCF leader Georges Marchais is being candid when he states that his party "has no alternative strategy. We have had only one strategy, have only one and will have only one" i.e., the popular front (*Le Monde*, 24 September). At the same time, Prime Minister Raymond Barre's austerity plan, which has held economic growth to 3 percent while inflation still exceeds 10 percent, is stirring up massive discontent in the ranks of French labor.

Faced with sharp attacks on its living standards by the Giscard/Barre government, the working class has responded with a series of militant strikes, so far successfully contained by the reformist union bureaucracies. Most notable have been the 28-month strike at *Parisien Libéré*, a dock workers strike last spring, and the resurgence of the Lip (watchmakers) strike in Besançon. More recently, important conflicts have broken out at Manufrance and the Montefibre textile company. By far the most important threat to the French proletariat, however, is the impending layoff of up to 16,000 steel workers, the first layoffs in that industry since World War II.

The workers have responded in huge one-day general strikes a year ago and again last May 24. Originally planned as semi-annual exercises in blowing off steam by the Communist Party-dominated CGT labor federation, the marches developed a strong "unitary dynamic," bringing together the main union bodies and turning into the biggest workers demonstrations since May 1968. Recently CGT leader Georges Séguy appealed to leaders of the Union of the Left to "tell the workers the truth" about exactly what it would do in power, while of course centering his attack on the Socialists. With an eye on his clamoring ranks, he demagogically proclaimed that for the CGT, "there can be no question for us, even with the left in power, of participating in the administration of the crisis and capitalist business" (*Le Monde*, 10 September).

Bluster Over Nationalizations

This spring, when the government and steel industry announced plans for mass layoffs in steel, the PCF responded by calling for nationalizing the industry—*with* "indemnification" of the steel trusts, of course. The Socialists, whose electorate includes many who reject the Giscard government but are afraid to vote for the Communists, opposed the call for nationalizations, as they have consistently in the past. Thus the debate over the extent of nationalizations under the Common Program has come to symbolize the posture of the Union of the Left toward the demands of the French proletariat.

One of the major concerns of the PCF over the past six months has been to give the impression that it alone is really fighting for increased benefits for the workers: a higher minimum wage than is favored by the PS, higher social security, family and health benefits, etc. This demagogy has not been without effect, as the PCF was instrumental in staging a large rally in Thionville, one of the towns to be heavily hit by layoffs in the northern steel belt, long a Socialist Party stronghold. And in early September, a PS city council member at Thionville switched to the Communists, reversing the previous Socialist majority.

However, the uproar over nationalizations is in essence a phony debate. First because of the key French economic trusts which have been excluded by common agreement, but more importantly because both PCF and PS agree that the bourgeoisie must not be expropriated. Individual businesses will be purchased by the state and run as "nationalized" firms for the overall benefit of French capitalism. The Communists correctly point out that DeGaulle nationalized more firms at the end of World War II than is projected under the Common Program, and even if all the PCF suggestions were accepted, the total percentage of industry under state control would be far less than in present-day Italy.

The debate is not over nationalizations, but over which of the reformist traitors will put a better face on the Union of the Left's predictable attacks on the working class, and which party will have the whip hand in the administration of the "nationalized" industries. It is interesting that, true to its mission as left cover of the popular front, the pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) has entered the debate on the terms posed by the reformists. At a September 27 press conference, LCR leader Alain Krivine called for "a minimum threshold of nationalizations which will make it possible to change the logic of the capitalist system" (*Le Monde*, 29 September). One couldn't ask for a better statement of the utopian/reformist conception of a "peaceful road to socialism."

The Stalinists' new-found militancy is no doubt also aimed at warding off electoral losses due to the disgust of militant workers at their vigorous courtship of "left-wing" Gaullists such as ex-Admiral Sanguinetti to enter the Union of the Left. In the March municipal elections there was scattered local resistance by the PCF and PS activists and voters to the presence of such bourgeois personalities (as well as Left Radicals) on the Communist and Socialist tickets. And Marchais & Co. certainly have drawn some conclusions from the drubbing which the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) took in the June parliamentary elections as a result of its ultra-legalist, semi-oppositionist stance.

The PCF is engaged in a delicate balancing act, on the one hand projecting an image as *the* party of the French working class, while on the other reassuring the bourgeoisie that the Common Program is not "a communist or even a socialist program." Apparently Marchais believes he must wear his "militant" hat for a while, since the election period is fast approaching and the PCF spent the earlier part of the year wearing its "responsible" hat with its "Eurocommunist" verbiage and support for the French nuclear arsenal.

"Eurocommunism": The "Up-Dated" Popular Front

As they increase their appeals for middle-class votes and step up the virulence of their national chauvinism, the Spanish, Italian and French Communist parties have coined the doctrine of "Eurocommunism" as the ideological expression of their "up-dated" popular-front politics. With all its talk of "parliamentary pluralism" and "socialist democracy," the content of this "theory" is an explicit commitment to maintenance of the bourgeois state. It is an affirmation of their determination to repeat the disastrous experience of the French and Spanish popular fronts of the 1930's, which by tying the workers to the "democratic" bourgeoisie blocked a revolutionary mobilization and thereby paved the road for a bloody victory by fascism and militarist bonapartism.

It is significant that the "Eurocommunists" feel compelled to frontally attack Leninism on the question of the state. At the PCF's 22nd Congress in February 1976, all references to "the dictatorship of the proletariat" were dropped, although ostensibly for linguistic reasons ("the word 'dictatorship' does not correspond to what we want," said Marchais). PCE leader Santiago Carrillo does so explicitly in his book *Eurocomunismo y estado* (Eurocommunism and the State), where he denies the contemporary validity of Lenin's "State and Revolution." And three French Stalinists did likewise in their book *Les communistes et l'état* (The Communists and the State).

The troika of PCF "theorists" defend their explicit revisionism by pointing out that "since Maurice Thorez and the years of the Popular Front, the *historic tendency* of the French Communist Party" is the series of positions known as "Eurocommunism." If the Communist Party did not enter the popular-front government in 1936, if it had not yet given up the "outmoded" notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they claim, it was only due to Stalin's reluctance to do so.

There is, in fact, a connection between "Eurocommunism" and the popular front. In 1935, the PCF caused a sensation when for the first time it appeared at the July 14 demonstration with the French tricolor and singing the Marseillaise. At that time the Stalinists went to far as to join with the fascists in a demonstration at Rouen celebrating that city's patron saint, Joan of Arc, who had repulsed "foreign invaders." And both during and after World War II, the PCF whipped up anti-German national chauvinism, running a banner headline in *L'Humanité* on the day U.S. and Gaullist forces entered Paris in 1944, "Everyone Get a Kraut" ("A Chacun son Boche"). It is a small step from this to "socialism under French colors," the watchword of the PCF's 22nd Congress.

Nowhere have the betrayals of the French Stalinists been more marked than on the question of national defense. Here, too, the continuity with the popular front is unmistakable. In May 1935, when French foreign minister Laval signed a mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union, the official communiqué stated:

> "Mr. Stalin fully understands and approves the national defense policy carried out by France in order to maintain its armed forces commensurate with its security needs."

Shortly afterwards, PCF deputies voted for the defense budget in parliament—the first time such an infamous act was committed by a "Communist" party since the Third International was founded as a result of the bankruptcy of the Second, whose leading parties voted war credits for the "national defense" of their "own" bourgeoisies in 1914.

When the Common Program was signed in 1972, it implicitly supported NATO (calling for gradual and simultaneous disbanding of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact), but opposed the Gaullist "*force de frappe*" (atomic strike force). This spring a heated debate sprang up on the French left when the

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PCF reversed its longstanding opposition to the French bomb, and came out in favor of maintaining an arsenal of nuclear "dissuasion." The dispute inevitably widened to the question of whether the PCF would defend French soil against an invasion by Russian forces. Marchais answered: "If there were aggression against France by the Soviet Union, which is unthinkable, we would be the first to defend the national territory" (quoted in *New York Times*, 24 September).

This question is, of course, decisive, but Marchais' answer in the abstract is by no means definitive. The PCF has not finally broken all ties to the Kremlin, although it long since went over to the camp of committed defenders of bourgeois rule. As Trotsky pointed out, there is a basis for the social-democratization of Stalinist parties, which is the ultimate logic of "Eurocommunism," in the theory of "socialism in one country":

> "The Communist Party of any capitalist country, which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses the 'necessary and sufficient' prerequisites for the independent construction of a 'complete socialist society,' will not differ in any substantial manner from the revolutionary social democracy which also did not begin with a Noske but which stumbled decisively on August 4, 1914, over this very same question."
>
> —"The Theory of Socialism in One Country," in *The Third International After Lenin* (1928)

While the PCF has gone a long way down this road, its evolution is still in process.

"Far Left" Talls Popular Front

With the seeming break-up of the Union of the Left, the so-called "far left" has been falling all over itself with programmatically empty calls for "unity" of the reformists. In the process there has been a noticeable coming together in line of the French section of the United Secretariat, the LCR, and the Lambertist Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI). In the past these two centrist pretenders to Trotskyism have had slightly different devices for capitulating to the popular front. The LCR would call in the abstract for a "government of the working people" while concretely calling for a vote for the bourgeois Union of the Left; the OCI, on the other hand, would call for a vote to the workers parties only (i.e., not the Left Radicals), then advocate formation of a PCF/PS government within a parliamentary framework. Now both tendencies are putting forward the line previously distinctive of the right-centrist OCI.

In virtually identical headlines, the LCR's *Rouge* (23-24 September) demanded "Unity Is Needed" while the OCI's *Informations Ouvrières* (28 September) proclaimed: "Enough of Divisiveness—Unity Is Needed." This same "unity"-mongering is evident in the LCR's call for "unitary committees open to all workers who agree to get rid of the Giscard/Barre government" (*Rouge*, 25 September). More than two years ago, the OCI was issuing nearly identical calls for "UNITARY COMMITTEES ... to fight for the workers united front, for the elimination of the Giscard/Chirac government" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 5 February 1975). Since the opposition to Giscard is the Union of the Left, in both cases what we have is a veiled call for the election of a popular-front government.

This is hardly a new political orientation in France. For a brief period in the mid-1930's it was taken up by the French Trotskyists under the slogan of a "Fighting Popular Front," later abandoned under Trotsky's sharp criticisms. Most characteristically this position was associated with the centrists around the PSOP of Marceau Pivert, and generally with those who would act as a left pressure group on the popular front rather than as a working-class opposition to the bourgeois alliance.

There are still differences of emphasis between the centrists. The LCR orients toward pressuring the Stalinists while the OCI leans on the social democrats. Thus *Informations Ouvrières* (7 September) initially took the position that the quarrel "shows the PS as the party of unity." Now the OCI is calling on PS and PCF leaders to "Get together! As for the Rest [i.e., polemics between Marchais and Mitterrand], Stop It!" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 28 September). Meanwhile, the OCI central committee recently approved a memorandum whose key element is a refusal to run or support independent workers candidates against the popular front:

> "On the first round, vote for the PS or PC, according to your choice! On the second round, vote for the candidate of the workers party who came in first on the first round!"

The same central committee resolution makes clear that the OCI favors election of a Union of the Left government:

> "While stressing that the OCI's battle remains, as before, the struggle to set up the republic of [workers] councils, the first step on this path is to aid the laboring masses and youth to realize the united front, to satisfy their demands and sweep away the Fifth Republic and its institutions."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 28 September

This immediately recalls a famous line in the OCI's lead editorial on the 1974 presidential elections, when it supported Mitterrand (the candidate of the Union of the Left):

> "In the current situation, Mitterrand's election is a necessary stage on the path of the fight against capitalism and the bourgeois state."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 10 April 1974

Such a clear expression of the Menshevik-Stalinist theory of stages must have been too much for some of the OCI leadership, for the following week the OCI disingenuously "corrected" this "error" in the following laconic manner:

> "*Our editorial 'Our Position' last week ... should have read* '... In the current situation, Mitterrand's election is a stage on the path of the necessary fight against capitalism and the bourgeois state' *instead of* 'is a necessary stage on the path of the fight....'"
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 18 April 1974

Whether "first stage" or "first step," the OCI is back with its old "error."

For the OCI and LCR, the independent struggle of the Trotskyist party against class collaboration is nothing. The popular front is the "first step" (stage) on the road to gaining positions in the trade unions rather than a *roadblock* to revolution. The empty "unity" of the reformist apparatuses becomes the main goal of their "left" tails, just as Pivert was the most fervid supporter of "organic unity" between the Stalinists and social democrats in the 1930's. In contrast to the centrists, whose goal is to bring up the left flank of the Union of the Left by giving it "critical" support, the task of authentic Trotskyists is to present a clear proletarian opposition to class collaboration. Only by unswervingly holding to a policy of working-class independence can the basis be laid for the necessary split of the mass reformist parties into their counterposed class components.

No vote for the popular front—A break from the Union of the Left and the Common Program is the precondition to any electoral support to the PS and PCF!

For the construction of a Trotskyist party in France! Toward the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Bennie Lenard...

(continued from page 2)

that can happen to any black man in racist America:

> "When a man leaves home in the morning he can land in jail, and he can almost rest assured that he will wind up in the hospital before too long. That is what happened to Bennie that day. He ended up in those two places...and he almost ended up in a third place, which is the morgue. I'm almost sure they did try to kill him."

It is because the defense of Lenard can become a focus for labor resistance to the racist attacks in Chicago that the reformists have been particularly insistent on relying on the state. At the SYL forum, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), called upon the cops and troops, not the workers movement, to protect blacks. A spokesman for the SL, active in the Lenard defense, answered this dangerous call by pointing out the racist nature of the state to whom the SWP/YSA appeal:

> "Tyrone Guyton was shot in the back by Emeryville, California police while laying face down on a sidewalk—shot in the back. Philip Allen was wrestled to the ground by four L.A. cops and when one of their guns went off they accused him of murder. Floyd Calhoun, another case—shot in the back by the Oakland police shotguns; Fred Hampton, shot down by an organized assassination squad here in Chicago; and now Bennie Lenard.... He's in a car accident and he calls the police so they take him to jail and beat him nearly to death....
>
> "So the point is, you cannot rely on the state to defend black people. That includes the courts, the police, the National Guard and federal troops. The state does not have to be exposed as racist—it *stands* as racist! And almost every black person knows that. They don't look upon the police as 'our friends.' That's what you people [of the SWP/YSA] don't understand. There is no alternative but to mobilize the organized labor movement....
>
> "In this morning's *Sun Times*, I read an interesting article. The state AFL-CIO did go on record noting that there is racist violence in Chicago. And they said interesting things like 'if this was the '30's the trade unions would be in the streets arming themselves and protecting our black brothers and sisters.' So what we must do is call on Mayor Bilandic to defend them?! That's *your* line, brother, not ours! We say, as in the '30's, the labor movement must hit the streets—they did it before and they'll do it again!
>
> "We need to build a revolutionary party to go into the working class, to tell, over and over again—as comrade Lenin said, to 'patiently explain'—to black and white workers that they have more in common with each other than with the boss, the bosses' politicians and the bosses' state...; and that the only solution is a united, integrated, proletarian struggle to overthrow that state and expropriate the bourgeois class." ■

CP Nails SWP...

(continued from page 5)

al line of each of the reports to the Convention." And why not? Jack Barnes' "World Report" back-pedals on Soviet defensism "when it is not in the interest of the international proletariat" (Brezhnev should be the first to give up nuclear weapons). The main conference document, "Prospects for Socialism in America," never mentions the Russian question. And the fusion report states the two groups agree on "major political tasks and on substantial programmatic points" (just in case anyone wondered whether the difference on the USSR constituted a "substantial programmatic point").

The fusion makes the SWP more palatable to anti-Communist liberals and social-chauvinist out-bureaucrats in the trade unions. Through the fusion, the SWP says to liberals "Our party is your party." The CP embraces the SWP as legitimately "Trotskyist" in order to seal off from Trotskyism those who solidarize with the October Revolution. Thus, all these craven reformist tendencies get what they want from the fusion: the CP gets an evidence of "Trotskyist" anti-Sovietism, the SWP takes another long step toward social democracy, and the Shachtmanite RMC finds a home where it can build a base for State Department socialism. ■

CORRECTIONS

The article "Plyushch Can't Duck Issue of Soviet Defensism" (*WV* No. 174, 23 September) reported that Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch told an audience in Toronto that "The only hope now is Carter's victory at Belgrade." While the speaker praised Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade throughout his North American tour, the statement in question was made in Detroit.

The same article reports that SWP Detroit leader Mack Warren called at this forum for a campaign to enforce the Helsinki Accords. Actually, his ambitions were more modest. "We need something like the Helsinki Accords here in Detroit," he said, "because blacks, women and gays don't have human rights." But the SWP, like Plyushch, looks to Carter to provide such rights.

An error has also come to our attention in the article, "'La Pasionaria': Voice of Resistance or Echo of Betrayal?" (*WV* No. 161, 10 June 1977). The article states that the Spanish Communist Party suppressed news of Franco's uprising in July 1936 in its own press. Actually, the suppression was by the Popular Front government. Nevertheless, the Stalinists, although not at the time members of the government, were part of the treacherous popular-front coalition and thus must bear responsibility for this fateful act.

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Franklin Teachers Strike...

(continued from page 12)

total $165,000. Greaney has even ordered the battered union to pay the salaries of scabs and all other expenses incurred by the school committee during the strike. In addition, the Massachusetts Teachers Association (MTA), to which the FEA is affiliated, was ordered to buy newspaper ads disavowing support for the strike.

While Greaney certainly succeeded in forcing a settlement, his high-handed treatment of the strikers increased their solidarity and won them much sympathy among Franklin residents. Seeing their children's longtime teachers put behind bars evidently shook parents and the townspeople generally. School custodians refused to cross picket lines while hundreds of local residents marched on the picket lines and attended rallies in support of the teachers. When it was announced on September 29 that all remaining strikers would be jailed, 200 high school students walked out of class in protest. Even the Franklin School Committee, whose moral posturing suffered with each arrest, appealed for "leniency," maintaining that financially crippling fines would be sufficient. But these were only crocodile tears, made possible by the fact that Greaney was doing their dirty work.

In fact, the school committee was eager to use every strikebreaking tactic at its disposal. Ads for scabs were placed in Boston newspapers every day. Gina Giuliano, a Boston University graduate student and daughter of Franklin's school superintendent, organized carloads of scabs from area colleges. In response to this despicable strikebreaking operation, members of the MTA threw up a picket line at BU on Tuesday, September 20. They were supported by the Boston Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which marched on the picket lines in Franklin and called a strike support rally at BU on September 29. Attended by 250 students, the rally was addressed by an SYL representative, an MTA official, an FEA member, the husband of a striking teacher, a former student union leader and three BU professors. More than $100 was collected for the strike fund.

The strike was fought essentially on one issue: seniority. Instead of demanding no layoffs at all, the FEA accepted the inevitability of teacher dismissals, given the town's decline in school enrollment. The union demanded merely that layoffs and transfers between schools occur on the basis of seniority, something the school board opposed. The rest of the FEA demands were the essence of business-union timidity: a one-year contract with a 6 percent pay raise, a maximum class size of 25 students, reinstitution of the standard school calendar discarded by unilateral action of the school committee and one-half hour of preparation time for elementary school teachers. The FEA leadership repeatedly offered to return to work in exchange for binding arbitration.

The final settlement stipulates that layoffs take place according to seniority but allows transfers to occur on the basis of "seniority, competence and educational needs" (*Boston Globe*, October 1). The contract covers three years with 4 percent and 5 percent increases to be followed by a cost-of-living increase of 4 to 6 percent in the last year.

While the FEA membership managed to salvage seniority rights on layoffs (if not on transfers) and displayed remarkable mettle in the face of overwhelming odds, the success of the court in enforcing the state's reactionary labor laws represents a setback for all Massachusetts unions. And here there is no one to blame but the MTA leadership, which refused to call out other locals in support of the embattled FEA.

While the press has generally ascribed the harsh repression against Franklin teachers to the fury of Judge Greaney, such vicious anti-union tactics are not at all uncommon in small-town and suburban teachers' strikes. A similarly bitter strike by teachers in Crestwood, Michigan, in the winter of 1974-75 resulted in the firing of 184 teachers and numerous arrests. The mass firings were, however, eventually overturned due to the active backing of a number of key AFL-CIO unions. In the present case it is even more crucial that the power of the Massachusetts labor movement be mobilized to smash the strikebreaking state law and beat back the attempt to drive the FEA and its membership into financial ruin. Drop the charges—No reprisals! ■

Avakian...

(continued from page 3)

the RCP wasn't out of the woods yet. Figuring they could pull things back together by a non-controversial resolution against deportations of foreign workers, the organizers were shocked to hear an auto worker declare that his entire shop was opposed to Mexican workers "taking jobs" from Americans. Amid hissing and booing against this chauvinist remark, the chairman ruled that further discussion would be deferred to local chapters and the session was ended.

Son of WAM

A Stalinist outfit in the process of losing its "socialist fatherland," the RCP today looks a lot like Progressive Labor (PL) at the time of its break with China in the late 1960's. NUWO itself resembles nothing so much as the happily defunct Workers Action Movement (WAM) launched by PL at that time. Like PL/WAM, the RCP is banking on recruiting raw workers to its NUWO on the basis of militant economism and thereby warding off the dismal prospect of becoming a sect of apologists for "socialism in one country"—without a country.

But PL split from Maoism at the height of China's popularity with the New Left, which took a certain degree of backbone. Avakian & Co. have blundered into a corner where they find it impossible either to endorse the return of "capitalist roaders" to power in Peking or to support the ousted "Gang of Four." Moreover, it was Peking which dumped the RCP rather than vice versa. And if WAM offered workers little more than empty "fight the bosses" rhetoric, at least it limited itself to that instead of pushing rabid anti-Sovietism as its calling card.

Failing to generalize its critique of Maoism into a Leninist opposition to Stalinism, PL's red flags, May Day marches and substantial membership have nearly disappeared, leaving in their wake a nationally isolated, eclectic Stalinist sect. The RCP will fare no better, and it is doubtful that even a second "historic conference" of its NUWO will ever be held. ■

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Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 7)

mini-state would from the outset be vulnerable to the aggressive designs of the imperialists has led them to conclude that the Tamil separatist movement has already come under the imperialist shadow, and therefore that the right to self-determination of the Tamils cannot be supported.

In regard to the United Secretariat (USec) group, the Revolutionary Marxist Party of Bala Tampoe, it has echoed the LSSP/CP call for "Peace Committees." But Tampoe knows well how to appear militant and revolutionary in words while taking a shamelessly reformist line. Tampoe's slogan is "Form Defence Committees" or "Combat Committees"! On the issue of Tamil minority rights and the question of self-determination of the Tamils, Tampoe has not made any comments. As for the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna), it has confined its intervention to pointing out that no capitalist government could solve the communal problem. It has said nothing on the issue of a separate Tamil state.

The UNP government's hypocrisy in relation to the problem of the Tamil minority is manifest in that its only answer to this burning issue is a "Roundtable Conference." On the other hand, the government is seeking to profit by the calamitous situation for the Tamils by suggesting that anti-Tamil violence is a conspiracy against the government. What is more, Prime Minister Jayewardene has strengthened the anti-Tamil communalist forces among the Sinhalese by a mere negative attitude, expressing the determination of his government to prevent the division of the country, without telling the Sinhalese people the truth, that this issue of a separate Tamil state has arisen because the Tamils have been denied their just rights.

This despicable attitude of the UNP government and the strengthening of the Sinhalese communalist forces are taking place in conditions of the terrible oppression of the Tamil minority and the consequent determination of the Tamils to fight against this oppression. Thus the Tamil minority question will loom large in the politics of Sri Lanka, and will indeed be a burning question for all the people of this country, while remaining for a long time an especially explosive issue for the government.

For the working class and revolutionaries the Tamil national question *is not at all an obstacle but a problem of the Sri Lanka socialist revolution.* A militant mass movement of the oppressed Tamils, including a million plantation workers who form a section of the real proletariat of this country, is a factor of the utmost importance and significance for revolutionary Marxists. The Indian Tamil plantation workers constitute the sleeping giant of the Sri Lanka proletarian revolution.

Under a revolutionary leadership, this democratic movement of the oppressed Tamils would surely be an effective lever for the mobilisation of the working class and all oppressed sections for the anti-capitalist and anti-government struggle which is unpostponable in conditions of the growth of the counterrevolutionary forces and the speedy evolution of the present UNP regime into the "strong government" of the capitalist class.

In any event, the workers and toilers of Sri Lanka cannot take one step forward in furtherance of the struggle for socialism without taking an unequivocal position of support for Tamil minority rights and in defence of the right of the Tamils for self-determination. ■

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TDU...

(continued from page 5)

militants physically guarded the Local office against a takeover by the Lawson appointee, re-elected Vlahovic to the Local position and vowed to strike if another attempt is made to remove him as secretary-treasurer. Disregarding the militant solidarity offered by the ranks, Vlahovic told a meeting of his supporters in Vancouver that he would take the fight into the courts (*Vancouver Sun*, 22 September).

TDU spokesmen predicted that Fitzsimmons will be forced to step down from the union's top office. In addition to his ouster from the pension fund trusteeship, the IBT president was unexpectedly called to appear at a disciplinary hearing by his cronies on the International executive board. The board will no doubt exonerate Fitzsimmons of charges of squandering union funds, nepotism and ties to racketeers raised by the Professional Drivers Council (PROD), another "reform" outfit whose specialty is court suits against the union.

TDU leaders, of course, hail these government incursions against union sovereignty as blows in the fight for "rank-and-file power." The U.S. government has no interest in union democracy but does welcome any opportunity to undermine the independence of the 2.2-million-member union which has the social power to bring the economy to a halt.

The corrupt Teamster bureaucracy must be ousted, but not by the bosses' government. This is the task of a militant leadership which knows that the bourgeois state is the workers' mortal enemy. ■

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ILA...

(continued from page 12)

conventional freighters and passenger ships and have ordered so-called "perishable cargoes" to be exempted. Only in New Orleans have the longshoremen thus far shut down all shipping in the port. This is a clear demonstration of the power of black and white workers to stand together against the bosses, despite the racist policies of ILA officials, who maintain two segregated locals—one for blacks and one for whites—in New Orleans, as well as in some other southern ports.

The leaderships of both the ILA and the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) have combined to quash any meaningful solidarity actions. A resolution put forward by the "Longshore

Teddy Gleason

Militant" grouping of ILWU Local 10, which demanded that all cargo diverted from East and Gulf Coast ports be hot-cargoed and that all picket lines by ILA members be respected, was defeated in a Local 10 executive board meeting after it was ruled out of order at the September membership meeting.

The Local 10 leadership, backed up by the ILWU International, counterposed the recent "defense pact" agreed to by ILWU head Jimmy Herman and ILA chief Gleason. This agreement is a farce and underscores the duplicity of the ILWU leadership, which earlier promised "joint action with the ILA" as an excuse to avoid strike action against cutbacks on the West Coast. Under the Gleason-Herman pact, only picket lines sanctioned by the president of the striking union need be respected. In the past, Gulf Coast ILA members have on occasion dispatched roving picket squads, but under the agreement the ILWU is *not* required to recognize such pickets.

Further, picket lines that violate existing contracts or court injunctions (as Taft-Hartley) need not be respected. West Coast shippers have challenged ILWU observance of "outsiders'" picket lines and were upheld by a "neutral" arhitrator. Consequently, any appearance by ILA pickets at Pacific Coast docks is likely to be a short-lived grandstand play intended primarily to let the hureaucrats of all the dockworkers' unions off the hook. The bureaucrats of both the ILA and ILWU are firmly opposed to any militant action even resembling 1971, when there were overlapping longshore strikes on all three coasts.

The maritime unions were built through joint actions against the bosses, notably during the San Francisco general strike of 1934. In recent years the degeneration of the labor movement has taken a particularly vicious turn on the waterfront; faced with a massive loss of jobs, the bureaucrats of the maritime unions have responded with mutual scabbing and raiding. We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union (NMU), which calls for halting this suicidal warfare and underscores the crucial need for a joint strike of all maritime workers for jobs for all. ■

WV Photo

New York ILA chief Scotto

For Labor Solidarity!

Longshoremen Under Attack

—from *Baacon* supplement, 26 September 1977

The contract for the East and Gulf Coast longshoremen (ILA) expires September 30, and there is a good chance there will be a strike. The key issue in the negotiations is jobs. Last spring the federal courts upheld a Labor Board (NLRB) decision striking down an ILA contract provision that guaranteed that all consolidated containers stuffed and stripped within 50 miles of the docks were to be handled by longshore labor. With this provision struck down, the ILA stands to lose thousands of container-handling jobs to lower paid and unorganized labor in inland warehouses. As a result, the union's Guaranteed Annual Income provision, which provides, in New York, 2,080 hours pay (a full 52 weeks) to all longshoremen, even if work is not available, is in danger.

In the event of an ILA strike, NMU seamen must, as an elementary act of solidarity, not work aboard ships that are being struck by the ILA. Defense of the longshoremen's jobs is crucial, and a defeat would be a blow to all maritime labor.

Last spring, when the court ruling was announced, ILA head Teddy Gleason called a brief strike. However, only a few shipping lines were struck, certain cargoes were exempted, and seamen aboard struck ships were even permitted to continue working—which amounts to sanctioning scabbing. This strike was called off on the flimsy promise that the Federal Maritime Commission—another arm of the same capitalist government that shafted the longshoremen in the first place—would investigate the situation. This half-strike accomplished nothing, and longshoremen are confronted with the same massive loss of job security that they faced last spring.

Despite all the rhetoric about "maritime unity" from union leaders like Shannon Wall, Gleason, and Paul Hall, none of them have lifted a finger to put real maritime labor unity *in action against the companies.* Instead, they call—at best—half-hearted strikes, while scabbing on each other, signing sweetheart contracts to grab a few more jobs, relying on capitalist politicians, etc. Under these policies the maritime unions have shrunk in size.

The maritime unions, including the NMU, grew out of joint struggles and powerful strikes of both seamen and longshoremen against the companies. Today, seamen and longshoremen face the same key problem—jobs. Instead of worrying about maintaining company profits, as the hack union officials do, the occasion of the company/government attack on the longshoremen demands in response an industrywide strike of all maritime workers, lought around crucial demands such as a shorter work period at no cut in pay to provide jobs for all (for seamen, the four-watch system and equal time off for equal time on at full pay); full cost-of-living protection; restore the 20-year, no-age pension with a substantial boost in pension pay; organize the unorganized, including runaway foreign-flag ships. Only in such a fashion can the defeats of the past be halted, and maritime workers go forward.

No To Government Intervention!

In the middle of the longshore negotiations, the government has "suddenly" announced an investigation of the ILA. A front-page story of September 1 in the anti-labor *New York Times* was headlined "Dock Payoff Reported Found in Undercover Inquiry by F.B.I." Key target of the investigation is Fred Field, vice president and general organizer of the ILA, who is accused of accepting payoffs from United Brands in return for insuring that their ships were unloading during ILA strikes of 1968-69 and 1971.

The timing of this investigation is not accidental. It is clearly planned to intimidate the longshoremen in the contract fight, and it demonstrates once again that the capitalist government's so-called "investigations of corruption" in the unions are only a smokescreen for attacking and weakening the labor movement. The recent investigation of the ILA is only one more attack by the bosses' state on maritime workers, just like past Taft-Hartley injunctions, revoking, of the 50-mile container-handling rule, illegalizing foreign-flag organizing, etc.

The NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus has consistently opposed government intervention in the unions, and denounced the now defunct Morrisey opposition, which attempted to use court suits and Labor department investigations to get into office. The corrupt bureaucrats of the ILA, NMU and other unions can only be thrown out by the membership itself as part of the fight to build a class-struggle union leadership.

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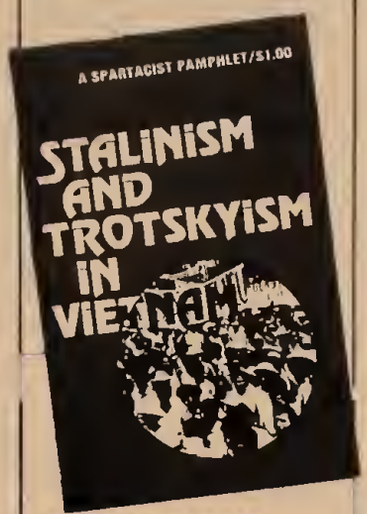

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WORKERS VANGUARD

ILA Strike:

Shut the Docks Down Tight!

OCTOBER 3—On October 1, 50,000 longshoremen, members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) struck Gulf and Atlantic Coast ports from Maine to Texas. At stake is the gutting of the union through the loss of thousands of jobs from containerization (automation) of the docks, which has made particular inroads in the North Atlantic ports. Unless the company/government attack is successfully answered, ILA members will soon find themselves in the same straits as West Coast longshoremen, who have lost so many jobs through automation that their benefit funds are near bankruptcy and forced deregistrations are imminent.

Despite many years of loyal service to the American bourgeoisie by the arch-reactionary Gleason bureaucracy of the ILA, which has been among the staunchest anti-communist forces in the labor movement and for years boycotted Soviet ships, the capitalist state has been in the forefront of the assault on the ILA. The current deadlock was precipitated by a decision of the National Labor Relations Board, backed up by the federal courts, which struck down an ILA contract provision mandating that all stuffing and stripping of containers within 50 miles of the docks had to be done by ILA members.

The government has followed up this blow with another. On the eve of the strike, ILA general organizer Fred Field was convicted by a federal court of accepting bribes. His sentencing has been delayed until November, with the unmistakable warning that Field's fate—and that of other ILA officials—is contingent on the outcome of the strike. Finally, the bosses' state, as it has numerous times in the past, may attempt to strangle the strike through imposing a Taft-Hartley injunction against the ILA.

Despite the threat of decimation and bankrupting of the union's Guaranteed Annual Income provision, the Gleason bureaucracy is waging a half-hearted strike. Only the container lines have been struck; union officials have ordered the ranks to continue handling

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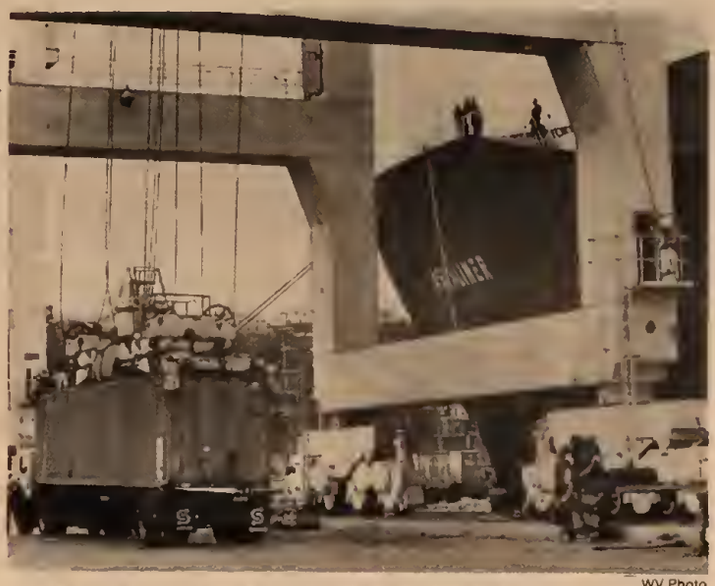


WV Photo

Containers being loaded at Port Elizabeth, New Jersey.

WV Photo

September 25 statewide teachers' strike support rally in Franklin.

250 at SYL-led Support Demo

80 Teachers Jailed in Franklin, Mass. Strike

BOSTON, October 1—A teachers strike in the small Massachusetts township of Franklin ended yesterday after two weeks. So vicious and unrelenting were the union-busting attempts of the local school committee and the courts that the strike drew national news coverage. Faced with Superior Court judge John M. Greaney's threat to jail every one of the 180 remaining strikers on September 30, the Franklin Education Association (FEA) voted at a dawn meeting to accept the school committee's latest offer.

From the moment that the 265 initial strikers hit the pavement (primarily in defense of seniority rights in the face of impending layoffs), state and local authorities attacked with a vengeance. On Friday, September 16, the strike's first day, 112 picketers were arrested for trespassing, and Greaney ordered the union back to work. When the strikers refused to bow to this judicial ultimatum, the Massachusetts Labor Relations Commission initiated criminal contempt proceedings against the union.

On Wednesday, September 21, Greaney jailed eight FEA officers and fined the union $15,000 a day. On Thursday 27 more teachers were jailed, and the judge warned that "we have adequate jail space and adequate personnel" to imprison the entire union (*Boston Globe*, 24 September). To drive the point home, he jailed nine more teachers the following Monday. A total of 79 strikers spent time in jail.

More threatening than a few days behind bars, however, were the punitive fines that the court levied. These were escalated daily and were scheduled to reach $100 per teacher per day yesterday! Eighty-five teachers owe $1,550 each, and Greaney says that the fines will not be "abated one penny." To ensure payment he issued an order allowing the court to attach the assets of teachers not paying the fines. Thus FEA members are threatened with the loss of cars and homes despite the strike settlement. The union is appealing the fines.

There is no mystery as to the intent of these reprisals. Greaney was seeking through the escalating fines and unlimited jail terms to break the spirit of the strikers. Teachers were also given the opportunity of "purging" themselves by agreeing to scab, and a number did so in the strike's closing days. This union-busting onslaught served notice to the rest of Massachusetts labor that there are teeth to the 1973 state law forbidding public employees to strike or support any strikes.

Fines against the 270-member FEA

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 177 — 14 October 1977

For Union-Run Minority Recruitment— Not Union-Busting "Affirmative Action"

DOWN WITH BAKKE!

In the late 1960's, when the ghettos were erupting in rage and despair and liberal lip-service to blacks' felt grievances was the norm, anyone who talked about "reverse discrimination" against whites branded himself as a racist. Like "forced busing" and "neighborhood schools," this coded vocabulary was the property of notorious axe-wielding Southern demagogues, East Coast ultra-rightist patricians like William Buckley, and "ethnic purity" neanderthals generally. But now this rhetoric of racism has found a "respectable" vehicle in the Bakke case. The charge of "reverse discrimination" has become the rallying cry in a wholesale assault on the limited gains won for blacks in the 1950's and 1960's.

Allan Bakke, a 35-year old engineer rejected in 1973 and 1974 by the University of California's Davis Medical School claims that the "special admission" of 16 "disadvantaged" minority students among the 100 accepted for the Medical School constituted "racism in reverse." The California Supreme Court ruled in favor of Bakke, charging the University of California Regents with "reverse discrimination." The U.S. Supreme Court will begin hearing arguments on the Bakke case on October 12.

The furor over the Bakke case is not really over whether or not Allan Bakke is more or less "qualified" than the 16 minority students. Nor is it really about the fairness of qualifications in general, or "goals" and quotas in particular. Not any more. The social meaning of the Bakke case was most directly and ominously underlined this week by Nazis who carried the sign "Bakke=White Power" into an anti-Bakke demonstration. The Nazis know that a victory for Bakke is another defeat for the democratic rights of blacks, other minorities and women. They understand that Bakke has become the leading edge of a wave of racist reaction aimed at rolling back every gain made by blacks.

Spartacist contingent in October 8 demonstration in Oakland. WV Photo

Nazi fascists hail Bakke ruling against "reverse discrimination." WV Photo

All this talk of determining the most "qualified" is deceptive. For many of the sons and daughters of the rich (those who contribute to endowment funds and the like) there has always been a "special admissions" program quite independent of the supposedly "objective" tests to which Bakke fans sanctimoniously appeal.

Special admissions programs and quotas are certainly supportable for blacks and other minorities who have systematically been denied access to equal educational opportunities. But these schemes accept the idea that only a few of the youth who desire to become, for example, doctors can actually do so. Revolutionists must seek to shatter this framework (which accepts the continuing perspective of ignorance and economic irrelevance for the vast majority of black youth) through the call for "open admissions." To be effective, "open admissions" means not only special preparatory programs but also full scholarships and state stipends for living expenses.

"Retreat, Retreat, Retreat"

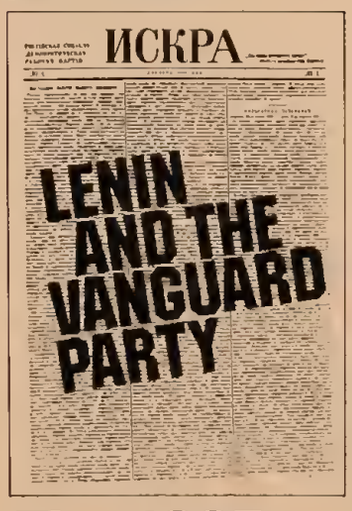
The forces who are mobilizing against Bakke are in the main the same reformists who have set up every recent defeat for the liberal civil rights movement. And their strategy is still the same: rely on the capitalist state and its cops and courts.

What has this strategy achieved? At an anti-Bakke demonstration held October 3 in Washington, D.C., Congressional Black Caucus chairman Parren Mitchell described the situation: "There comes a time in the lives of the oppressed and exploited when you retreat, retreat, retreat, and can retreat no further, when you draw the line and say, 'Enough'" (*Militant*, 14 October). Mitchell and the other black elected officials long ago "drew the line"—and chose the side of the capitalist class and the Democratic Party against the side of the working people and oppressed masses. The only possibility for real social liberation for blacks lies on the proletarian side of the class line.

The black "reformers" and their "left" hangers-on chose the class enemy and its state as the arbiter of social justice. To desperate black people seeking an alternative to ghetto lumpenization for their children, these liberals pushed "equal education" as the solution. But the promise of school desegregation obtained and enforced through the courts proved to be a cruel hoax for the masses of ghetto blacks. Never taken seriously in the North, school desegre-

continued on page 4

PART THREE



The 1905 Revolution

Page 6

AN EXCHANGE

Nuclear Power, Safety and Socialism

Chula Vista, California
To the editor:

This letter is in response to the position taken by Jeff Maxwell in *WV* No. 146 (25 February 1977). While we concur with the author's analysis of the forces presently opposed to nuclear power, we feel that the conclusion to support its implementation is based on an admitted incomplete consideration of the technical problems involved.

The heart of the matter is contained in two passages from that article. P. 8, col. 1: "We do not wish to take a position on the technical issues involved, nor do we offer suggestions to capitalism as to which method of energy generation it would do best to use." And p. 6, col. 1: "As Marxists we generally strongly support the introduction of new technology, including the development, construction and operation of nuclear fission reactors." We assume that it is not the author's intent to use simplistic formulations to support a fundamental error. Technology is the means by which the material level of existence *may* be increased. It is not the end in itself. The SL certainly does not support all technology as progressive merely because it is technology. For example, we assume you stand against the implementation of new, more modern equipment in industry when the result is massive layoffs for workers without regard to their hardships.

The SL should evaluate the technical problems and withdraw Maxwell's conclusion because it is precisely in consideration of these points that no support for nuclear fission reactors can be given. It is still important to identify the basic problems of fission reactors that make them undesirable even if regulated in a healthy workers state. The inevitability of accidents is admitted by Maxwell, so he is certainly aware of the technical arguments against fission reactors. But since they don't seem to have been considered in depth, we would like to state two of them.

The two main technical problems associated with nuclear power are reactor safety and the handling of the waste products. The estimates of risks of reactor failure are fraught with error, and the probabilities quoted are often more correlated with the bias of the author than with known facts. It is noteworthy that there have been incidents involving failure of "safe" reactor components, for example a fire in the Brown's Ferry reactor control center.

A recent compendium (N.I. Sax, *Dangerous Properties of Industrial Materials*, 4th ed., New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975) contains two chapters on radiation hazards and reactor safety, including the problems of reactor component failure and the handling, shipment and disposal of the spent fuel. It notes 15 reported incidents involving fuel element failure alone covering the period 1947 to 1963, the worst of which involved the release of over 40,000 curies resulting in "widespread ^{131}I contamination of milk supply of large area." Given the much larger number of reactors needed if nuclear power is fully implemented and the cavalier attitude of industry towards even existing safety regulations, it is inevitable that major accidents will occur.

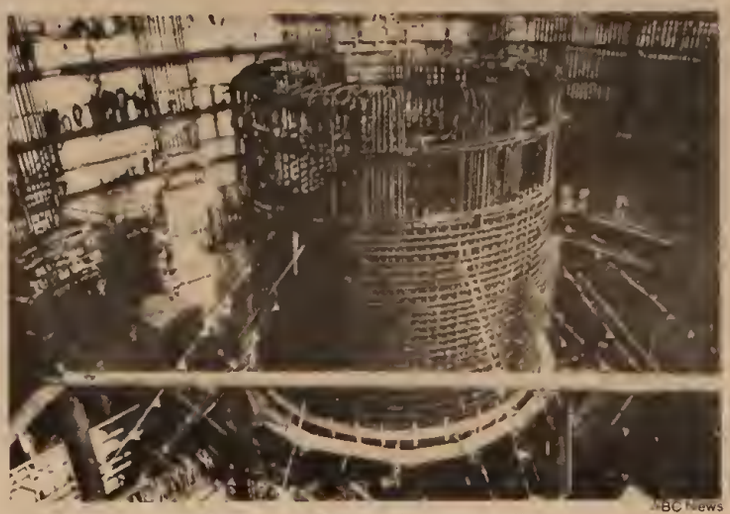
More serious is the problem of nuclear waste. There is much less room for guess work here, since the process of nuclear fission and the products from it are well understood. The neutrons produced in the reactor core can interact with Uranium-238 in the fuel rod to convert it to Plutonium-239 (24,360)*, or with ^{235}U to induce fission. Most of the fission products are very unstable and highly radioactive, and decay through a series of reactions to either stable or long-lived nuclei. Considering only those which have half lives longer than say 20 years, then from the known fission yield of ^{235}U one can deduce the following: ^{93}Zr (950,000), ^{99}Tc (210,000), ^{135}Cs (2 million), ^{90}Sr (28.8) and ^{137}Cs (30) will each be produced in about 5 percent yield, and ^{129}I (16 million) and ^{151}Sm (90) in yields of 0.5 to 1 percent. Of the products, Plutonium and Strontium are particularly lethal since they are selectively absorbed by bone marrow; the maximum "safe" body level of Plutonium is less than 1 microgram—35 trillionths of an ounce!

Due to the long half lives cited above, the wastes will be radioactive and dangerous for hundreds of thousands of years. To put that into perspective, 100,000 years is roughly 20 times the total span of written human history. How can anyone guarantee that the storage containers and the disposal site will remain intact for that span of time? Maxwell dismisses the problem by reference to an ERDA statement claiming that the technology exists to handle the wastes. That's easy for them to claim now—ERDA will not be here in a hundred thousand years, nor even in a hundred. The present ERDA bureaucrats won't have to answer for being wrong. However, the radioactive wastes *will* be here regardless of human aspiration and invective to the contrary. Government agencies dominated by the energy industry may choose to ignore the facts, but those claiming to give scientific analysis must not ignore the laws of physics.

Nuclear power represents a clear danger to the health and safety of millions of people precisely because of the technical issues. To dismiss these dangers by comparing them to the threat posed by nuclear weapons is specious: the existence of one risk does not justify the introduction of another, even if of apparent lesser magnitude. To back away from the technical issues so as not to "offer suggestions to capitalism" is sidestepping the question. For example, the SL does not give advice to the capitalists on how to better run their coal mines, but it does oppose the dangers which mine operations pose to workers, such as black lung disease. Similarly, it should oppose nuclear fission reactors—not for "utopian/reactionary/pacifist" reasons, but because they are another threat to the world working class. World energy needs must be met, but nuclear fission power is *not* the method of choice.

Fraternally,
M. Alexis and B. Callan

*The numbers in parentheses are the half lives of the elements in years.



Massachusetts nuclear power station under construction. BC News

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WV replies: The authors of the above letter have, in part, based their objections to "Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement" on an elementary misreading of the article. As they understand it, we advocate the implementation of nuclear power under capitalism. They are mistaken.

The passage which M. Alexis and B. Callan quote on page 6, column 1 welcomes the introduction of new technology, but does so in a historic sense. This is clear from the paragraph's last two sentences: "Certainly proponents of a socialist society based on material abundance have a vastly different viewpoint on this subject than ecological crackpots who, in effect, seek a return to pre-industrial society. At the same time, we point out that the economic advisability of nuclear fission power can only be judged within the framework of an internationally planned socialist economy."

Our attitude toward the development, construction and operation of nuclear reactors *under capitalism* is quite different. As the article points out it is not our concern how the bourgeoisie meets its energy needs. Contrary to the belief of our critics, this statement does not simply flow from "an admitted incomplete consideration of the technical problems involved."

Our response to the conditions that the proletariat faces under capitalism is *political*. The demands that we raise are both intended to represent the historic interest of the class and to mobilize it in opposition to capitalist rule. Therefore, in point of fact, we do *not* oppose the "implementation of new, more modern equipment in industry." It is not the new technology that causes "massive layoffs for workers without regard for their hardships," but the economic workings of a decaying social order, capitalism.

As Marxists we seek to mobilize the proletariat to struggle for its objective needs. Thus our program raises the call for a sliding scale of wages and hours, for workers control of production, for the expropriation without compensation of certain industries, and links these demands to the need for a workers government to smash the bourgeoisie as a class and institute socialist economic planning. We certainly do not call for jobs for all through a return to more labor-intensive, primitive modes of production!

To argue that a particular form of technology or a particular allocation of resources under capitalism is inherently preferable sows the worst reformist illusions, intersects sectoral as opposed to class interests, vitiates our fundamental critique of capitalist society, and is just plain wrong. For example, we are for safety and against layoffs in the automobile industry. On the other hand, we are not for Chevrolet against Dodge, or for turbine engines against piston engines.

Of course, as we indicated in *WV* No. 146, our attitude toward nuclear power would be different if it could be demonstrated that in the case of fission reactors there were extreme and generalized dangers inherent in their deployment. Here M.A. and B.C. have simply not established their case.

By their own admission, "The estimates of risk of reactor failure are fraught with error, and the probabilities quoted are more often correlated with the bias of the author than with known facts." We acknowledge the inevitability of accidents in the nuclear power industry; we acknowledge the same inevitability in every capitalist industry. For the bourgeoisie, the nuclear business is business as usual.

It is not clear that M.A. and B.C. trace the dangers to the social system. They contend that the greatest threat from fission reactors is the radioactive wastes produced. However, their argumentation—a simple recitation of half-lives—would, if correct and relevant, bar the use of fission power even under socialism. Regretably, social revolutions are unable to alter the decay rates.

In fact, as an article in the June 1977 *Scientific American* (admittedly by a nuclear proponent) shows, the problem of waste disposal is both less problematic and more complex than our critics suggest. Thus while the safe storage of fission reactor waste is necessary for periods which are long compared to written history, current proposals would incorporate these wastes into solid glass cylinders and bury them in geologically stable formations such as salt deposits. The half-lives of reactor waste are short compared to the geological lifetimes of such deposits. What is more, the total amount of natural radioactivity in the ground under, e.g., the

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U.S., far exceeds the amount that would be added by fission reactor waste, even if all electric power were generated by such reactors.

We note that Barry Commoner, a knowledgeable scientist and one of the gurus of the "ecology movement," in a recent debate with physicist and nuclear power proponent Hans Bethe did not dispute Bethe's contention that nuclear power is "safe." Instead, Commoner opines that nuclear power had been rendered safe only by massive investments and auxiliary safety systems making it therefore too expensive. Revealing the utopian, petty-bourgeois longing for a rustic past which is one of the chief wellsprings of the "ecology movement," Commoner instead pushed for community-operated windmills as an alternative to expensive, monopoly-controlled nuclear power plants.

To maintain perspective, one might compare the risk associated with nuclear power and other industries. The hazards which coal miners face, from mine explosions to black lung disease, are well-known. According to a National Academy of Sciences study the sulfur dioxide emitted by a *single* coal-burning plant results annually in 25 fatalities and 60,000 cases of respiratory disease

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CP Pushes Price Control Hoax

No to Steel Protectionism!

AP

Faced with plant closures, Ohio steel workers present protectionist petition for import curbs in Washington on September 23.

In the wake of the massive job losses due to mill closings in steel, the bureaucracy of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) has stepped up its publicity drive in support of the steel trust's lobbying for quotas on imported foreign steel.

At a rally in Cleveland September 29, 200 steel workers showed up to listen to speeches by top officials of the union, including district director Frank Valenta, USWA international officers Frank McKee and Lynn Williams, outgoing Cleveland mayor Ralph Perk and Ohio governor James Rhodes.

Not even making a pretense of opposing the steel bosses, union leaders distributed banners and placards with company slogans, including U.S. Steel's protectionist jingle: "The threat is real from imported steel. It's a job-robbing deal."

A few days earlier, a delegation of steel workers from Youngstown went to Washington where they presented petitions bearing 116,000 signatures to Ohio Senators John Glenn and Howard Metzenbaum, demanding immediate import quotas and subsidies. Present among the delegation was Ed Mann, president of Local 1462 of U.S. Steel in Youngstown, and a long-time leader of RAFT (Rank and File Team), an oppositional caucus in the USWA based in Youngstown. Mann, while equivocating on whether he endorsed the program of McBride & Co., confirmed later to *WV* that the Local 1462 leadership had helped circulate the protectionist petition.

Meanwhile, the Treasury Department ruled last week that five major Japanese steel companies were dumping carbon steel plate in the U.S. market at prices allegedly substantially below their "fair market value." While steel makers and bureaucrats cheered this decision, it only applies to a small fraction of imported steel and does not involve the sweeping quotas that the U.S. steel bosses desire.

Of more significance was the release last week of a lengthy report on the domestic steel industry by President Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability (CWPS). The report was unsympathetic to protectionism and essentially seconded the findings of the Merrill/Lynch firm on Wall Street, which had pointed to the outmoded technology of the U.S. steel industry as the key factor in the recent disastrous decline. The CWPS study found that Japanese production costs are 20 percent below those of U.S. mills, and that even with tariff and transportation costs thrown in, Japanese exports are still cheaper than domestic products.

As we wrote two weeks ago (*WV* No. 175, 30 September), the present acute crisis was precipitated by the long-term decline of the American steel industry, particularly with respect to Japan. Powerful capitalist interests are now pushing for a fundamental reorganization of the industry, including the closing of marginal facilities and layoffs of thousands of steel workers. As we also pointed out, the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), designed to keep the domestic industry competitive by insuring labor peace, has proven insufficiently profitable, and the bosses must take recourse to more drastic measures.

As early as last January, U.S. Steel vice-president J. Bruce Johnston declared that "... if we don't solve the problem of subsidized and unfair competition, then ENA is not a sufficient shield. We are obviously not going to continue to pay for a product that isn't getting the job done." In the last two weeks alone, there has been a steady chorus—and not only from the steel bosses, but from Wall Street as well—howling about the "high wages" of steel workers being to blame for the crisis. The CWPS study claimed rising costs, and in particular wages, were a key determinant in price increases for the domestic industry. And an editorial of the *New York Times* complained, "The American steel industry, by contrast, has lost its competitive position at home because firms have failed to modernize and have acceded to sizable wage settlements unjustified by increases in productivity." Thus, even the pitiful *3-percent-a-year* wage increases provided under ENA are coming under the guns of the bourgeoisie!

The response of the steel bosses, parrotted by the McBride leadership of the USWA, has been to demand implementation of protectionist legislation. The bosses and their labor lackeys have denied the superiority of Japanese production methods, blaming increased imports on price-cutting, government subsidies abroad, etc. American steel bosses find it necessary to appear as an injured party, the victim of "unfair competition" from foreign governments and producers, in order to whip up public support for their protectionist campaign. This only underscores the viciously chauvinist character of protectionism, designed to portray the Japanese—including the Japanese proletariat—as the enemy of the American working masses.

While McBride & Co. point the finger at foreign competition as the root of the steel crisis, the Sadlowski/Balanoff wing of the USWA bureaucracy attempts to deny the obvious. District 31 director Jim Balanoff claims that the problem lies with monopoly price-fixing by the steel trust, and not with the decline of the American steel industry. Balanoff supporters at Local 1010 (Inland Steel) have even passed a resolution explicitly calling on the federal government to roll back prices.

The line of monopoly price-fixing is simply a diversion. It's no secret that the profits of American steel companies have dropped disastrously. To be sure, the steel trust has certainly engaged in price-fixing before. In 1962, for example, President Kennedy, in a confrontation with Roger Blough, then head of U.S. Steel, forced the steel companies to withdraw an announced price increase. However, at the time the American steel industry had undisputed hegemony over the world market. It had considerable latitude in setting arbitrary prices—and could cut back prices while still maintaining healthy profits. Today things are different; as the CWPS report pointed out, the higher prices set by the American companies have been simply undercut by foreign producers, and the dom-

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WV Photo

Bethlehem Steel in Lackawanna, New York.

Bakke...

(continued from page 1)

gation was killed on the streets of Boston when there was no labor mobilization to counter the racists' offensive against busing. The Supreme Court aided and codified the racists' program. Today in Chicago, black children participating in the pitiful token voluntary school busing plan must fear for their lives, while their parents are harassed on the way to and from work by mobs of marauding racists.

"Rely on the federal troops," counseled the liberals as busing was murdered on the streets of South Boston. "Rely on the Supreme Court," they cried as the court ruled again and again against democratic rights and in favor of racist and anti-union decisions in housing, busing, medicaid and welfare, abortion, unemployment benefits for striking workers. From the refurbishing of capital punishment to the sanctification of school district lines for the purpose of segregation, the Supreme Court and those who profferred it as black people's salvation stand exposed over the corpse of busing. Now confronted with Bakke, the liberals and their "left" tails are doing it again. Their strategy is to link the fight against Bakke to the capitalist government and its program for union-busting: "affirmative action."

Affirmative Action: Legacy of Class Treason

It is no accident that the struggle against Bakke is being crippled by the reformists and liberals who present it as a struggle for affirmative action. From the beginning, it was they who guaranteed that the issue of racial integration would be posed as a choice between union-busting and racism. The infuriating irony is that the political current most responsible for creating this no-win situation for blacks now claims to be the force which represents the fight against racist reaction.

The failure of the liberal civil rights movement followed from its strategy of linking the struggle for black equality to the capitalist state rather than to the struggle of the working class against capitalism. The logic of this collaboration with the bourgeois state was that the aspirations of blacks were more and more closely identified with a mobilization against the unions. It is nearly ten years since a claque of liberals, black nationalists and "socialists" succeeded in mobilizing the "black community" against the 1968 New York teachers' strike, helping to cement the racist labor bureaucrats' hold over backward white workers. With each treacherous class-collaborationist step, the civil rights misleaders further isolated blacks from the labor movement and reinforced their own dependence upon the capitalist state.

Going from defeat to defeat in recent years, the civil rights liberals and the reformist left are now picking up on the Bakke decision to fight a last-ditch stand for state intervention in the name of minorities. While the substance of special admissions programs has pretty much gone by the boards, the Carter administration has come out mildly but definitely on the anti-Bakke side (which, of course, is one of the main reasons the reformists have seized the issue). But it must be made crystal clear *why* the government came out against Bakke: not because it cares a whit about increasing non-white college enrollment; not because it opposes the Supreme Court's recent unbroken string of decisions against democratic rights of oppressed minorities; not because it wishes to oppose the racist pro-Bakke forces. *The Justice Department has a vested interest in the Bakke case because it wants to preserve the legal basis for affirmative action suits against the unions.*

These "anti-discrimination" suits necessarily draw the bitter opposition of the unions for they are directed against the only existing form of job protection in most industries: the seniority system. While there are deliberately manipulated seniority systems which amount to a form of job trusting—e.g., the departmental seniority systems in steel which perpetuated the fact of discrimination in hiring where blacks were hired only into the hottest, most dangerous jobs—senority itself is an important union gain to protect workers from arbitrary victimization by the bosses. And that is precisely why the capitalist government loves "affirmative action." First because it gives them a precedent for tearing up labor contracts. And second because it sets blacks and organized labor at each others' throats.

This is hardly a secret. The most important affirmative action court suits and plans were set up under the Nixon administration, which didn't give a damn about equality for blacks even to win votes. The most famous of all, the so-called "Philadelphia Plan" in the construction trades, was an attempt to break the union hiring hall through setting quotas for jobs and workers for minority (i.e., black capitalist) contractors. The government's chief braintruster in this enterprise, John Doar, put it bluntly: "the struggle is between the Negro and the unions." He lamented that as much as 2 million jobs were controlled by union hiring halls: "Employers should be free to hire any qualified worker."

While the NAACP and Urban League liberals are quite comfortable about this open union-busting posture—often they played a lucrative role in setting up job referral and training programs with federal funds—the reformist left cannot dismiss out of hand the interests of labor which it claims in some degree to represent. But particularly in the late 1960's when black nationalism was "where it was at" and the fake leftists considered the white working class to be a bought-off sector enjoying its "white skin privilege" in an affluent consumer society—they accepted the government's "blacks vs. the unions" "super-seniority" to more recently hired blacks or women. Marxists reject this because fundamentally it is the *companies* who have fostered racist hiring patterns, not the workers (and the bourgeoisie certainly fosters racial antagonisms of all sorts among their wage slaves); and, moreover, it is impossible to build a revolutionary workers movement by asking workers to give up what they have won through bitter struggles in the past.

Thus the Spartacist League has called on the *labor movement* to replace discriminatory seniority systems and outright job-trusting with absolute non-discrimination ("first come, first serve") in hiring, complemented by special training and recruitment programs directed at groups which have historically been excluded from better-paying jobs. But we are opposed to systematic discrimination against *any* sector of the workforce, including white males. And under all circumstances it is necessary to oppose the bosses' government intervening to rip up union contracts and gains. The only integration the government seeks with its "affirmative action" hoaxes is the integration of the unions into the capitalist state apparatus.

WV Photo

South Bronx: life under capitalism for minority youth.

WV Photo

WV Photo

Fake-letts' answer to Bakke is union-busting affirmative action.

The anti-Bakke reformists have lined up behind that wing of the Justice Department which wants to hold on to its program of affirmative action. When the Justice Department put out its first position on Bakke, implicitly "soft" on the defense of affirmative action, a hue and cry went up from inside and outside the government. Affirmative action—the capitalists' program to "redress years of racial discrimination"—is really a program to dismantle hard-won gains of the union movement (seniority, the union hiring hall) as an attack on the unions' independence from the state. From the reformists' standpoint, nothing could be more logical than the identification of the fight against Bakke with the defense of union-busting affirmative action. From the standpoint of the working people, and particularly of black workers, there is perhaps no greater single crime than the organization of the struggle for black equality counterposed to the unions and through the instruments of the bourgeois state.

Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

The liberals' argument for affirmative action in the unions insists on the need to "redress historic discrimination." In its most forthrightly anti-union version, the argument simply blames white workers for the discrimination of the past four hundred years. For instance, NAACP national labor director Herbert Hill frontally attacked the AFL-CIO as an organization "committed to white male workers against the vital interests of women and minorities" (*New York Times*, 29 June). Arguing for stronger government intervention into the unions, Hill incorrectly assumes that only white workers will be hurt—and they deserve to be hurt anyway in exchange for having "benefited" from years of racist union policies:

> "But the whites who benefitted from the systematic denial of the rights of black workers are not innocent. They and their union representatives year after year deliberately negotiated discriminatory labor agreements that gave whites very substantial benefits at the expense of black workers."
>
> —"The Postponement of Economic Equality," *Black Scholar*, September 1977

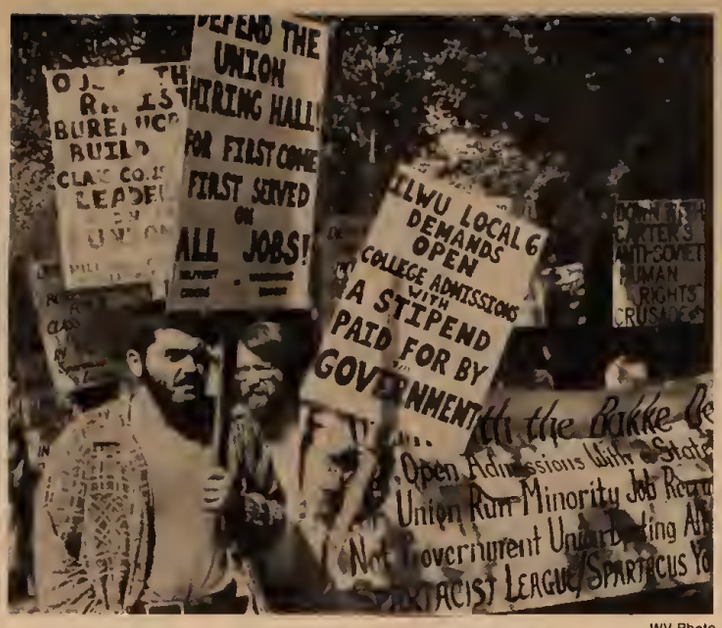
Behind this moralism is the idea that white workers today must pay for the crimes of the bosses yesterday. Hill thus surrenders the claim to justice in "the present" to right-wingers and professional ant-Communists like Sydney Hook who argue in terms of "fairness" and "consistency":

> "We are inconsistent as well as insincere if, in attempts to rectify the arbitrary and invidious discrimination of the past, we practice arbitrary and invidious discrimination in the present."
>
> —*Newsweek*, 26 September

And in the union movement it is AFT president Albert Shanker who claims to represent the interests of workers "in the present." He is pro-Bakke, arguing against racial quotas as represented by special admissions programs in the universities and the unions. Such apparently "color-blind" fairness is really blind to a social reality that the bureaucrats like Shanker helped to create and daily reinforce. To begin with, special admissions programs in colleges do not challenge any of the prerogatives of the union movement. And it is self-serving to fail to see that whereas individual whites may be penalized by such an admissions program, blacks have experienced discrimination as a social group.

The fact of "historic discrimination" cannot be denied. Blacks as a group are victimized by the discriminatory practices of the bosses, abetted by the union bureaucracy. But the choice is not only dichotomy and came down against the unions. Since blacks and women have historically carried the burden of discrimination, while male workers must now give up their "privileges," they argued.

This is unadulterated bourgeois moralistic nonsense to begin with. The logical corollary would be to demand that black auto workers, who labor sometimes 60 hours a week in the infernal Detroit factories, should accept a massive cut in their living standards in order to give up some of their huge "privileges" to Vietnamese peasants! During the 1974-75 economic crisis this divisive position was given real teeth when some of the reformists went from calls for preferential hiring to demands for preferential *firing* of white male workers, under the slogan of granting



WV Photo

Labor militants oppose Bakke, demand "open admissions."

between the liberals' insistence on the sins of the past and the labor bureaucrats' insistence on the racist status quo in the present. The decisive question must be posed for the future: what strategy will unlock this increasingly bitter racial polarization in the working class? What will accomplish proletarian unity around the fight against the oppression of blacks, against both the union-busting of the liberal capitalists and the racist policies of the union bureaucracy?

There is certainly a real danger from the racist right within the workers movement, given the way the reformists have attacked the unions' gains and the left's failure to represent the interests of all the workers. So "rights for whites" groups have seized upon affirmative action as a vehicle for their racist filth. They must be defeated *within* the unions. A new example is something called the "American Male for Equality Now" (AMEN), a Kentucky group whose fundamentalist-racist character is worn like a badge. It will be disastrous if workers are made to feel they must either "take the blame" for racism by giving up hard-won gains or identify even passively with racist groups like AMEN. That perilous polarization of the working class—one in which all workers, and particularly blacks, can only lose—is the legacy of those who have aligned the struggle for black equality with the union-busting aims of the capitalist class.

The racist bureaucrats say that the choice is between the racist policies of the union or no union at all. The alternative to racist bureaucracy and to the civil rights union-busters is the policy of the class struggle, including the fight for jobs. To fight for jobs for all would mean militant action against layoffs and other struggles which would topple the labor fakers from their perch on top of the unions.

The case has split the trade-union movement. Formally committed to racial equality, the unions have submitted amicus curiae ("friend of the court") briefs on both sides of the case. Shanker's AFT is leading the way to support Bakke while the UAW, Farmworkers, Mineworkers and AFSCME have filed anti-Bakke briefs. Pressured from both sides, black social democrat Bayard Rustin understandably wishes the issue would go away, saying there is too much "stress on Bakke" (*New York Times*, 25 September).

Revolutionists resolutely oppose both Bakke and union-busting affirmative action schemes. Unless the labor movement takes up the fight against racism, economic conditions for blacks will continue to deteriorate while the emboldened racists attack every remnant of the legal gains won in struggle. The fight for black equality must be part of the struggle to oust the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, carried out by the methods of the class struggle, not the methods of the union-busting bourgeois state.

Our program is first and always the program of the class struggle. We carry on an uncompromising fight within the unions to oust the bureaucrats who keep the working class bound to their bosses through the Democratic Party. Instead of liberal integration schemes, we fight discrimination against minorities and women with the only policy that can win: revolutionary integrationism. We attack discriminatory seniority systems and job-trusting without scrapping the gains that have been won from the capitalists, like the union hiring hall and the seniority system which often represents the only protection workers have against arbitrary firings. We call for union-run recruitment of minorities and women. We demand such special recruitment for apprenticeship and training programs. But the key to cut through the racial antagonisms that have ripped apart the entire workers movement is the demand that recognizes the role of the capitalist state in the unions: Government out of the unions! As we said in 1973 regarding government-sponsored "preferential hiring":

> "Instead of pitting different groups of workers against each other, a real struggle for the integration of minorities and women into the work force on an equal basis requires a fight for organizing the unorganized, for a sliding scale of wages and hours to provide jobs for all, for an end to all sexual and racial discrimination, for a union hiring hall, and a political struggle against the capitalist parties and the capitalist system which fosters racism and sexism."
> —*WV* No. 25, 20 July 1973

The Doctrine of "Reverse Discrimination"

Legally the Bakke case could have far-reaching implications. Anti-Bakke forces have predicted that if the lower court's ruling is not overturned, we could be plunged back to the days of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which established the doctrine of "separate but equal." That landmark case of 1896 codified and reinforced in stated doctrine the undoing of the gains of radical Reconstruction for blacks. It seems to the liberals that a similar doctrine of "reverse discrimination" will do the same for the gains of the civil rights movement. Such legalistic arguments miss the point of what is really going on in recent reactionary legal decisions; at bottom, they reveal the reformists' treacherous faith in the courts of the bourgeoisie.

The doctrine of "separate but equal" was overturned in another landmark case, *Brown v. the Board of Education*, in 1954. This civil rights doctrine was presented as a broad assault on the social and economic injustices of historic racism; the courts were offered as the basis for redressing these wrongs.

In fact, neither of these "doctrines" represents the norm of bourgeois law. The capitalists prefer neither the open statement of inequality embodied in *Plessy v. Ferguson* nor the use of the court to "redress" the effects of economic and social injustice embodied in *Brown v. the Board of Education*. Neither Jim Crow nor the court as the "righter" of social wrongs makes the best juridical sense for the bourgeoisie. The normative standard for the bourgeois legal code is *abstract equality* before the law. As Anatole France remarked in 1894: "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread."

And this equality is just as "majestic" in 1977. But the capitalist cannot always get what he wants; sometimes he is forced to modify his aims to conciliate social struggle. The legal system doesn't create social struggle; contrary to the modern American liberal myth of the "activist court," ultimately the reverse is the case.

It is only through successful social struggles—or sometimes through the threat of them—that capitalist laws can embody gains won by the oppressed and exploited. Similarly, those gains are lost or are secured in the social struggle between classes. But the ruling class could not grant more than a few token and reversible concessions; the systematic racist oppression of an entire population condemned to ghetto segregation could never be ended in the courts.

When the liberal civil rights movement "came north" to the sharply segregated ghettos to demand open housing in the late 1960's, it met stiff resistance from the racists. Only the mobilization of the organized working class against the mobilization of the fascists could have turned the tide. The rock that hit Martin Luther King, Jr. in Cicero, Illinois was felt around the country, and it had particular impact in the halls of the Supreme Court and the corridors of Congress. But now the liberal decisions of the past decade are being eroded and reversed and the court has gratefully dropped its uncomfortable mask as arbiter of social equality.

The Supreme Court will not rule on Bakke in the language of "reverse discrimination" but in the spirit of white chauvinism. It is not necessary to provoke blacks with such statements in order to put an end to the use of the courts as an instrument through which

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UAW Workers Prosecuted for Walkout

Defend the Trenton 7!

DETROIT, October 6—Seven auto workers, fired from Chrysler's Trenton Engine plant for alleged involvement in a week-long wildcat strike this summer, have now been railroaded in federal court. U.S. judge John Feikens today declared the Trenton Seven guilty of criminal contempt for violating a restraining order prohibiting picketing at the plant. The seven face up to six months in jail plus heavy fines in sentencing six weeks from now.

Among the hundreds of pickets who shut down the Trenton plant demanding the rehiring of a union steward, and five workers fired for an earlier walkout over killing heat, the Trenton Seven have been picked out for persecution in order to intimidate the entire United Auto Workers (UAW) membership. And the UAW bureaucracy is in the wings with the same counsel: wait months for grievances to be resolved, don't walk out, don't picket and don't count on us to defend you. Solidarity House has not given a dime to the Trenton workers' defense committee nor provided one bit of legal assistance.

Local 372 has officially demanded that their seven members be reinstated with no disciplines and that the International throw its full weight behind the defense, including authorizing strikes at Trenton and other Chrysler plants. A strike vote at Trenton is scheduled for October 16. The Trenton Seven are, as well, appealing their conviction.

While all legal remedies must be vigorously pursued, workers can have no faith in the "justice" of the bosses' courts. After issuing his verdict, Judge Feikens piously proclaimed that "if this kind of conduct is not punished it would... make it impossible to carry out the laws and make a mockery of the court system." But for the working class, the Trenton Seven are guilty of no crime. The unfettered right to strike must be gained by scrapping the notorious no-strike clause which is central to the UAW tops' class collaboration with the auto companies, and which the courts dutifully enforce.

UAW militants all over the country must back up the demands of the Trenton workers and insist that the International support strike action to enforce reinstatement of the Seven and the dropping of all charges against them. In addition the Partisan Defense Committee urges readers of *WV* to send contributions to: Trenton Defense Committee, c/o UAW Local 372, 4571 Division Street, Trenton, MI 48183.

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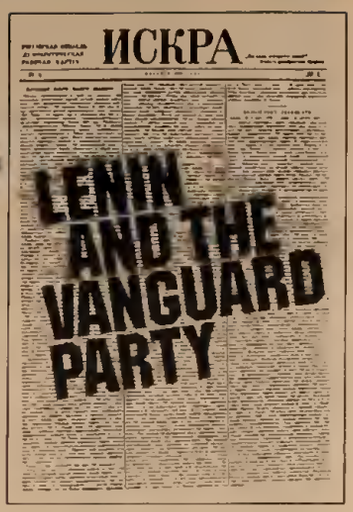
The 1905 Revolution



PART 3

To understand the principle of the communist vanguard party, it is necessary to recognize the evolution of Lenin from a revolutionary social democrat to the founding leader of the Communist International. Various revisionists, notably the British workerist-reformist Tony Cliff, have attempted to deny or obfuscate the principle of the democratic-centralist vanguard party by pointing to those elements of classic social democracy retained by the pre-1914 Bolsheviks and conditioned by the particularities of the Russian situation. This series seeks to trace the development of Lenin's position on the party question. The first part (WV No. 173, 16 September) focused on the Kautskyan doctrine of the "party of the whole class" and its relevance to early Russian social democracy. Part 2 (WV No. 175, 30 September) covered the 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik split and its aftermath.

During 1904 Russian defeats in the war with Japan provoked a surge of liberal bourgeois opposition to the tsarist autocracy. This significant change in the Russian political scene deepened the differences between Menshevism and Bolshevism. Assigning the liberals the leading role in the coming anti-tsarist revolution, the Mensheviks sought to encourage the liberal opposition by toning down criticism of them. The Mensheviks' conciliatory attitude to the liberals marked a further regression down the same path as the Economists, restricting the social-democratic party to the defense of the sectional interests of the Russian proletariat.

Lenin sharply attacked this liberal-conciliationist policy in his November 1904 article, "The Zemstvo Campaign and *Iskra*'s Plan," which opened up a new, more profound phase in the Bolshevik-Menshevik conflict. (The *Zemstvos* were local government bodies through which the liberals sought to reform tsarism.) The heart of Lenin's polemic is this:

> "Bourgeois democrats are by their very nature incapable of satisfying these [revolutionary-democratic] demands, and are therefore, doomed to irresolution and half-heartedness. By criticizing this half-heartedness, the Social-Democrats keep prodding the liberals on and winning more and more proletarians and semi-proletarians, and partly petty bourgeois too, from liberal democracy to working-class democracy....
>
> "The bourgeois opposition is merely bourgeois and merely an opposition because it does not itself fight, because it has no program of its own that it unconditionally upholds, because it stands between the two actual combatants (the government and the revolutionary proletariat with its handful of intellectual supporters) and hopes to turn the outcome of the struggle to its own advantage."

This difference over the role of the liberal bourgeoisie in the anti-tsarist revolution was the main issue at the rival Menshevik and Bolshevik gatherings in April 1905. From their premise that the liberal bourgeois party must come to power with the overthrow of absolutism, the Mensheviks derived the position that the social-democratic party, no matter how strong, ought not to militarily overthrow the tsarist government. This policy of passive expectancy and liberal tailism was adopted in resolution form at the April Menshevik conference:

> "Under these conditions, social democracy must strive to retain for itself, throughout the entire revolution, a position which would best afford it the opportunity of furthering the revolution, which would not bind its hands in the struggle against the inconsistent and self-seeking policies of the bourgeois parties, and which would prevent it from losing its identity in bourgeois democracy.
>
> "Therefore, social democracy should not set itself the goal of seizing or sharing power in the provisional government but must remain a party of the extreme revolutionary opposition."
>
> —Robert H. McNeal, ed., *Decisions and Resolutions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1974)

Lenin counterposed to the Menshevik conception the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," a concept most extensively set forth in his July 1905 pamphlet, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. Lenin began from the premise that the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of carrying through the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. However, he believed that a peasant-based radical populist movement could and would give rise to a mass revolutionary-democratic party. (Significantly Lenin did *not* consider the Social-Revolutionaries such a party. He regarded them as an "intellectualist" grouping, still addicted to terrorism.) The alliance between the peasant-based revolutionary-democratic and the proletarian social-democratic party, including a coalition "provisional revolutionary government," would overthrow absolutism and carry through a radical democratic program—the "minimum" program of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP). The operational core of Lenin's strategy was adopted at the all-Bolshevik Third RSDRP Congress:

> "...depending upon the alignment of forces and other factors which cannot be precisely defined in advance, representatives of our party may be allowed to take part in the provisional revolutionary government so as to conduct a relentless struggle against all counter-revolutionary attempts and to uphold the independent interests of the working class."
>
> —*Ibid.*

In developing the concept of the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship," Lenin was primarily concerned with motivating an active military and political role for Russian social democracy in the revolution. As to the future fate of the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship," Lenin is deliberately vague; it is clear he did not regard it as a stable form of class rule. In *Two Tactics* he asserts:

> "The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry is unquestionably only a transient, temporary socialist aim, but to ignore this aim in the period of a democratic revolution would be downright reactionary."

The future evolution of Russian society from the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship" would be determined by the balance of class forces not only in Russia but throughout Europe. Lenin's formulation is therefore an *algebraic* conception. In its most revolutionary outcome it would shade over toward Trotsky's "permanent revolution": a radical democratic revolution in Russia sparks the European proletarian revolution, which allows the immediate socialist revolution in Russia. In the face of triumphant reaction the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship" becomes a revolutionary episode, somewhat akin to the Jacobin dictator-

Bloody Sunday, 9 January 1905: workers marched to Winter Palace to present petition to Tsar Nicholas II. Without warning guards fired on crowd killing 500 and wounding 3000 (top photo).

ship of 1793 or Paris Commune of 1871, which makes possible the stabilization of normal bourgeois-democratic rule.

By early 1905 the issue of the political dynamic of the revolution had superseded the narrow organizational question as the central conflict between Bolshevism and Menshevism. In fact, the criticism of the Mensheviks adopted at the April 1905 Bolshevik congress did not even mention the issue which caused the original split. Rather it condemned the Mensheviks for economism and liberal tailism:

> "...a general tendency to belittle the significance of consciousness, which they subordinate to spontaneity, in the proletarian struggle.... In tactical matters [the Menshevíks] manifest a desire to narrow the scope of the party work; speaking out against the party pursuing completely independent tactics in relation to the bourgeois-liberal parties, against the possibility and desirability of our party undertaking an organizational role in the popular uprising, and against the party's participation under any conditions in a provisional democratic-revolutionary government."

As is well-known, not all the leading Mensheviks of 1903 became the liberal-tailists of 1905. During 1904 the young Trotsky developed the theory of the "permanent revolution" as applied to Russia. Due to Russia's uneven development, no revolutionary bourgeois-democratic force, including a peasant-based radical populist party, would emerge to overthrow absolutism. In carrying through the anti-absolutist revolution, the proletarian party would be forced to take state power and also to introduce the beginnings of socialization. Unless the Russian proletarian revolution extended itself to advanced capitalist Europe, the backward workers state would inevitably be overthrown by imperialist reaction. Trotsky's "permanent revolution" position placed him to the left of the Leninists on the question of revolutionary strategy, but, except for a historic moment in 1905, he remained an isolated figure in the pre-war Russian social-democratic movement.

Revolution and Mass Recruitment

The differences with the Mensheviks over the nature of the Russian revolution weakened, but did not eliminate, the Bolshevik conciliators, who favored reunification of the RSDRP. However, the revolutionary upsurge produced a new division within the Bolshevik camp, and this time Lenin found himself taking an unfamiliar position on the organizational question.

The mass radicalization, particularly after Bloody Sunday, 9 January 1905, produced tens of thousands of militant young workers who were willing to join a revolutionary socialist party, to join the Bolsheviks. However, habituated to a small underground network, many Bolshevik "committeemen" (the cadres who had built hard-core social-democratic cells in the difficult conditions of clandestinity) resisted a radical change in the nature of their organization and its functioning. They opposed a mass recruitment policy and insisted on continuing a lengthy period of tutelage as a precondition for membership.

Lenin adamantly opposed this apparatus conservatism and sought to transform the Bolsheviks from an agitational organization into a mass proletarian party. As early as February 1905, in an article "New Forces and New Tasks," Lenin expressed concern that the radicalization of the masses was far outstripping the growth of the Bolshevik organization:

> "...we must considerably increase the membership of all Party and Party-connected organizations in order to be able to keep up to some extent with the stream of popular revolutionary energy which has been a hundredfold strengthened. This, it goes without saying, does not mean that consistent training and systematic instruction in the Marxist truths are to be left in the shade. We must, however, remember that at the present time far greater significance in the matter of training and education attaches to the military operations, which *teach* the untrained precisely and entirely in *our* sense. We must remember that our 'doctrinaire' faithfulness to Marxism is now being reinforced by the march of revolutionary events, which is everywhere furnishing *object lessons to the masses* and that all these lessons confirm precisely our dogma....
> "Young fighters should be recruited more boldly, widely and rapidly into the ranks *of all and every kind* of our organizations. *Hundreds* of new organizations should be set up for the purpose without a moment's delay. Yes, hundreds; this is no hyperbole, and let no one tell me that it is 'too late' now to tackle such a broad organizational task. No, it is never too late to organize. We must use the freedom we are getting by law and the freedom we are taking despite the law to strengthen and multiply the Party organizations of all varieties." [emphasis in original]

The conflict between Lenin's mass recruitment policy and the conservative committeemen was one of the most heated issues of the April 1905 Bolshevik congress. Lenin's motion on the subject was actually voted down by a slim majority. This motion calls upon the Bolsheviks to:

> "...make every effort to strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses of the working class by raising still wider sections of the proletarians to full Social-Democratic consciousness, by developing their revolutionary Social-Democratic activity, by seeing to it that the greatest possible number of workers capable of leading the movement and the Party organizations be advanced from among the mass of the working class to membership on the local centers and on the all-Party center through the creation of a maximum number of working-class organizations adhering to our Party...."
> —"Draft Resolution on the Relations Between Workers and Intellectuals Within the Social-Democratic Organizations" (April 1905)

In opposing a mass recruitment policy, the conservative Bolshevik committeemen quoted *What Is To Be Done?* with its line of "the narrower, the better." Lenin replied that the 1902 polemic sought to guide the formation of an oppositional grouping within a politically heterogeneous movement of underground propaganda circles. The tasks facing the Bolshevik organization in early 1905 were, to say the least, different.

Lenin was absolutely right to oppose a conservative attitude toward recruitment during the revolution of 1905. If the tens of thousands of subjectively revolutionary, but politically raw, young workers who came to the fore were not recruited to the Bolsheviks, they would naturally join the opportunist Mensheviks, the radical populist Social Revolutionaries or the anarchists. The revolutionary party would be deprived of a large and important proletarian generation. Without mass recruitment the Bolshevik party would have been sterilized during the revolution and thereafter.

Another aspect of the Bolshevik committeemen's apparatus conservatism was a sectarian attitude toward the mass organizations thrown up by the revolution—the trade unions and, above all, the soviets. The key St. Petersburg Soviet [council] of Workers' Deputies originated in October 1905 as a centralized general strike committee. While the Mensheviks embraced the trade unions and soviets precisely because of their loose, politically heterogeneous nature, a section of the Bolshevik leadership distrusted such organizations as competitors to the party.

Members of the St. Petersburg Soviet during 1906 trial.

Meeting of the Zemstvo Congress in 1906.

Thus in October 1905 the Bolshevik Central Committee in Russia (Lenin was still in exile) addressed a "Letter to All Party Organizations" which stated:

> "Every such organization represents a certain stage in the proletariat's political development, but if it stands outside Social Democracy, it is, objectively, in danger of keeping the proletariat on a primitive political level and thus subjugating it to the bourgeois parties."
> —quoted in Tony Cliff, *Lenin*, Vol. I: *Building the Party* (1975)

The Bolsheviks' initial sectarian attitude toward the soviets permitted the Mensheviks to play a leading role in them by filling a political vacuum. Thus Trotsky, as head of the St. Petersburg Soviet, emerged as the most prominent revolutionary socialist in 1905.

Just as he struggled for a mass recruitment policy, so Lenin intervened to correct a sectarian abstentionist attitude toward the soviets. In a letter to the Bolshevik press entitled "Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies" (November 1905) he wrote:

> "...the Soviet of Workers' Deputies or the Party? I think it would be wrong to put the question in this way and that the decision must *certainly* be: *both* the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and the Party. The only question—and a highly important one—is how to divide, and how to combine, the tasks of the Soviet and those of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party.
> "I think it would be inadvisable for the Soviet to adhere wholly to any one party." [emphasis in original]

Like Trotsky, Lenin recognized in the soviets the organizational basis for a revolutionary government:

> "To my mind, the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, as a revolutionary center providing political leadership, is not too broad an organization but, on the contrary, a much too narrow one. The Soviet must proclaim itself the provisional revolutionary government, or form such a government, and by all means enlist to this end the participation of new deputies not only from the workers, but, first of all, from the sailors and soldiers...; secondly, from the revolutionary peasantry, and thirdly, from the revolutionary bourgeois intelligentsia. The Soviet must select a strong nucleus for the provisional revolutionary government and reinforce it with representatives of all revolutionary parties and all revolutionary (but, of course, only revolutionary and not liberal) democrats."
> —*Ibid.*

Lenin's positive orientation toward the trade unions and soviets in 1905 did *not* represent a change in his previous position on the vanguard party. On the contrary, the concept of the vanguard party presupposes and indeed requires very broad organizations through which the party can lead the mass of more backward workers. *What Is To Be Done?* states very clearly the relationship of the party to the trade unions:

> "The workers' organizations for the economic struggle should be trade-union organizations. Every Social-Democratic worker should as far as possible assist and actively work in these organizations. But, while this is true, it is certainly not in our interest to demand that only Social-Democrats should be eligible for membership in the 'trade' unions, since that would only narrow the scope of our influence upon the masses. Let every worker who understands the need to unite for the struggle against the employers and the government join the trade unions. The very aim of the trade unions would be impossible of achievement, if they did not unite all who have attained at least this elementary degree of understanding, if they were not *very* broad organizations. The broader these organizations, the broader will be our degree of influence over them...." [emphasis in original]

Did Lenin Renounce *What Is To Be Done?*

Almost every rightist revisionist has zeroed in on Lenin's fight for a mass recruitment policy and against apparatus conservatism to argue that the founder of contemporary communism abandoned the principles of *What Is To Be Done?* then and for all time. The British workerist-reformist Tony Cliff concludes that in 1905:

> "On the idea that socialist consciousness could be brought in only from the 'outside', and that the working class could spontaneously achieve only trade-union consciousness, Lenin now formulated his conclusion in terms which were the exact opposite of those of *What is to be Done?* In an article called 'The Reorganization of the Party' written in November 1905, he says bluntly: 'The working class is instinctively, spontaneously Social Democratic'."
> —*Op. cit.*

Jean-Jacques Marie, a leader of the French neo-Kautskyan Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, says practically the same thing:

> "Lenin abandoned the rigidity in the definition which he had given of the relationship between 'consciousness' and 'spontaneity.' After the Second Congress (August 1903) he indicated that he had 'forced the note' or 'took the stick bent by the Economists and bent it the other way.' The 1905 Revolution could only force him to underline *What is to Be Done?*'s historical function for a particular moment."
> —introduction to *Que Faire?* (1966)

Because all manner of reformists and centrists exploit Lenin's 1905 fight against apparatus conservatism for anti-Leninist purposes, it is extremely important to define precisely the issues of that dispute. What aspect or aspects of *What Is To Be Done?* did Lenin consider no longer relevant in 1905?

Lenin did *not* change his position on the relationship between consciousness and spontaneity. In 1905 and until his death, he maintained that the revolu-

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1905 Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

tionary vanguard party was uniquely the conscious expression of the historic interests of the proletariat. As we have pointed out, the April 1905 Bolshevik congress, where Lenin fought for a mass recruitment campaign, condemned the Mensheviks for "a general tendency to belittle the significance of consciousness, which they subordinate to spontaneity, in the proletarian struggle...." Lenin did not regard the "young fighters" and would-be recruits of 1905 as more politically advanced than the conservative Bolshevik committeemen. On the contrary, he insisted that the knowledgeable, hardened committeemen could and should raise the subjectively revolutionary "young fighters" to their own level.

Lenin did not water down the party's revolutionary program to attract more backward workers; he did not engage in demagogy. This is obvious from the passage quoted from "New Forces and New Tasks." He also did not believe that broad recruitment required a downgrading in the responsibility and discipline of membership. The April Bolshevik congress *replaced* the loose 1903 Martovite definition of membership with Lenin's postion on formal organizational participation. Nor did Lenin hold that the transformation of the Bolsheviks into a mass workers party should lead to a significant relaxation in organizational centralism. Throughout this period he reaffirmed his belief that centralism was a fundamental organizational principle of revolutionary social democracy. For example, in the article "The Jena Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party" (September 1905), he wrote:

> "It is important that the highly characteristic feature of this revision [of the SPD rules] should be stressed, i.e., the tendency toward further, more comprehensive and stricter application of the principle of *centralism*, the establishment of a stronger organization....
>
> "On the whole, this obviously shows that the growth of the Social-Democratic movement and of its revolutionary spirit necessarily and inevitably leads to the consistent establishment of centralism."

Building on the Foundations of What is To Be Done?

In what way then did Lenin regard *What Is To Be Done?* as inapplicable to the tasks facing the Bolsheviks in 1905? In 1905 Lenin advocated a lowering of the hitherto normal level of political experience and knowledge required for recruitment and also for leadership responsibilities. And this change was not so much in Lenin's concept of the vanguard party as in the consciousness of the Russian proletariat. In the underground conditions of 1902-03, only a small number of advanced workers would adhere to the revolutionary social-democratic program, risking imprisonment and exile, and accept the discipline of the newly formed and faction-ridden RSDRP. After Bloody Sunday tens of thousands of militant young workers and also radical petty bourgeois *wanted* to become revolutionary social democrats, insofar as they understood what this meant. Broad recruitment in 1902-03 would have smothered the revolutionary elements of the RSDRP under a mass of backward, Russian Orthodox, liberal-tsarist workers. In 1905 the solid Bolshevik cadre organization was capable of assimilating large numbers of radicalized, though politically raw, workers.

Lenin's mass recruitment policy in 1905 was neither a repudiation nor a correction of the principles expressed in *What Is To Be Done?* but was based on their *successful implementation*. A necessary *precondition* for a broad recruitment campaign during a revolutionary crisis is a politically homogeneous cadre organization. And Lenin explicitly states this in a passage that Cliff himself quotes, but refuses to understand or is incapable of understanding:

> "Danger may be said to lie in a sudden influx of large numbers of non-Social-Democrats into the Party. If that occurred, the Party would be dissolved among the masses, it would cease to be the conscious vanguard of the class, its role would be reduced to that of a tail. That would mean a very deplorable period indeed. And this danger *could* undoubtedly become a *very serious* one *if* we showed any inclination towards demagogy, if we lacked party principles (program, tactical rules, organizational experience), or if those principles were feeble and shaky. But the fact is that no such 'ifs' exist.... [W]e have demanded class-consciousness from those joining the Party, we have insisted on the tremendous importance of continuity in the Party's development, we have preached discipline and demanded that *every* Party member be trained in one or another of the Party organizations. We have a firmly established Party program which is officially recognized by all Social-Democrats and the fundamental propositions of which have not given rise to any criticism.... We have resolutions on tactics which were consistently worked out at the Second and Third Congresses and in the course of many years' work of the Social-Democratic press. We also have some organizational experience and an actual organization, which has played an educational role and has undoubtedly borne fruit...." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"The Reorganization of the Party" (November 1905)

A weak propaganda group or small, heterogeneous party which opens its gates during a revolutionary upsurge will be swamped by immature, impressionistic, volatile elements who will lead that party to disaster. This is precisely what happened to the German Spartacusbund of Luxemburg and Liebknecht in 1918-19. Lenin's Bolsheviks in 1905 were able to avoid the tragic fate of the Spartacusbund because they had constructed an organization according to the principles of *What Is To Be Done?* for the previous five years.

Unlike the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks were in a sense swamped by their mass of radicalized recruits. Under the impact of the deepening revolution, the Menshevik leadership in effect *split*. Martov's chief lieutenant, Theodore Dan, and Martynov (of all people) supported Trotsky's campaign for a "workers government." Martov and Plekhanov adhered to the official Menshevik position of abstaining from the struggle for governmental power. Thus the revolution of 1905 found the two most authoritative figures of Menshevism isolated on the right wing of their own tendency.

It is doubtful that Lenin believed the large majority of those recruited in 1905 would remain Bolsheviks over the long haul, particularly if the revolution failed (as it did) and a period of reaction set in. But among those first drawn to revolutionary struggle in 1905, it was difficult to distinguish the genuinely advanced elements from the politically backward or deviant, the serious-minded revolutionaries from those simply caught up in the excitement of the moment. Only time and internal struggle would sort out the future Bolsheviks recruited during the revolution from the accidental accretions. During the revolution of 1905 the real Bolshevik party remained the committeemen of the *Iskra* period; the new recruits were in effect candidate members.

Under normal conditions a revolutionary organization selects, educates and trains its members in good part before they join. This preparatory process often occurs through a transitional organization (e.g., women's section, youth group, trade-union caucus). But during a revolutionary upsurge such a relatively lengthy pre-recruitment period may well deprive the vanguard party of some of the best young fighters who want to play a full political role through party participation. Given a sufficiently large and solid core cadre, the vanguard party should seek to recruit all the seemingly healthy elements who embrace the revolutionary Marxist program as best they understand it. The process of selection and education then takes place internally.

Mass recruitment during a revolution represents in extreme form a general characteristic of party growth and development. The transition from a propaganda circle to a mass workers party is not a uniform, linear process. Periods of rapid growth and expansion into new milieus are typically followed by a period of consolidation, marked by a certain inward turning, leading to the crystallization of a new layer of cadre.

In June 1907 Lenin brought out a collection of his major writings entitled *Twelve Years*. At this time the Bolsheviks were still a mass, legal organization with an estimated membership of 45,000. The victory of tsarist reaction had not yet reduced the Bolsheviks to a relatively small underground network. The condition of the Bolsheviks in early 1907 and the situation they faced was thus very different from the Iskraists of 1902-03.

Lenin therefore had to explain and emphasize the historical context and immediate factional purpose of *What Is To Be Done?* In his preface to *Twelve Years*, Lenin observes that:

> "...the Economists had gone to one extreme. *What Is To Be Done?*, I said, straightens out what had been twisted by the Economists...."
>
> "The meaning of these words is clear enough: *What Is To Be Done?* is a controversial correction of Economist distortions and it would be wrong to regard the pamphlet in any other light."

Every rightist revisionist (e.g., Tony Cliff, J.-J. Marie) has leapt upon these few sentences, as if they were a dispensation from heaven, in order to claim that Lenin regarded *What Is To Be Done?* as an exaggerated and historically obsolete political statement. This is a fundamental distortion of Lenin's meaning. *What Is To Be Done?* appeared one-sided in 1907 because it dealt with the crystallization of an agitational party composed of professional revolutionaries out of a loose movement of propaganda circles. The 1902 polemic did not deal with the transformation of such an agitational organization into a mass workers party, nor with the problems and tasks of a mass revolutionary party.

In the same preface to *Twelve Years*, Lenin asserts that building an organization of professional revolutionaries is a necessary stage in constructing a mass revolutionary proletarian party, of which they will be the vital hard core. He pointed out that the committeemen of the *Iskra* period formed the basis of all subsequent Bolshevik organizations:

> "The question arises, who accomplished, who brought into being this superior unity, solidarity and stability of our Party. It was accomplished by the organization of professional revolutionaries, to the building of which *Iskra* made the greatest contribution. Anyone who knows our Party's history well, anyone who has had a hand in building the Party, has but to glance at the delegate list of any of the groups at, say, the [1907] London Congress, in order to be convinced of this and notice at once that it is a list of the old membership, the central core that had worked hardest of all to build up the Party and make it what it is."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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For Real Solidarity with the ILA

Dump the Contract—Strike for Jobs!

— Reprinted from "Longshore Militant" No. 33, 6 October

Brothers, the ILWU has a golden opportunity to defend and solidarize with the ILA strike. We should jump at the chance. Their fight against the shippers for job security is our fight. The action taken by the ILWU honoring the official ILA picket lines established in L.A. and Oakland against the U.S. Lines' ship *American Aquarius* represents an important though limited first step of solidarity. The effectiveness of this action, the first ILWU coast-wise action since the '71-'72 strike, shows the potential power of this union. The last time that East and West Coast maritime unions linked hands in strike action was 1946. That national maritime strike put an end to the labor "peace" imposed during World War II by the government with the help of the labor bureaucrats and won some of the greatest gains in the maritime union's history. A determined battle by the ILWU membership to carry through on the solidarity actions could lead to an equally important victory this time.

Extend the Action! Stop All Diverted Cargo!

The scope of the ILWU actions must be extended. The limitations imposed by the leadership undermine our effectiveness. When the ILA pickets were set up in Oakland, ILWU members were directed to work *behind the lines* but not on the *Aquarius* itself. In contrast, the IBT [Teamsters] and IAM [Machinists] refused to cross the line at all, helping to shut the whole operation down tight. This must be made official ILWU policy.

We must embargo *all* diverted cargo, not just that handled by "common employers." West Coast shippers must not be permitted to attack the ILA strike by arranging to move diverted cargo for the struck companies. Similarly, the shipowners cannot be allowed to circumvent the strike against container operations by using break-bulk handling methods. All diverted cargo—container, break-bulk and perishable—must be stopped.

Shut the Coast Down! Dump the Contract!

New Orleans longshoremen, recognizing the danger posed by Gleason exempting passenger ships, break-bulk, military and perishable cargo entirely, decided to go all the way and shut down all shipping to win what they need. They've got a point. The effective actions in L.A. and S.F. should be extended to draw the whole West Coast, from San Diego to Vancouver and Alaska, into strike action for what we need: jobs.

This is the ideal time to dump our own contract. The ILA is trying for its first ever coast-wise contract. So for the first time in years, East, South and Gulf port operations are being struck jointly. A solid West Coast strike would shut down all shipping and put the shipowners over a barrel. This is a rare chance to use the combined weight of a shutdown on both coasts as a tremendous lever to back up our demands.

We have nothing to lose and everything to gain. PMA [Pacific Maritime Association, the employers' association] has been nickel-and-diming us to death for years, slashing boards and gangs, depriving our disabled brothers of their right to earn a livelihood, cutting the PGP [Pay Guarantee Plan]. Now PMA is moving in for the kill. The current [ILWU] leadership-engineered transfers combined with the declaration of additional Low Work Opportunity Ports are directly setting the stage for mass deregistrations under the "unusual circumstances" layoff provision of Supplement 3. We all know that in S.F. alone PMA wants a thousand men permanently off the waterfront.

A West Coast strike now would have the maximum chance of defeating the employers. We could win what we need: jobs for all longshoremen through a sharply reduced workshift at no loss in pay, manning scales on all operations, and the abolition of steady categories with all Master Contract jobs dispatched through the hall. Confronted with the same drastic loss of jobs, the official demands of the ILA strike (which Gleason has no intention of carrying out) are: 32 hours work at 40 hours pay, wages up from $8 to $10 per hour, secure pensions and a fully funded guarantee.

"Solidarity Pact" Limits Effective Action

Herman and [ILWU International secretary-treasurer] McClain together with the entire Local 10 leadership will scream "impossible, illegal" at the proposal to dump the contract. They'll threaten us with dire consequences from injunctions. But that's the kind of thinking which has led them and Bridges before them to stand by with arms folded while PMA picked us to pieces.

The "new" International regime and their Local 10 hatchetmen want to keep ILWU solidarity actions to a strict minimum and under the tight control of the ILWU and ILA tops. They fear that the membership will take matters into their own hands and in the process cast them and their pro-company policies aside. The so-called "solidarity pact" is filled with Catch-22's to prevent effective membership action.

The provision that only pickets sanctioned by the International president will be honored is a club to be used against rebellious locals like New Orleans should they dare send pickets to the West Coast. [Local 10 business agent Herb] Mills stated flatly that the ILWU leadership would not honor rank and file picket lines when he led the pack at the last Executive Board in voting down our motion "... to honor any picket lines established by ILA members." And the provision that no solidarity actions will be mounted in violation of court orders or contracts is Herman/Gleason's pledge to run up the white flag of surrender in advance!

Elect Strike Committees!

The membership must seize this opportunity to act in solidarity with the ILA and go for our own demands. Longshoremen and clerks in every port should elect strike committees from boards, gangs, stewards councils, etc., in order to avoid being trapped by the restrictive policies of the leadership and to be prepared to ensure membership control of the union. Coordinated action between the ILWU and ILA, calling on the seamen's unions to join us, can defeat government/employer attacks, including a Taft-Hartley injunction. You can't load ships without longshoremen. The time for action has come. We must strike now in order to win the jobs which are every worker's right.

For a Joint ILA/ILWU Strike...

(continued from page 12)

bly try to bankrupt.

An industry-wide dock strike of all cargo must be organized around the demand of guaranteed jobs for all longshoremen. Canadian ports must be closed as well, since both Halifax, Nova Scotia and St. John, New Brunswick have already handled diverted U.S. cargo and shippers plan to use Montreal's extensive facilities in the event of a protracted strike. Gleason stated however that the strike would not be expanded without calling local presidents or the approval of the ILA Executive Council.

In order to overturn Gleason's no-win policies, ILA militants must elect strike committees to organize mass picketing and challenge the union bureaucracy's "leadership" of the strike. The militant solidarity of the two New Orleans locals has won the temporary support of local bureaucrats at least to the extent of opening the hall to the strikers and providing official picket signs. So far even the International has refrained from openly condemning the complete shutdown of the port, although an International representative was scheduled to speak to the Local 1418 membership today.

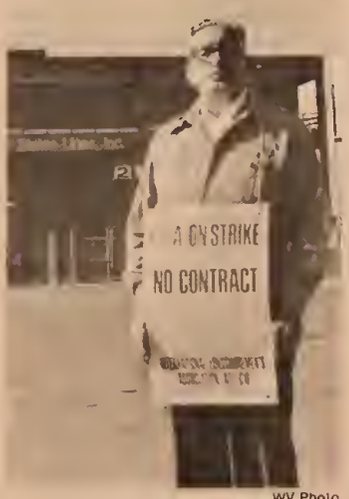
One Local 1419 member told *WV* he was certain that Gleason's flunky would attempt to exploit the color divisions between the two locals. Local 1419, almost entirely black, has 2,500 members to Local 1418's 650 white members. The traditional militancy of these locals, despite their bureaucratically maintained segregation, does not lessen the urgency of abolishing all forms of Jim Crow unionism.

A militant ILA dock strike totally shutting down East and Gulf Coast ports around demands for full employment on the waterfront would find great support in the seamen's unions and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), which have also seen their membership rolls slashed by automation. (See accompanying article on reaction to the ILA strike among West longshoremen). All North American ports must be shut down tight in a joint maritime and waterside workers strike.

Another decisive question facing ILA strikers is government intervention. Although President Carter has not yet dictated an 80-day "cooling off period," Wayne Horvitz, the director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service is shuttling between the ILA negotiators and the shippers' association, and a no-strike injunction remains a threat. Since the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act was passed in 1947, 12 of the anti-strike injunctions issued from the White House have concerned maritime strikes.

In part, Gleason's order to handle non-containerized cargo has minimized Carter's concern over the danger of a longshore strike since the effects of tying up only containerized freight will not be felt for several weeks. Longshoremen must be prepared to resist all forms of government strikebreaking measures, from limitations on picketing to back-to-work orders.

But no such militancy can be expected from the gangster-ridden ILA bureaucracy. Militants in the once-powerful waterfront unions can defend their jobs and their unions only through a united struggle on all three coasts, beginning with the fight to oust the treacherous leaders of the maritime unions. ■



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ILA picket in front of United States Lines terminal in Oakland.

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Steel...

(continued from page 3)

estic industry has been forced to give buyers discounts from listed prices.

In fact, Balanoff's program of government investigation of steel prices has already been carried out, by Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability. The CWPS study found, not surprisingly, that it was the higher prices of American-made steel products that were responsible for a significant loss of the domestic market. However, the reason for this was not monopoly superprofits, but the higher costs of the inefficient American industry. And the conclusion which the bourgeoisie draws from this—rationalizing production, closing down marginal facilities, elimination of thousands of jobs, and driving down the living standards of the workforce—is of no comfort to steel workers.

The monopoly price-fixing claim is simply an attempt by Balanoff to maintain a semblance of anti-protectionist rhetoric without going beyond the bounds of trade-union reformism. By denying the acute character of the crisis in steel, Sadlowski/Balanoff excuse themselves from undertaking a militant fight against the bosses. The last thing these servile bureaucrats want is what is really necessary—plant occupations and an industry-wide strike against the mass layoffs, politically challenging U.S. capitalism, which seeks to reorganize its steel industry on the backs of the American working class.

But these reformist gimmicks simply lack credibility and already a number of oppositional bureaucrats have begun to defect towards protectionism. Ed Mann is not the only such "leader" to capitulate to McBride's policies. Recently John Chico, president of Local 65 and a prominent Sadlowski supporter, announced that he felt the "local should back restrictions on imports of products similar to South Works'" (*Daily Calumet*, 3 September). It is not accidental that Mann and Chico are among the first defections: Mann is from Youngstown, which has been hard hit by the layoffs, and Chico is from U.S. Steel's South Works, threatened by a plant closing. Certainly the pressures to capitulate to protectionism are most intense in those areas.

The logic of the situation is clear. McBride has a "program" for jobs—protectionism. It is chauvinist and reactionary to the core. Even were it realized, there would still be more plant closings and the institution of more brutal forms of exploitation designed to make the American steel industry profitable. But McBride's opponents have absolutely no alternative.

The Sadlowski/Balanoff bureaucrats were able to win support among a considerable number of steel workers who mistakenly believe their occasional rhetoric about the importance of the strike weapon. Were there ever a time to strike—with thousands of jobs hanging in the balance—it is now.

But they will not lead that fight. They did not challenge Abel and McBride in the past, and they will not do so now, when they are confronted not only by the steel bosses but by the entire American bourgeoisie, who cannot make concessions to steel workers without precipitating a further wrenching decline of U.S. imperialism. The fake oppositionists would rather crawl back to McBride than fight capitalism.

The beginning of the disintegration of the Sadlowski/Balanoff wing of the bureaucracy is an important confirmation of the bankruptcy of these reformists. Contrary to the claims of the fake leftists, whose left-wing apologists claimed that they represented a "class-struggle" alternative to Abel/McBride, their differences with the class-collaborationist USWA tops have never been qualitative. Of greater significance than the squabbling that separated them was their mutual defense of the capitalist order.

The Sadlowski/Balanoff "opposition" was nothing but an election device for out-bureaucrats. There are only two real choices that confront steel workers. One is the abject class-collaborationism and vicious protectionism most clearly expressed by McBride. The other is the path of bitter class struggle against capitalism. ■

Steel for Peace?

While top bureaucrats of the United Steelworkers join the American steel trust in demanding protectionist import curbs, the Sadlowski fake-oppositionists call for "anti-monopoly" price rollbacks. But perhaps the most bizarre quack scheme to save steel workers' jobs without fighting capitalism comes from the Communist Party (CP), which calls for "Steel for Peace." The CP's *Ohio Steelworker* (October 1977) admonishes in its inaugural issue.

> **"Less than 2 percent of U.S. steel production goes into ordnance and other military items.**
> **"The arms race is a major reason for the stagnation of the steel industry and the reduction of many steel communities to ghost towns....**
> **"Armaments use less steel than non-military goods."**

The *Ohio Steelworker* calls for "an end to the arms race, for disarmament and a policy of peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries and democratic, no-strings-attached aid to the developing countries. This would provide a different framework within which the steel industry could operate—one that helps it, not hinders it."

Over the years, the Communist Party USA, sometimes confused with the Kremlin's trade agency Amtorg, has proferred détente as a cure for just about every social ill of American capitalism. Blurbs in the *Daily World* proclaim "Détente Means Jobs." At one point Soviet wheat deals were supposed to save the Midwest farmer from financial ruin. And last year the cynical Stalinists outdid themselves in an article entitled "WEATHER HIGHLIGHTS BENEFITS OF DETENTE." It began:

> **"As the worst cold in 100 years gripped the Eastern U.S. this week, many were asking: Is the climate changing? Is a new Ice Age coming? Will the crazy weather patterns ruin farmers' crops?**
>
> **"U.S.-Soviet detente is essential for answering these questions."**
> **—*Daily World*, 29 January 1977**

The CP's "Steel for Peace" pitch is only the latest in these reformist hustles. While the CP-supported National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee maintains that, "Contrary to the massive propaganda on this question, steel imports are NOT rising," in the last year imported steel has risen from 14.5 percent of U.S. consumption (1976) to an estimated 18 percent in 1977. The sharp crisis of American steel is not a monopoly plot but the result of old-fashioned capitalist competition between U.S. and Japanese imperialism.

Challenged by a qualitatively more efficient competitor, the American steel industry will not be saved by Soviet trade contracts any more than by protectionist legislation. More fundamentally, the Stalinist ploy is an attempt to convince steel workers that there is a solution to their problems without overthrowing the capitalist system. But as any crusty Pentagon dinosaur could suggest, a new fleet of battleships or perhaps a few thousand heavy tanks would also generate plenty of demand for American steel.

Communists do not hoodwink the workers. The current steel crisis is the product of powerful forces inherent in the capitalist system. The ultimate conclusion of the protectionist legislation pushed by the steel bosses and USWA bureaucrats alike is imperialist war. While McBride & Co. say "Buy American" and the CP says "Buy Soviet," class-struggle militants in the Steelworkers say "Dump *all* the bureaucrats and fight for a workers government which will do away with the profit-hungry robber barons once and for all!"

Stop the Witchhunt Against Puerto Rican Nationalists!

Demonstrators gathered outside the Manhattan Correction Center September 26 to demand an end to the grand jury witchhunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement and immediate release of Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned for refusing to cooperate with the "investigations." More than 30 people came out on a miserable rainy day to the demonstration called by the New York Committee to End Grand Jury Repression. Inside the jail prisoners cheered the demonstrators and waved a Puerto Rican flag from an upper-story window in solidarity.

Along with supporters of the New York-based committee, those participating included the Spartacist League (SL), the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and members of the prisoners' families. SL signs demanded, "Down with Grand Jury Witchhunts Against Puerto Rican Militants," "Independence for Puerto Rico" and "For United Defense Against Imperialist Attacks on Independence Movements." The protestors were extensively photographed by the NYC police.

Under the guise of investigating a series of bombings attributed to the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN—Armed Forces of National Liberation), the U.S. government is using the grand jury to conduct a fishing expedition directed against the entire Puerto Rican independence movement. To date eight people have been imprisoned, not one of them accused of having the remotest connection with the FALN. Their only "crime" has been a refusal to testify before this kangaroo court.

Two women imprisoned last February, Raisa Nemikin and Maria Cueto, members of the Episcopal Church National Commission on Hispanic Affairs (see "Grand Jury Witchhunts Puerto Rican Nationalists," *WV* No. 148, 11 March 1977) are still in jail. Five others were interned last month. José López, Robert Caldero and Pedro Archuleta were arrested in Chicago. And on August 17, Julio Andrés and Luis Rosado were given nine-month sentences for refusing to provide fingerprints, palm prints, handwriting and voice samples to the New York grand jury. All three were long-time activists in the nationalist movement.

While the Episcopal Church Hispanic Commission has been the grand jury's main focus, many other groups, including the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, have been targeted as well. On August 4 in New York David Perez was jailed on charges of possession of weapons the police say were found in a Bronx apartment raided the day after two NYC bombing attempts. Perez, a former defense minister of the Young Lords, is not charged with any crimes connected to the bombings or even of connections with the FALN. His misfortune was to visit the apartment, where police say there were stickers bearing such slogans as "Free the Five Nationalist Prisoners," "Support the FALN," and "Stop the Grand Jury."

WV Photo

Marxists oppose individual terrorism as an impotent strategy of despair, based on a lack of confidence in the revolutionary potential of the working class. U.S. imperialist domination of Puerto Rico will not be ended by blowing up a few banks. Moreover, some of the bombings attributed to the FALN, such as the 1975 bombing of the Fraunces Tavern (in which four people were killed), and the recent explosion in the personnel office of the Mobil Oil Company during working hours (resulting in the death of an innocent bystander), are utterly criminal acts of indiscriminate terror whose victims are not enemies of the working class.

But the present grand jury witchhunt is a bald attempt to break up the Puerto Rican independence movement. Despite their misguided terrorist and nationalist politics, the FALN and all fighters for Puerto Rican independence must be defended against imperialist repression. The SL and PDC demand the immediate release of all those who refused to testify, that charges against David Perez be dropped and the grand jury/FBI witchhunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement be halted!

Bakke...

(continued from page 5)

blacks seek democratic rights. The Supreme Court will not challenge the *formal* notion of black equality, nor will it decisively strip away the formal conception that "race can be a factor" in deciding admissions policy. But in a sense Bakke has already won. Special admissions are on the decline; very few new programs are in the offing. Rita Clancy, for instance, is already in Davis Medical School on the basis of a suit similar to Bakke's. New Jersey has just dumped its special admissions program.

In a larger sweep, too, the bourgeoisie is at war with the aberrant use of the courts to redress economic and social injustice. It is in fact the courts' real role to help the capitalists enforce economic and social injustice. It is important to realize that the stated adversaries in the Bakke case seem in fact to be in collusion. The University of California Regents have taken the case to the Supreme Court intentionally without buttressing their case with examples of their own past discrimination, as in the 1954 Brown case. Clearly, the Regents want to wash their hands of the special admissions program which they are ostensibly defending against the Bakke appeal.

In many ways the Bakke decision presents a very different legal situation from the doctrine of "separate but equal." For the bourgeoisie is not now looking for an open juridical assertion of racial inequality. Whether or not Bakke is overturned, there already exists a doctrine of "reverse discrimination." The courts need no stated doctrine to establish it, for it is already established in economic and social reality. All the courts need to do is to narrow the basis of legal remedy offered in the civil rights cases of the 1950's and 1960's and the job is done. And that they are doing, with recent rulings against busing and districting. The court has ruled that the effect of racism is not the business of the court, that racist *intent* must be proved. Thus segregation in northern ghettos gets sharper and sharper while the lines between city and suburb get more and more inviolable for purposes of desegregagion. This the court declares is not "intent," but the normal workings of society—and they are right. This is how American capitalist society works to oppress blacks and other minorities: the making of a reserve labor pool forced to live under unspeakably miserable conditions.

In all of these cases which argue that "intent" must be shown in order to make racial oppression the business of the courts, the rights of black people to social equality are maintained in the abstract. Therefore blacks have an "equal opportunity" to education, but can't be bused across school district lines to get it. Blacks have an equal opportunity to become nuclear physicists if they are "qualified." They have an equal opportunity to housing if they can afford it, and so on. The real oppression of blacks exists in their forced segregation as a caste at the bottom of the working class. There can never be equality unless there is economic equality.

What the civil rights laws would make possible, the liberals said, was the way out of those wretched ghettos. But those laws are sanctifying the situation that exists. The ruling on "intent" does not formally annul the civil rights acts, but it renders them empty. Courts cannot long be an instrument of social change removed from a political base for that change.

Thus what we have is a steady erosion of the social content of the civil rights laws, in the direction of abstract formal statements of blacks' rights to equality with no legal remedy to attain those rights. In this sense the Bakke decision and the effect of other recent decisions is closer to the Dred Scott case of 1857 than to "separate but equal." In the case of Dred Scott, the runaway slave had an abstract right to freedom in the North but could not successfully gain his freedom through a suit in the courts. Thus, he was declared to have a "right" but offered no mechanism to enforce that right when it was violated.

Similarly, the norm for bourgeois democracy is that blacks are formally legally equal but are in fact separate and unequal.

What is most ironic is the way in which the liberals, the reformists and their "left" tails evidence shock and dismay at the actions of the courts—because the capitalist courts are now acting just like capitalist courts. Reformists like the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party have set up the masses of oppressed blacks as victims for the present reaction, and now respond as if it is the courts who have betrayed. But it is not the courts who have betrayed their role as a cog in the racist machinery of the capitalist state. It is the reformists who have betrayed, by seeking to bind the black masses to their sworn enemies.

Having colluded with the capitalist state to ensure the continuing powerlessness of America's desperate black population, the reformists have nothing to offer except more of the same defeats. Especially today, even reforms—and certainly a major reform in the direction of black equality, such as school desegregation—cannot be accomplished in America without a struggle for proletarian revolution. Is it not beyond insult for Jimmy Carter to go slumming amid the ruins of the South Bronx, to contemplate the building of a playground here upon this square mile of rubble, to offer funds for a renovated building on this city block of abandoned burnt-out shells? What about jobs for the unemployed minority youth? What about social services, housing? The fact is that Carter's public relations stunt is among the crueler statements of a president who faced down poor women protesting the denial of federal funds for abortion with the aphorism, "Life isn't fair." Well, life certainly isn't fair in Carter's America for the black, the poor, the workers—despite Constitutional "guarantees" to the contrary. The decay of the ghettos, and the junking of an entire generation of black youth, is irreversible under capitalism. Billionaire business leader J.B. Fuqua, Carter's good friend, presented Carter's "philosophy" for blacks with rare candor:

> "Philosophically, we're going to have to face the fact that many people in this country are no longer profitable to employ. [Blacks] are the least capable of producing in today's society. You park a certain percentage of them—like antiquated machinery—and you support them through welfare...which we're doing. They say they haven't had the opportunities, but that doesn't change things. The fact is many are not productive; they're just not as skillful as whites."
>
> —*New York Magazine*, 26 September

Not even a significant reform can be wrested from capitalism except through the class struggle. The road to black liberation has always been through socialist revolution. But even reforms that will make any real difference must be signposts along the same road. ■

Nuclear Power...

(continued from page 3)

(*Scientific American*, June 1977). Moreover, scientists are increasingly worried about the effects of the accumulation of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere; the "greenhouse effect" is thought to be capable of producing severe climactic changes.

The volume of radioactive waste (and the number of lethal dosages) produced by nuclear power plants are small compared to the total volume of poisons produced by U.S. industry. Most of these poisons do not afford the advantage of decay to a benign state. Chemical poisons such as sulfur dioxide, barium and arsenic are not buried in underground vaults: arsenic is used as a herbicide and is routinely scattered on the ground in food-growing regions; sulfur dioxide is contained in stack effluents.

M.A. and B.C. accuse us of inconsistency. They say that the Spartacist League "does oppose the dangers which mine operations pose to workers....Similarly, it should oppose nuclear fission reactors." We suggest, however, that the inconsistency is theirs. Our immediate response to unsafe industrial conditions is to call for trade-union control of safety, not the destruction of an industry. In fact, if we were to adopt our critics' methodology, we should call for an end to coal mining. Such a demand would certainly do little for our authority with the most combative section of the U.S. proletariat.

It is certainly difficult to pick and choose among the various ways by which capitalism offers to poison us. But the fundamental point is that the choice is not ours and we assume no responsibility for it. We will assume responsibility for technology when our class holds state power, and not before.

One final issue raised by M.A. and B.C. must be dealt with. They accuse us of specious reasoning, empirically stating that we dismiss the dangers of nuclear fission reactors by comparing them with the threat posed by nuclear weapons. They have missed the political point.

The anti-nuclear power movement is politically dangerous precisely because it distracts the proletariat from the struggle against the imperialists armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons. While screaming their heads off about the ominous perils of leaky reactor cores, the anti-nuke protestors are oblivious to the hundreds of kilograms of plutonium the U.S. bourgeoisie explodes yearly to perfect weapons systems aimed at maintaining its class rule, and to the tens of thousands of kilograms of plutonium sitting in warheads, some flying overhead, the firing of which is in the hands of the Nixons, Fords and Carters.

Further, as Trotskyists committed to the unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialism, we support the continued development of nuclear weaponry and delivery systems by these states, including the necessary testing of such weapons despite the radioactive substances this introduces into the "ecosystem." The reason is quite simple. Without these weapons, the U.S. would long ago have consigned Moscow, Peking and Hanoi to the fate of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In this case, "the existence of one risk" does "justify [indeed, it compels] the introduction of another even if of apparent lesser magnitude."

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September 9-October 14

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Chicago	475	457	96%	S.F.	280	322½	115%
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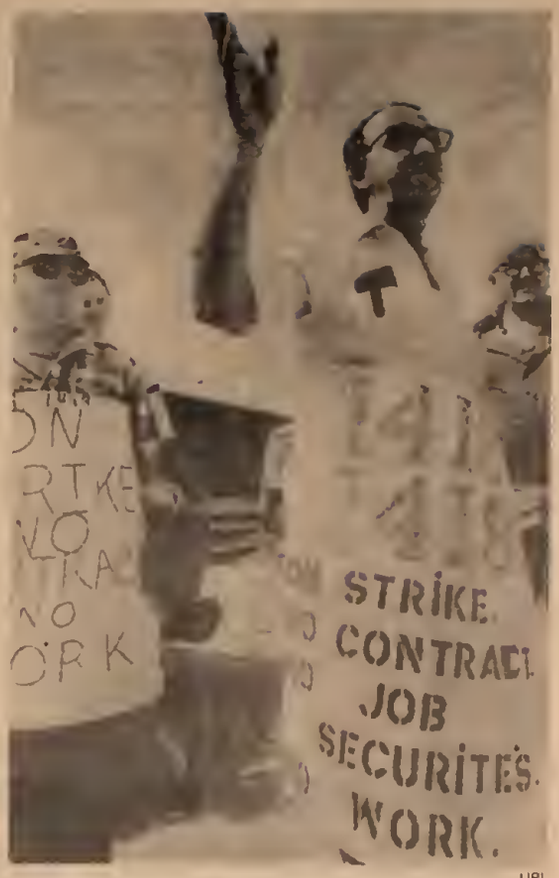
WORKERS VANGUARD

Shut Down All North American Ports!



ILA strikers in New Orleans.

UPI

New Orleans Dock Wildcat 100% Solid

OCTOBER 11—Ships remained idle in ports from Maine to Texas in the second week of a strike by 50,000 members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The victory of this strike and the very future of the union, however, remain in grave danger due to the misleadership of ILA president Thomas Gleason, whose spineless policies spell defeat for thousands of dockworkers who face unemployment as a result of automation and government intervention in the union.

The strike affects only containerized freight. Gleason has exempted non-containerized "break bulk" cargo on conventional freighters and passenger ships, as well as military goods and perishable items which longshoremen are continuing to handle. Militants must demand that ILA leaders observe the first rule of trade unionism—no contract, no work—and immediately pull all ILA members off the docks regardless of the cargo!

Workers in New Orleans, the nation's second largest port, have taken this fundamental step to win the strike. On October 8, locals 1418 and 1419 defied Gleason for the third time in eight days by voting to continue a complete shutdown of the port. On September 30, members of these locals refused to handle break bulk cargo such as steel, wood, and grain which constitute 75 percent of the city's port freight. At a second meeting on October 4, local hacks got as far as moving and seconding a proposal to comply with Gleason's selective strike when "pandemonium broke out in the hall," according to one member present at the meeting. Local president Wilfred Daliet left the meeting under police escort. A Local 1419 member told *WV*, "The majority of the membership knew that we were being railroaded"; and the angry ranks demanded a secret ballot to determine the future course of the strike. On October 8 the membership voted 804 to 504 to keep the port shut tight.

Despite complaints from local bureaucrats that the general strike is the work of a minority, the shutdown has been solidly supported. At a meeting on October 10, Local 1419 voted unanimously to level a $500 fine against any longshoreman who crosses a picket line. More than 100 militants picket daily and there is no shortage of volunteers to picket at the "hot spots" where scabs have tried to pass in previous strikes. *WV* learned that other Gulf ports are completely closed as well, including Mobile, Alabama; four banana boats remain stranded off Gulfport, Mississippi.

In addition to a $2/hour wage increase, maintaining work gang sizes and reduced working hours, the chief demand of the ILA is a national contract provision to guarantee a minimum annual income for longshoremen along the entire Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Such guarantees have been negotiated locally in the past, and shippers, particularly in South Atlantic and Gulf ports are reluctant to share this expense with companies in mid-Atlantic and Northeast ports. The southern companies especially want to avoid contributing to New York's "guaranteed annual income" (GAI) fund which in the 1974 contract assured longshoremen 2080 hours pay per year and cost $35 million to maintain.

The GAI funds were established to compensate the union for the massive loss of jobs due to containerization. Since 1966 when containers were first used for foreign trade, dock productivity has rocketed from one ton of cargo per man-hour to as much as 300 tons! Containerization of shipping has accounted for more than 28,000 jobs lost since the mid-1950's in the New York-New Jersey port alone, and the shipping industry expects the total number of containers to double in ten years.

Prior to 1975, all stuffing and stripping of containers within 50 miles of the docks had to be performed by ILA members. Violations resulted in heavy fees paid to the union. However, a court ruling last spring struck down the 50-mile provision of the ILA contract, putting the GAI funds and thousands of longshore jobs in immediate jeopardy. With the union's back to the wall, Gleason's "answer" is to create a national fund, so as to spread the financial cost to southern shippers. While this is a supportable demand, it will not save the "pay guarantee" as recent experience with the West Coast ILWU plan shows.

At a minimum, ILA militants must demand that the GAI benefits be equalized coast-wide at the highest (New York) level. In order to prevent the loss of thousands of jobs annually and the eventual destruction of the union, the strike demands must include a drastically shortened workweek at no loss in pay—guaranteed in the contract rather than dependent on the "royalties" of a fund which the employers will predicta-

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For a Joint ILA/ILWU Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO, October 9—The longshore ranks of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) now have a rare opportunity to link up with their class brothers on the East and Gulf Coasts, where much shipping is already tied up by the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). A total shutdown of all West Coast shipping, in solidarity with the East and Gulf Coast strikers, is essential to reverse the employers' offensive and fight for urgently needed jobs through a shorter workshift at no loss in pay. But the fake "mutual aid agreement" between the ILWU's president Jimmy Herman and the ILA's president Teddy Gleason is designed to *derail* real solidarity through a token show of solidarity followed by retreat.

The Gleason/Herman agreement is reminiscent of the 1971 "strike alliance" between Gleason and Harry Bridges. That "alliance" was deliberately destroyed from the beginning by the Gleason/Bridges agreement to obey government injunctions:

> "As soon as the Taft-Hartley injunction was issued, Bridges whipped the ILWU back to work, leaving the ILA out alone. The government very soon afterwards issued a series of injunctions to get the ILA ports back to work. Then Gleason made his separate peace with the employers, leaving the ILWU to go out alone. When the Taft-Hartley injunction against the ILWU expired on December 25, Bridges kept the union at work for another three weeks before striking again. Barely three weeks after the renewal of the strike with major issues unsettled, Bridges urged his men back to work, hoping to avoid striking after February 14 when the Taft-Hartley injunction on the East Coast expired. Meanwhile Gleason even offered to work 30 days beyond February 14 to ensure no overlap of strikes on both coasts. The 'strike alliance' announced in late October by Bridges/Gleason is their alliance against a unified longshore strike on both coasts."
> —*WV* No. 6, March 1972

The agreement between Gleason and Bridges' hand-picked successor Herman has the same legal limitations. Thus, according to the agreement, each union can respect each other's picket lines only if this is "part of a bona fide dispute with a common employer" and is "officially sanctioned and approved" by the International leadership and if "the picket line is not established in violation of a court order or collective bargaining agreement to the contrary" ([ILWU] *Dispatcher*, 23 September).

So far the solidarity has been token at best, with Gleason limiting his strikers to container lines. The ILA strikers hit the West Coast last week by tying up the U.S. Lines container ship *American Aquarius* in Los Angeles and then in the San Francisco/Bay Area/Oakland port. A few other ships in Oakland, L.A. and Seattle have also reportedly been halted. Immediately the employers challenged the legality of the picket lines and the two sides went to arbitration. In L.A. (Long Beach) the arbitrator ruled that ILWU joint action was legal, while in the Bay Area arbitrator Armon Barsinian ruled on October 6 that it was illegal. While the ILWU continues to honor the picket lines in the Bay Area, there is every indication that the "solidarity" will be withdrawn by the International as soon as the legal appeals are exhausted.

But longshoremen cannot hang their jobs on the good will of the capitalist government. A leaflet (printed on page 9) issued by the "Longshore Militant," a class-struggle opposition in ILWU Local 10, points the way forward to victory in this strike. Only in the struggle for a workers government can longshoremen permanently exorcise the plague of unemployment. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 178 21 October 1977

Terror in the Air, Blood in the Jails

The German Kill

Der Spiegel

Armored personnel carrier guarding government building in Bonn after recent kidnapping.

AP

Hijacked West German jet being refueled at Rome airport.

OCTOBER 18—As we go to press, sensational developments surrounding the West German "Red Army Faction" (RAF) terrorists continue to hit the front pages of the mass media. First the raid by West German "federal border police" commandos in Mogadishu, Somalia to reclaim a Lufthansa airliner hijacked last Thursday by four terrorists claiming sympathy with the imprisoned RAF leaders brought a spectacular ending to the ordeal of the aircraft's 86 passengers. Hard on the heels of the commando raid, the West German authorities announced the death under incredibly suspicious circumstances of three of the RAF prisoners and the injury of a fourth in the super-maximum-security Stammheim prison in what is described as a "suicide pact."

News reports on these latest developments are still contradictory, but whatever the ultimate conclusions, the central fact remains the West German bourgeoisie's vicious witchhunting assault on the elementary democratic rights of leftist and liberal opponents of the government's reign of terror and intimidation.

The October 13 hijacking, apparently carried out by four persons in some unclear connection with the RAF kidnapping of West German industrialist and former Nazi Hanns Martin Schleyer, was an indefensible act of criminal terrorism against a random group of people who had committed no crime. These people became the helpless pawns of a crazed gang which seized the aircraft in Mallorca and, after various stops and an attempt to land in Dhofar (!), landed in Somalia where they tossed out the body of the plane's pilot whom they had killed. Threatening repeatedly to blow up the aircraft, they almost turned the passenger compartment into an inferno after dousing it with gasoline.

The hijacking was, moreover, an act of consummate stupidity in which a handful of terrorists chose to go up against a maximally determined bourgeoisie possessing enormous physical and military resources. This enabled the cynical West German government to mobilize the overwhelming bulk of public opinion against the terrorists—not only the ad-

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Bonn Whips Up Anti-Red Hysteria After Schleyer Kidnapping

"Anti-Terrorist" Witchhunt in West Germany

Following the assassinations of Federal Republic chief prosecutor Siegfried Buback and Dresdner Bank head Jürgen Ponto, West German ruling circles are using the kidnapping of the president of the manufacturers' association, former SS officer Hanns Martin Schleyer, as a further pretext for government repression against the left and for measures to "drain the anarchists' intellectual swamp, the universities." The government has fostered a civil-war atmosphere—replete with sandbags, barbed-wire barricades and tanks of the border police "guarding" ministries and the homes of prominent politicians—as if it were a last-ditch defense of the Winter Palace, or the Russian storming of Berlin in 1945. Simultaneously an attempt is being made to convince "Mr. Average Citizen" that *he* could be the next victim of an attack or kidnapping, "just like Schleyer."

While bourgeois propagandists seek to inundate the country by radio, television and tons of newsprint filled with the garbage of bourgeois moralism, the state is taking action. a partial news blackout—veiled censorship—on the Schleyer abduction is only the beginning. The government is prepared in effect to declare its own laws null and void (as Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt euphemistically put it, "going to the limits of what is permitted and dictated by legal norms") when it is a question of suppressing left-wing opposition. The governing Social Democratic/Free Democrat (SPD/FDP) coalition is attempting to bolster its popularity ratings by appearing just a hair's breadth more "respectable" than the most extreme suggestions of the Christian Democratic (CDU/CSU) opposition, which are themselves daily becoming more outrageous. Recently the CDU fraction in the Bundestag (lower house of parliament) introduced a proposal to outlaw the leading Maoist organizations in West Germany.

Schmidt is visibly enjoying his role as "anti-terrorist" crisis manager (as opposed to his role as *economic* crisis manager). Following the Schleyer kidnapping the state has forbidden any contact between the Red Army Faction (RAF—commonly referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang") prisoners and their lawyers, and intends in the future to put leftists behind bars on the mere suspicion of being terrorists ("preventive custody"). It is now discussing preventive detention even of individuals with only one criminal conviction and is excluding politically committed lawyers from defending left-wing political prisoners. The latest accomplishment of bourgeois class jus-

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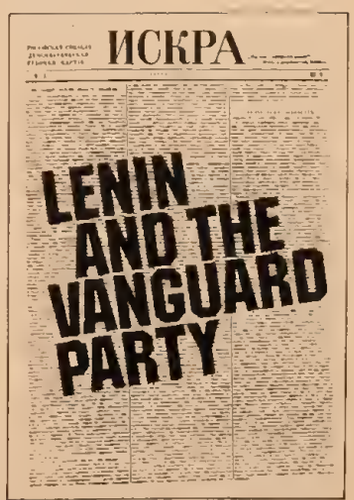
PART 4



Party, Faction and "Freedom of Criticism"

Page 6

Reformists Push "Affirmative Action" in Anti-Bakke Demos

On October 12 the U.S. Supreme Court began hearing arguments on the "Bakke decision"—the California state supreme court ruling undercutting a "special admissions" program for minority students at the University of California's Davis Medical School. In the days before the first court session on the case, demonstrations were held across the country to demand that this reactionary decision be overturned.

Now that state-enforced school desegregation programs have been scuttled by the liberals, "no reverse discrimination" has replaced "no forced busing" as the war cry of racist, anti-democratic forces. The legal suit by 35-year-old white engineer Allan Bakke is currently a focus for the right-wing mobilization. The plaintiff's lawyer, Reynold Colvin, explained his client's complaint: "Allan Bakke's position is that he has a right...not to be discriminated against by reason of his race." Bakke's concrete grievance is that at the time he was rejected by Davis, 16 out of 100 openings had been specifically reserved for minority applicants.

Bakke's target is the "special admissions" policies that have provided a real—though extremely minimal—gain in educational opportunities for the victims of racial oppression. Bakke is not protesting against the ordinary admissions policies that opened the doors of Davis to the son of a politically influential surgeon, the sons of two state legislators and the daughter-in-law of a former school chancellor—well-connected applicants whose grades were substantially below the standard admissions requirements (*Daily World*, 14 October). The crux of Bakke's legal case was stated by Colvin: "The use of race as a basis for admission to a medical school or the exercise of other rights is an improper measure." The political import of the case is another blow against the oppressed in favor of the presumed "impartiality" of the racist status quo which condemns black youth to semi-literacy and chronic unemployment.

The bourgeois liberal myth that the United States is a color-blind meritocracy in which all have (in Colvin's words) "the right to equal competition" is the time-worn justification for ghettoization, lumpenization and degrading oppression of racial minorities. The flap over "racism in reverse" serves as an ideological bridge between the overt reactionaries and the mainstream liberals who capitulate to them.

Bakke's liberal opponents (and their leftist camp followers) undercut any possibility of a real fight against racial oppression by peddling the dangerous illusion that the federal government, especially the judiciary, is the ally and partisan of the oppressed. As McGovernite columnist Anthony Lewis noted of the courtroom debate between Bakke's lawyer and liberal idol Archibald Cox, "The whole argument was a testament to that most amazing feature of the American system, the reliance on judges to decide great social issues" (*New York Times*, 13 October). The Carter administration has also intervened (as "friend of the court") with a general argument in favor of the minority admissions plan. But in fact the courts are now in full retreat from any semblance of social reform and have lately issued a virtually unbroken string of reactionary decisions.

The demonstrations called by the National Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD) sought to link opposition to this racist move with support for government union-busting "affirmative action" schemes which manipulate blacks' legitimate anger against racist union bureaucrats into a club against the unions themselves. The NCOBD reformists refuse to fight for a program to provide real educational opportunities for racial minorities and the poor through open admissions with full stipend. They also reject any mobilization for labor action against racial discrimination through a fight within the unions against the pro-capitalist union tops. Rather, they simply maneuver for favor with the liberal Democrats, whose real aim is to increase direct government control over the unions through court-ordered racial-quota hiring and firing plans in industry.

Because their reformist strategy is based on cajoling and pressuring the more "progressive" sectors of the ruling class, NCOBD's backers—such as the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—see no difference between supportable reforms like university special admissions programs and government-inspired destruction of union seniority rights. Thus the SWP's *Militant* (14 October) says, "The real issue is enforcing the affirmative action programs won by the civil rights and feminist struggles and pressing forward to full equality." And the CP's *Daily World* (9 October) terms *Bakke* "a case which could decide the fate of affirmative action programs in all aspects of American life." Virtually alone on the left, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) demands the overturn of the Bakke decision while opposing government "affirmative action" as an assault on the independence of the unions.

WV Photo

Cops defend Nazi counter-demonstrators at anti-Bakke rally in Oakland.

WV Photo

SL/SYL marchers protest the "Bakke decision" at 8 October demonstration in Washington.

Demonstrators Oppose Bakke Ruling

Of the demonstrations organized in various cities on October 8, the San Francisco Bay Area march was the largest, drawing about 1,500 people in Oakland. The march was endorsed by a conglomeration of groups and individuals, including the local Democratic Party machine and a number of union locals. Several small American Federation of Teachers (AFT) locals also showed up despite the pro-Bakke position of AFT International president Albert Shanker. The SL/SYL was represented by a contingent of about 50 people, including unionists from ILWU and UAW locals in the area. The SL/SYL banner read: "DOWN WITH THE BAKKE DECISION! For Open Admissions with a State-Paid Stipend! For Union-Run Minority Job Recruitment/Upgrading! Not Government Union-Busting Affirmative Action!"

Before the Oakland march began, the NCOBD marshalls objected to the SL/SYL's defense of union independence against anti-labor "affirmative action," insisting that the contingent either take down its banner or march at the end of the line. Shortly thereafter, the coalition showed even more graphically how its legalism and reliance on the bourgeois state vitiates its claim to champion minorities' rights. During the rally six Nazis showed up with their "Bakke White Power" signs. When hundreds of demonstrators surged forward to drive the fascists out, CP-led coalition marshalls (assisted by SWP supporters) linked arms and formed a cordon around the Nazis to protect them from attack!

It was pouring rain in Washington, D.C., and the rather desultory demonstration assembled at the White House and marched from there to the Capitol. At the high point, the demonstration numbered about 500 people, most of whom represented left organizations as well as two local AFT and AFSCME locals. Here again the coalition's anti-union thrust emerged, with signs such as the SWP's "Reverse the Bakke Decision, Defend Affirmative Action and Quotas" predominating.

The turnout was even smaller in New York, where about 200 people gathered outside the State Office Building in Harlem. The rally was chaired by Bill Jones, close supporter of the CP; a featured speaker was Moses Harris of the Black Economic Survival group. Harris had been active in the ugly confrontation between union-busting black nationalist groups and racist job-trusting construction-union bureaucrats at New York's City College in 1975. At the rally he carried the NCOBD's anti-labor line to its logical conclusion, virtually calling for war on the trade unions, many of which, he said, had been formed for the explicit purpose of excluding black workers.

The most obvious fact is that these reformists are already defeated, which helps explain the desultory character of the anti-Bakke demonstrations on October 8. "No reverse discrimination" is more than an arrogant racist offensive; it is a doctrine which has triumphed, a bitter reality for millions of blacks whose hopes for a decent life have been trampled underfoot by marauding racists in the streets of Chicago and Boston. Hav-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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ILA-ILWU Tops Banish Pickets to Rowboats

SAN FRANCISCO—The ink had hardly dried on a "mutual aid pact" between Teddy Gleason's International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), currently striking container shipping in East and Gulf Coast ports, and the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) when it was tossed into the circular file by ILWU bureaucrats at a meeting of Bay Area longshore Local 10 on October 13.

The announcement, over the protest of numerous militants, brought to a halt ILWU observance of ILA picket lines. The solidarity actions had succeeded in idling 22 container ships on the Pacific Coast—eight of them in the San Francisco Bay Area—but was ruled illegal by coastwide arbitrator Sam Kagel. Kagel's ruling was upheld Friday by U.S. district judge Cecil Poole, who threatened the ILWU with contempt citations and ordered the union to cross the ILA lines.

Faced with this warning from the bourgeois state, the ILWU bureaucracy quickly turned tail. At the Local 10 meeting ILWU International president

WV Photo

ILA picket at Oakland Container Terminal.

Jimmy Herman presented his so-called "back-up plan," which would be laughable were it not so criminal: the ILA will move its picket to rowboats sitting off the pier, so that ILWU members will not have to cross the lines in order to work the ships! The plan is pinned on hopes that the ILA-affiliated Masters, Mates and Pilots Union (MMP) will not man the ships.

Only in a union like the ILWU, where respect for picket lines continues strong among the membership, would the bureaucrats resort to such subterfuge to sabotage solidarity actions. The MMP ploy will not have much effect: the union is not represented on foreign container ships being picketed, and the MMP bureaucracy, should it even decide to respect the "floating pickets," is even less likely to stand up to a court injunction than its ILWU counterparts.

This sellout was entirely predictable. As we noted last week, the Gleason-Herman "mutual aid pact" stipulated that only those picket lines which are "not established in violation of a court order or collective bargaining agreement to the contrary" need be observed. This, along with other loopholes, guaranteed that the much-touted agreement would be rendered useless. It was a stage-managed affair from start to finish, designed to shore up the reputations of the ILA and particularly the ILWU bureaucrats, who have consistently excused their own failure to strike against massive job cuts on the West Coast by urging the membership to wait for joint actions with the ILA.

Nonetheless, the solidarity actions sparked a wave of enthusiasm in the ILWU ranks. Despite the actions of the West Coast employers (PMA) in shutting off Pay Guarantee Plan benefits, Herman's retreat was unpopular among a substantial section of the membership. At the Local 10 meeting he was forced to put on a "left" face, reportedly denouncing the effects of containerization in slashing jobs. Herman boasted that "a new day has dawned" in ILA/ILWU relations with the advent of the mutual aid pact.

But any ILWU members who expected their union president to follow that up with a call for spreading the strike were to be disappointed. Herman denounced the call for militant action against federal court injunctions as a "terrible mistake" and then announced his farcical "back-up plan," which was received unenthusiastically. Trying to bluster his way through, he announced, "We are disciplined, we are an army, and we go back in a disciplined fashion."

But Herman's antics did not go unchallenged. Stan Gow, a member of the "Longshore Militant" opposition grouping in the Local, read a motion signed by seven longshoremen calling for continuation of the solidarity action, defiance of court injunctions and a West Coast shutdown as part of a nationwide maritime strike for jobs through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. When Local 10 president Cleophus Williams ruled the motion out of order, Gow retorted, "I have to agree with Herman on one point—he does have a scheme for us to back up—but we have to move forward!" A vote was taken on Gow's challenge to the chair, which lost despite a sizable minority vote. Gow was followed by another longshoreman who denounced Herman's halfway measures and demanded that the contract be dumped and a strike called.

Predictably the ILWU bureaucracy found ready apologists from the bloc around the Communist Party (CP). The militant longshoremen were followed to the mike by Leo Robinson, together with well-known CP supporter Billy Proctor, had issued a leaflet entitled, "At Last a Mutual Aid Agreement." The leaflet announced, "In our estimation, nothing short of an 80 day federal injunction should prevent us from honoring the ILA pickets, and even then the membership should vote on whether or not to honor even that order." Having from the first played up the cynical Gleason-Herman pact as a militant blow and threatened to defend it with strike action, Robinson now beat a speedy retreat, advising ILWU members to give Herman's plan "a chance." Robinson was quickly followed by Local 10 secretary-treasurer George Kay, who warned, "We will not take suicidal actions." And then Williams abruptly adjourned the meeting without a vote!

Earlier in the meeting Local 10 bureaucrats made clear their support for Herman and the International against class-struggle oppositionists. Williams explained why he helped vote down a motion at the September 15 executive board meeting calling for not handling diverted cargo and honoring "any picket lines established by ILA members." This motion had been presented by Gow and Howard Keylor, executive board members and publishers of "Longshore Militant." Williams stated unabashedly that the Gow/Keylor motion, which predated the "mutual aid pact," was voted down because "we thought it was trying to steal the glory from the International mutual aid pact"! The quite inglorious end to the International's pact underscores Williams' cynicism. He rubbed it in by announcing that business agent Herb Mills—who ran for office on the demagogic threat to "shut down the Coast for jobs"—was now coordinator of the rowboat flotilla.

The bureaucrats are proclaiming that a key demand of the ILA bargaining is for a nine-month contract, to expire jointly with the ILWU contract next June. This demand, reported favorably in the CP's *People's World*, is certainly supportable but is being used to excuse the scuttling of the present ILA West Coast picket lines.

But the antics of the ILWU International, Local 10 bureaucrats and their Stalinist apologists only demonstrate that there are no fundamental differences separating these pro-capitalist hacks. At every decisive test they stand together against the ranks, blocking the path to successful struggle against the maritime bosses. Only the "Longshore Militant" group has consistently fought the sellout policies of all the bureaucratic cliques, putting forward a program for real class-struggle labor unity against capitalism. ■

Daily World

ILA pickets in New Orleans.

ILA Bureaucrats Crack New Orleans General Dock Strike

After almost three weeks of concerted pressure, bureaucrats of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), currently striking container shipping on the East and Gulf Coasts, managed to force militant New Orleans longshoremen to end their general dock strike. The longshoremen, principally members of Locals 1418 and 1419, had at least three times defied ILA officials by voting down implementation of Gleason's weak-kneed tactics of striking automated ships only. Finally, on October 15, Local 1419 president and International vice president Wilfred Daliet called his own press conference, where he unilaterally ordered longshoremen to begin working general cargo, which constitutes 75 percent of the port's commerce, and threatened workers who defied this ultimatum with legal reprisals.

The enormous impact of the New Orleans strikes was demonstrated by figures released by the Maritime Administration last week. Of 90 ships tied up in U.S. ports, 27 were on the Atlantic Coast, 12 were on the Pacific Coast, and 51 were in the Gulf, mainly New Orleans. The actions of the strikers in New Orleans, the second largest port in the U.S., threatened to blow apart Gleason's class-collaborationist strategy. Already, longshoremen in some smaller Gulf ports had followed the lead of New Orleans in striking all cargo. The fear that the New Orleans example would spread nationwide made Gleason and his local lackeys particularly determined to crack this militant strike.

There is generalized bitterness among New Orleans longshoremen at the treacherous acts of their officials. Despite his threat of legal sanctions, Daliet was greeted at the hiring hall by a picket line of several dozen ILA members the morning following his announcement. Rank-and-file militants remain determined to reverse this sellout blow.

One of the leaders of the New Orleans anti-Gleason revolt told *WV* that he hoped to get a court injunction to force Daliet to hold a vote on whether to reinstitute the general dock strike. But it is the height of folly for longshoremen to place any confidence in the government, whose ruling against ILA jurisdiction over all container handling within 50 miles of the docks was a key factor in provoking the strike and which has ordered the ILA picket lines on the West Coast dismantled. Militants must unconditionally refuse to call the capitalist state into the internal affairs of the union. Gleason/Daliet's treachery can only be smashed by mobilizing the rank and file under the banner of a North American-wide maritime strike fought for jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay.

Spartacus Youth League
CLASS SERIES

Fundamentals of Marxism

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Witchhunt in West Germany...

(continued from page 1)

tice is the law preventing left-wing prisoners from having contact with each other and with the outside world (lawyers, relatives) in order to totally isolate them. As *Der Spiegel* headlined, "The state is taking up battle positions."

The "insistence of the citizenry on bodily safety" (as CDU leader Helmut Kohl pontificated in the Bundestag on September 6) is being met by a massive expansion of the government's spy network; by beefing up the weaponry of the police and the omnipresent "Federal Border Guard" (*Bundesgrenzschutz*), which logically ought to be rebaptized "Federal Police," since otherwise all of West Germany has become a "border region"; by the legalization of shooting to kill; by hundreds of *Berufsverbote* (blacklistings of "radicals" from civil service jobs); and by sharp limitations on the rights of the defense lawyers; and by stiffening gun control laws.

The bourgeoisie is organizing its terror with millions of marks and thousands of additional police. For the time being, introduction of the death penalty (demanded by the Christian Democrats) has been rejected by the federal government. Also ruled out was the use of the army against "terrorists," but only because the police and border guards are deemed more than adequate for the witchhunt being mounted against "violent criminals." In any case, the sandbags and barbed wire, machine pistols and tanks are not a sign that Schmidt & Co. are trembling at the thought of a giant assault by the RAF handful. The real purpose behind the ostentatious build-up of the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state is to intimidate its real adversaries, the proletariat and those who would lead it in struggle against the capitalist system.

So far they have largely succeeded. Unlike 1966, when the left and trade unions took to the streets in opposition to the "emergency laws" (legislation to suspend constitutional rights during a "state of emergency"), no mobilization is taking place today against this arming of the "strong state." Instead, corpulent trade-union bureaucrats zealously assist the repressive measures of "their" government, and the West German left is retreating all along the line. Left opportunists, from the (pro-Moscow) DKP and the Maoist KPD (which condemns the RAF as "gangsters") to the pseudo-Trotskyist GIM ("It's not just the 'misled masses' who no longer understand all this—we don't either") are grovelling before the ravings of their bourgeoisie. They, too, have put their stamp of approval on the witchhunt against the RAF, or at best have refused to defend the victims of reactionary persecution.

Defend the Left Against Bourgeois Repression!

The Spartacist League does not shrink from its principled position of defending the RAF against the fury of bourgeois repression. While resolutely rejecting individual terror as the political strategy of despair it is, and combating it as one of the many manifestations of petty-bourgeois frustration resulting from the international crisis of leadership of the proletariat, the SL defends the entire left against the attacks of the bourgeois state.

The kidnapping of Schleyer, like the assassinations of Buback and Ponto, cannot be condoned by revolutionary Marxists and class-struggle militants in the trade unions. Such acts of individual terror against individual representatives of the bourgeoisie do not contribute to the overthrow of the capitalist system. On the contrary, they serve as a pretext for the capitalist state to launch attacks on the left, and instead of spurring the proletariat on to militant struggle in defense of its class interests, the policy of individual terror relegates the masses at best to passive observation from the sidelines.

We state plainly that the RAF does not represent the historic interests of the proletariat; yet we do not deny our feeling of solidarity with their hatred of imperialism which causes them to strike out blindly. Insofar as they believe in lifting the social oppression engendered by capitalism, our aspirations are similar. But the actions of the RAF are not on the road to socialism and stand counterposed to the proletarian socialist road.

In fact, there is more than a little that is sinister in the RAF. While it is a product of the decomposition of the New Left, it is not just a carbon copy of the American Weathermen, whose political ties were to the Cubans and North Vietnamese. The Cuban and North Vietnamese Stalinists do not condone airplane hijackings, for example. But the reported ties of the RAF are to the petty-bourgeois nationalist PFLP and the "Japanese Red Army," whose gruesome methods of settling internal differences (shooting and torturing oppositionists to death) are notorious. If this current were in power we can be sure that they would leave a bloody trail rivalling Idi Amin. And in a healthy, revolutionary proletarian state they would certainly have to be restrained for their criminal indiscriminate terrorism against innocent working people.

Because of the monstrous character of the bourgeois state which is persecuting the RAF, including the hideous treatment of alleged RAF members in jail, we demand their immediate freedom. But under conditions of extreme state terrorization and intimidation of the population, much of the West German left has fallen into the twin traps of either turning their backs on them or solidarizing with them politically. While we cannot embrace the RAF as comrades, we refuse to run from our obligation to defend them against the capitalist state.

It is revolting to observe virtually the entire left abandon any vestige of defense of the RAF over the kidnapping of Schleyer (who wrote in 1938, "I am a long-time National Socialist and SS leader"). This is not a case of blind terror against innocent civilians, as in the "Black September" taking of hostages at the Munich Olympics in 1972 or the latest airplane hijacking by the "Japanese Red Army." The Schleyer abduction—no matter how foolish, politically wrong and counterproductive—was not an act of indiscriminate terrorism against innocent individuals which must be condemned by the entire left and which would call into question the class character of the RAF.

There is no doubt that the actions of the RAF are an expression of opposition to the imperialist system of exploitation, repression and poverty. To conclude that the "new" RAF has nothing to do with the "old" (a formula which the pseudo-Trotskyist GIM is toying with) from the fact that the RAF today barely expresses itself politically is too transparent an alibi to be taken seriously. Answering the assertion that the RAF is no longer part of the left, the conservative *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (18-19 September) points out (naturally with the aim of denouncing the left, but correctly nonetheless): "Aren't they really [part of the left], even in terms of their origins?... Where was the break?" Indeed, there has been no break, although the RAF lost its political leader, Ulrike Meinhof (who died in prison under suspicious circumstances in the summer of 1976).

The Leninist attitude toward such acts of despair was set forth by the Communist International in 1921 in the case of Max Holz, who was given a life sentence by the capitalist courts for his role in leading proletarian guerrilla bands in central Germany following the defeat of the ill-fated "March Action":

> "The Communist International is an opponent of individual terror and acts of sabotage which do not directly serve battle objectives in a civil war. It opposes irregular warfare conducted by guerrilla bands independently of the political leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. But the Communist International sees in Max Hölz a courageous rebel against capitalist society, where morality is taught in penitentiaries and order is imposed by the raging of the beasts of order. His actions were inappropriate to his goal: white terror can only be broken by the revolt of the masses, which alone can realize the victory of the proletariat. But his acts sprang from love of the proletariat and hate for the bourgeoisie."

Not Petty-Bourgeois Terrorism But Proletarian Revolution

Although the methods of the RAF are similar to those of classical anarchism, its ideology is fossilized New Leftism—a conglomeration of Bakuninist populist and Maoist conceptions based on lack of faith in the revolutionary capacity of the working class. Its politics are derived from Lin Piao's doctrine of encircling the cities (the imperialist states) by the countryside (the "Third World"). The RAF sees itself as an auxiliary force to one or another sort of Stalinist/nationalist group fighting imperialism in the "Third World"—as "urban guerrillas" and a "partisan unit behind enemy lines" (from an interview with Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe in *Der Spiegel*, No. 4 in 1975).

The politics of urban guerrillas, from the Tupamaros to the RAF, are substitutionalist to the core. While proclaiming its sympathies for "the wretched of the earth," the RAF sees the working class of the imperialist countries as a bought-off labor aristocracy irremediably sunk in "consumer society." Consequently its own actions are nothing but moralistic gestures (burning of a department store, attack on a U.S. Army officers club, kidnappings/assassinations of notorious bourgeois leaders). For every Buback, Ponto or Schleyer "executed," another will take his place; only the degree of repression will increase. Leninists, in contrast, understand that imperialism can be swept away only by the international working class, led by the revolutionary vanguard party whose action educates and raises the proletariat to its historic task.

The RAF repeats the errors of the populist Narodnaya Volya in tsarist Russia: heroic fighters who sought to overthrow the autocratic terror regime by acts of individual counterterror. But the high point of the Narodniks came a generation prior to the rise of an organized workers movement in Russia, when the forces capable of freeing the country from tsarism were still in swaddling clothes. In contrast, the RAF turn their backs on the powerful German (and international) workers movement because they are too impatient to participate in the struggle to educate the class. Thus they reject the entire history of the Marxist movement, and in particular the October Revolution.

West German Left Prostrate Before Bourgeois Hysteria

Over the last five years the West German left on numerous occasions demonstrated in solidarity with the RAF against the brutal repression by the state apparatus. Many groups even gave *political* support to the New Left terrorists. As recently as last year thousands marched at a Berlin demonstration on the occasion of Ulrike Meinhof's burial; "liberals" like theologian Helmut Gollwitzer and "socialists" like former New Left honcho Rudi Dutschke gave eulogies. But now that the RAF's last drop of popularity, of "understanding for their motives" by "liberal public opinion," has vanished, nearly the entire left, to quote the malicious *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* once more, lets "the terrorists drop like a hot potato, claiming they do not have nor ever had anything to do with these people." Those who glorify actions like those of the RAF so long as they take place somewhere else – Spain, Argentina, Palestine – when suddenly confronted by their own bourgeoisie loudly proclaim their "respectability."

The Peking-loyal KPD (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands), with whom in 1974 we, as the only other organization, marched together naturally under our own banners—to Berlin's Moabit Jail (where Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were imprisoned during World War I), to protest the class terror of the bourgeois state against the RAF prisoners, today competes with the pro-Moscow DKP for the role of the most despicable ideological mudslinger for the bourgeoisie within the workers movement. Comparing the attack in Köln with the actions of Al Capone, the KPD's *Rote Fahne* (7 September) refers to it as "A Gangster War in the Ranks of the Bourgeoisie." With its ear to the ground, the KPD informs us that the "people" regard the Schleyer abduction as "purely an affair of the bourgeoisie." The RAF are "spoiled, bored sons and daughters of the rich."

If such criteria were used in relation to the KPD itself, if one judged on the basis of the class origins of KPD leaders Semler and Horlemann, this would certainly have fatal consequences in the evaluation of the organization. What is decisive in the analysis of an organization is not in the first instance its social composition, but rather its *program* and *politics*. By these criteria the KPD reveals itself to be utterly treacherous: three years ago it at least minimally defended the RAF prisoners; today it washes its hands of these victims of bourgeois class justice. It is not the tendency around the RAF which has changed in these last three years, however, but the KPD. To be sure, it has not changed qualitatively, for even then the KPD was an organization of Stalinist misleaders with a Menshevik program. Quantitatively, however, these Maoists' move to the right is impressive. The faithful mouthpiece of the Peking bureaucracy, which rivals CSU revanchist Franz Josef Strauß as a "fatherland defender" against "Soviet imperialism," now adds its voice to the reactionary "anti-terrorist" witchhunt.

It was "with horror" that the left-social-democratic Sozialistisches Büro (SB) "reacted to the cold-blooded murders" of the police guarding Schleyer in a declaration printed on the second page of the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (13 September). Through its permanent "collective murder," says the SB, the "'Red Army Faction' has abandoned its claim to be socialist." "With a few shots," the SB continues, "they [the RAF] have destroyed much for which we have laboriously fought for years." Will the bourgeoisie offer thanks for such effusive and self-aggrandizing apologists for capitalist state terror? Perhaps Chancellor Schmidt and SPD chairman Willy Brandt, those latter-day Noskes and Eberts, will find some bureaucratic advisory posts for these propagandists against "red fascism."

It has to be said for the KPD that there is a certain consistency to its defamations. Its principal Peking-oriented Maoist competitor, the KBW (Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschlands), can make no such claim. In 1974 the KBW polemicized against the KPD's characterization of the shooting of Berlin judge Drenckmann as "counterrevolutionary." Quotes from Lenin, said the KBW, could show that the Drenckmann assassination was "a totally incorrect action

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Der Spiegel

Concorde: Let It Land!

After an 18-month ban and nearly two years of legal wrangling, the British/French supersonic transport (SST) Concorde may finally land at Kennedy Airport on October 19. With the Supreme Court's refusal to hear the case Monday the last legal barrier to the Concorde's landing was lifted, and Air France and British Airways announced that test flights will begin immediately at Kennedy, followed by regular passenger flights starting November 22.

As expected, local Queens homeowners were furious at the announcement and immediately began preparing for a massive motorcade to tie up traffic around the airport in protest. A spokesman for the anti-SST Concorde Alert group threatened to "make Kennedy Airport look like New Orleans on Mardi Gras." While both this group and the Emergency Coalition to Stop the SST say the protest will not interfere with the plane, state assemblywoman Gerdi Lipschutz told the *New York Post* (18 October) that some of her constituents might fly kites near the airport to disrupt air traffic! This incredible threat, endangering the lives of hundreds of airline passengers, indicates the lengths to which these enraged petty-bourgeois homeowners will go to protect their property values.

From the beginning the Concorde issue has been directly political rather than an environmental question of noise levels. The door was opened to finally letting it land following the visit of French prime minister René Barre to the White House September 15, when the Carter administration announced its support for lifting the ban. Shortly after, transportation secretary Brock Adams released the government's proposal to grand landing rights for the SST at 13 U.S. cities including the all-important New York. (The Concorde will not be a paying proposition without access to the heavily traveled New York-Paris and New York-London routes.)

Earlier, in mid-August, federal district court judge Milton Pollock had ruled the New York-New Jersey Port Authority's ban on the Concorde "discriminatory, arbitrary and unreasonable." He declared that while the Port Authority's avowed purpose in imposing the ban was to set noise standards for supersonic aircraft, "it did not and has not done so." On September 29 the U.S. appeals court upheld Pollock's ruling, noting that after 16 months of experimental flights at Dulles Airport (outside Washington, D.C.), the Concorde vibrations proved to be "even less noticeable than originally anticipated."

With the Supreme Court's refusal to review the appeals court decision, SST opponents were thrown into a tizzy. New York governor Carey briefly tried to invoke "states rights," but the next day came out for "the rule of law." The Port Authority tried to make use of a provision in the ruling holding that local authorities can reimpose the ban if they can devise a noise standard which will not single out the Concorde but apply equally to all commercial aircraft. This will be hard to do since nearly three-fourths of all commercial airliners exceed existing noise limits!

The stipulation of "commercial" aircraft points to the utter hypocrisy of the whole hullabaloo over noise pollution, for there are literally thousands of supersonic military airplanes which have been using U.S. airspace for more than two decades, and none of the environmentalist groups have objected to *them*. Besides, as we pointed out in an earlier article ("You Can't Land the 'A' Train at JFK," *WV* No. 147, 4 March 1977)—a point which was later picked up by Murdoch's *Post*—the SST causes only momentary annoyance to middle-class Queens residents while millions of New York working people are subjected to far more painful noise levels for up to two hours a day and even more on the ear-splitting subways.

We noted also:

> "For what it is worth the Concorde is not even necessarily the noisiest commercial plane in the air—both at Dulles and London's Heathrow Airport, Boeing 707's have recently been recorded at higher landing noise levels than the British/French SST. The U.S. bourgeoisie's concern is obviously not noise pollution but the fact that American manufacturers have yet to produce a plane to compete with the Concorde."

That Concorde opponents are more concerned with economic nationalism than noise was again made clear by NYC Mayor Beame in a speech favoring extension of the ban. According to Beame, "The Concorde thus actually represents a giant step backward in aircraft development since it is being introduced at the very time when American aircraft manufacturers are producing quieter, cleaner aircraft" (*New York Times*, 29 June).

Despite such clearly chauvinist rhetoric, virtually the entire U.S. left has nevertheless lined up behind the anti-SST forces. Leading the pack has been the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which uses its weekly *Intercontinental Press* column, "Capitalism Fouls Things Up," to publicize the latest activities of the Emergency Coalition. With its appetite to tail every budding "mass movement," the SWP has lately been presenting itself as the "best builders" of the environmentalist fad. But while the SWP's earlier favorites—the feminist and antiwar movements—had strong anti-communist currents and included capitalist politicians, this populist movement is even more prone to shading over into openly right-wing causes.

Attracting small property owners, pastors and the like, and given a shot in the arm by Carter's conservation rhetoric, the ecology movement takes as its target modern industrial society. The SWP has already gotten a taste of the reactionary elements in this movement in the form of vicious red-baiting directed against itself in the anti-nuclear Clamshell Alliance. But with the Emergency

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Our Best Ever

Sub Drive Smashing Success!

It is with pleasure and pride that we announce the results of the recently concluded *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. The five-week drive reached 3,678 points—or a whopping 147 percent of the quota—and left local organizers shaking their heads in surprised delight as they speculated about explanations for the drive's resounding success. Though all branches surpassed their quotas, top honors went to New York City, which garnered 941 points, or 188 percent.

This year's national quota was set at 2,500. This figure reflected the success of last year's sub drive which, with a quota of 2,120 points, had reached 2,536 points over a five-week period. The 1977 drive was carried out concurrently with a high volume of other work, including public forums across the country to publicize the recent fusion between the SL and the Red Flag Union.

Perhaps most important, 1,061 of the *WV* subscriptions were full-year subs (the balance being two-month trial subs), a big step toward our goal of extending the stable subscription base of our press. The drive also brought in 607 subscriptions to *Women & Revolution* and 573 to *Young Spartacus*, monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League. The comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada sold an additional 379 points during their own sub drive, which featured a combined subscription to *WV* and the TLC's monthly paper, *Spartacist Canada*.

The comrades continue to advance explanations for the stunning success of this year's drive. Perhaps there has been some otherwise imperceptible change in the general political climate. Maybe it is that our competitors on the left got off to a slow start in their own sub drives and left the field to *WV* (the SWP's *Militant*, for instance, has announced "catch-up week" for its lagging sub drive). Could it possibly have been the poster for the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution? But whatever other factors may have played their part, it is clear that the remarkable overfulfillment of the quota testifies to painstaking organization by the local leaderships and countless hours of devoted hard work by comrades and supporters of the SL/SYL. The individual leaders of the 1977 sub drive are Dora A. of New York, with 109 points, Robin R. of New York, with 103.5 points, and Kathy K. of Detroit, with 61 points.

The subscription base of *Workers Vanguard* now stands at 2,500 in North America, up 40 percent from last year. We extend our congratulations to all the comrades who participated in the sub drive and a warm welcome to the many new readers of *Workers Vanguard*, the only Marxist weekly in the world.

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Cleveland	185	263	142%
Detroit	290	414	143%
Los Angeles	210	320½	153%
New York	500	941	188%
San Francisco	280	388½	139%
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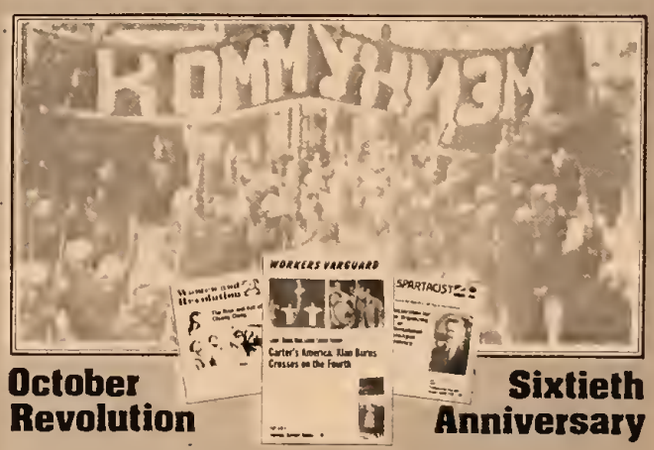
WORKERS VANGUARD



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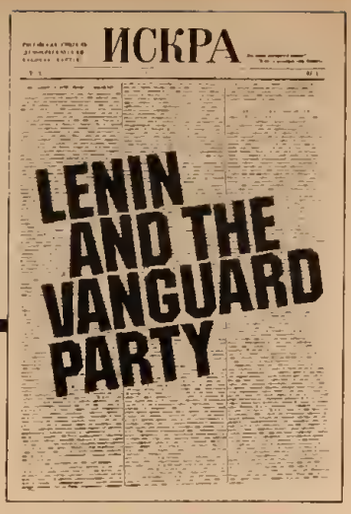

PART 4

To understand the principle of the communist vanguard party, it is necessary to recognize the evolution of Lenin from a revolutionary social democrat to the founding leader of the Communist International. Various revisionists, notably the British workerist-reformist Tony Cliff, have attempted to deny or obfuscate the principle of the democratic-centralist vanguard party by pointing to those elements of classic social democracy retained by the pre-1914 Bolsheviks and conditioned by the particularities of the Russian situation. This series seeks to trace the development of Lenin's position on the party question. The first part (WV No. 173, 16 September) focused on the Kautskyan doctrine of the "party of the whole class" and its relevance to early Russian social democracy. Part 2 (WV No. 175, 30 September) covered the 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik split and its aftermath. Part 3 (WV No. 177, 14 October) dealt with the 1905 Revolution.

The emergence of differences with the Mensheviks over the role of bourgeois liberalism in the revolution weakened, but did not eliminate, the forces of conciliationism in the Bolshevik camp. At the all-Bolshevik Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP) in April 1905, Lenin found himself in a minority on the question of how to deal with the Mensheviks. He wanted to expel the Mensheviks, who had boycotted the congress, from the RSDRP. The majority of delegates were unwilling to take such an extreme step. The congress adopted a motion that the Mensheviks should be permitted to remain in a unitary RSDRP on condition that they recognize the leadership of the Bolshevik majority and adhere to party discipline. Needless to say, the Mensheviks rejected such unity conditions out of hand.

While the beginning of the 1905 revolution deepened the split between Bolshevism and Menshevism, its further development produced overpowering pressures for the reunification of Russian social democracy. A number of factors, all reinforcing one another, created a tremendous sentiment for unity among members of both tendencies. Common military struggle against the tsarist state produced a strong sense of solidarity among the advanced workers of Russia, the militants and supporters of the social-democratic movement.

By the summer of 1905 a large majority of both tendencies consisted of new, young recruits who had not experienced the struggle of Iskraism against the Economists or the 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik split and its aftermath. Thus for the majority of Russian social-democratic workers, the organizational division was incomprehensible and appeared to be based on "ancient history." The general belief that the differences within Russian social democracy were not significant was reinforced by the political disarray among the Menshevik leaders. The most prominent Menshevik in 1905 was Trotsky, head of the St. Petersburg Soviet, who was to the left of Lenin on the goals and prospects of the revolution. Thus the political attitudes of many who joined the Bolshevik and Menshevik organizations in 1905 did not correspond to the programs of their respective leaderships. In his 1940 biography of Stalin, Trotsky noted that in 1905 the Menshevik rank and file stood closer to Lenin's position on the role of social democracy in the revolution than to Plekhanov's.

The sentiment for unity was so strong that several local Bolshevik committees simply fused with their Menshevik counterparts in spite of opposition from their leadership. In his memoirs written in the 1920's, the old Bolshevik Osip Piatnitsky describes the situation in the Odessa social-democratic movement in late 1905:

> "It was obvious to the [Bolshevik leading] committee that the proposal of union would be passed by a great majority at the Party meetings of both the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, for wherever the advocates of immediate unity spoke they were supported almost unanimously. Therefore the Bolshevik committee was forced to work out the terms of union which they themselves were against. It was important to do that, for otherwise the union would have occurred without any conditions at all."
>
> *Memoirs of a Bolshevik* (1973)

Barricades in Moscow in December, 1905.

In his 1923 history of the Bolsheviks, Gregory Zinoviev sums up the 1906 reunification thus:

> ". . . as a consequence of the revolutionary battles of late 1905 and under the influence of the masses, the staffs of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were forced to re-unite. In effect the masses forced the Bolsheviks to reconcile themselves to the Mensheviks on several questions."
>
> *History of the Bolshevik Party—A Popular Outline* (1973)

Zinoviev's statement is perhaps oversimplified. It is unlikely that Lenin simply capitulated to pressure from below. The overwhelming sentiment for unity meant that the organizational divisions no longer corresponded to the political consciousness of the respective memberships. Some of the Bolsheviks' young recruits were actually closer to the left Mensheviks, and vice versa. A period of internal struggle was necessary to separate out the revolutionary elements who joined the social-democratic movement in 1905 from the opportunistic elements.

Reunification

In the fall of 1905 the Bolshevik Central Committee and Menshevik Organizing Committee began unity negotiations. The Bolshevik Central Committee in Russia approved of fusions at the local level as the means of reunifying the RSDRP as a whole. Lenin, who was still in exile in Switzerland, strongly intervened to stop this organic unification from below. He insisted that the reunification take place at the top, at a new party congress, with delegates elected on a factional platform. In a letter (3 October 1905) to the Central Committee he wrote:

> "We should not confuse the policy of uniting the *two* parts with the *mixing-up* of both parts. We agree to uniting the two parts, but we shall never agree to mixing them up. We must demand of the committees a distinct division, then two congresses and amalgamation." [emphasis in original]

In December 1905 a United Center was formed consisting of an equal number of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. At the same time the central organs of the rival tendencies, the Menshevik *Iskra* and Bolshevik *Proletary*, were discontinued, and superseded by a single publication, *Partiinye Izvestaii* (Party News).

Significantly the Mensheviks agreed to accept Lenin's 1903 definition of membership as requiring formal organizational participation. This was in part a concession to the Leninists, but mainly reflected the fact that in the relatively open conditions of 1905-06, formal organizational participation was not a bar to broad recruitment. The Mensheviks' turnabout completely disproves the widespread notion that Lenin's insistence that members must be subject to organizational discipline was a peculiarity of the underground. On the contrary, it was the Mensheviks who considered that illegality required a looser definition of membership so as to attract social-democratic workers and intellectuals unwilling to face the rigors and dangers of clandestinity.

The Fourth (or "Reunification") Congress, held in Stockholm in April 1906, was divided between 62 Mensheviks and 46 Bolsheviks. Also represented were the Jewish Bund, the Lettish social democrats and the Polish social democrats led by Luxemburg and Jogiches. No one has contested that the factions' representation at the Fourth Congress corresponded to their respective strength at the base, among the social-democratic workers in Russia. (In early 1906 the Mensheviks had about 18,000 members, the Bolsheviks about 12,000.)

What accounted for the Menshevik majority among Russian social democrats in early 1906? First, the Bolshevik committeemen's conservative attitude toward recruitment in early 1905 also manifested itself in a sectarian attitude toward the new mass organizations thrown up by the revolution—the trade unions and, above all, the soviets. Thus the Mensheviks were able to get a head start in vying for the leadership of the broad working-class organizations. Although Trotsky was not a Menshevik factionalist, his role as head of the St. Petersburg Soviet strengthened the authority of the anti-Leninist wing of Russian social democracy. Secondly, the Mensheviks' advocacy of immediate, organic fusion enabled them to appeal to the young recruits' political naiveté and desire for unity.

With the defeat of the Bolshevik-led Moscow insurrection in December 1905, the tide turned in favor of tsarist reaction. While the Bolsheviks considered the tsarist victories a temporary setback during a continuing revolutionary situation, the Mensheviks concluded that the revolution was over. The Menshevik position corresponded to the increasingly defeatist mood of the masses in the early months of 1906.

Throughout the period of the Fourth Congress Lenin several times affirmed his loyalty to a unitary RSDRP. For example, in a brief factional statement at the conclusion of the congress, he wrote:

> "We must and shall fight ideologically against those decisions of the Congress which we regard as erroneous. But at the same time we declare to the whole Party that we are opposed to a split of any kind. We stand for submission to the decisions of the Congress. We are profoundly convinced that the workers' Social-Democratic organizations must be united, but in these united organizations there must be a wide and free criticism of Party questions, free comradely criticism and assessment of events in Party life."
>
> "An Appeal to the Party by Delegates to the Unity Congress Who Belonged to the Former 'Bolshevik' Group" (April 1906)

For Lenin, the reunification represented *both* a continuing adherence to the Kautskyan doctrine of "the party of the whole class" and a tactical maneuver to win over the mass of raw, young workers who had joined the social-democratic movement during the

1905 revolution. We have no way of assessing the different weighting Lenin gave to these two very different considerations. Nor do we know how in 1906 Lenin envisaged the future course of Bolshevik-Menshevik relations.

It is unlikely that Lenin looked forward to or projected a definitive split and the creation of a Bolshevik party. Among other factors Lenin knew that the Bolsheviks would not be recognized as the sole representative of Russian social democracy by the Second International. And when in 1912 the Bolsheviks did split completely from the Mensheviks and claimed to be *the* RSDRP, the leadership of the International did not recognize that claim.

Lenin probably would have liked to reduce the Mensheviks to an impotent minority subject to the discipline of a revolutionary (i.e., Bolshevik) leadership of the RSDRP. This is how he viewed the relationship of the Bernsteinian revisionists to the Bebel/Kautsky leadership of the SPD. However, he knew that the Menshevik cadre were unwilling to act and perhaps incapable of acting as a disciplined minority in a revolutionary party. He further recognized that he did not have the authority of a Bebel to make an opportunist tendency submit to his organizational leadership.

In striving for leadership of the Russian workers movement, Lenin did not limit himself to winning over the Menshevik rank and file, to purely internal RSDRP factional struggle. He sought to recruit *non-party* workers and radical petty bourgeois *directly* to the Bolshevik tendency. To this end the Bolshevik "faction" of the RSDRP acted much like an independent party with its own press, leadership and disciplinary structure, finances, public activities and local committees. That in the 1906-12 period the Bolsheviks, while formally a faction in a unitary RSDRP, had most of the characteristics of an independent party was the later judgment of such diverse political figures as Trotsky, Zinoviev and the Menshevik leader Theodore Dan.

Meeting of the First Duma.

In the course of a 1940 polemic against the American Shachtman faction, Trotsky characterized the Bolsheviks in this period as a "faction" which "bore all the traits of a party" (*In Defense of Marxism* [1940]).

Zinoviev's *History of the Bolshevik Party* describes the situation following the Fourth Congress:

> "... the Bolsheviks had set up during the Congress their own internal and, for the party, *illegal*, Central Committee. This period of our party's history when we were in the minority on both the Central Committee and the St. Petersburg Committee and had to conceal our *separate revolutionary activity*, was very arduous and unpleasant for us.... It was a situation where two parties were seemingly operating within the structure of one." [our emphasis]

Theodore Dan's 1945 work, *The Origins of Bolshevism* (1970) presents a similar analysis of Bolshevik-Menshevik relations.

> "It was not an organizational but a political divergence that very quickly split the Russian Social-Democracy into two fractions, which sometimes drew close and then clashed with each other, but basically remained independent parties that kept fighting with each other even at a time when they were nominally within the framework of a unitary party."

Democratic Centralism and "Freedom of Criticism"

From the Fourth Congress in April 1906 until the Fifth Congress in May 1907, the Bolsheviks were a minority faction in the RSDRP. In striving for the party leadership, the Bolsheviks did not primarily orient toward winning over a section of the Menshevik cadre. With a few individual exceptions, Lenin regarded the seasoned Menshevik cadre as hardened opportunists, at least in the immediate period. Paradoxically, the reunification demonstrated the hardness of the line separating the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks; few veterans of either group changed sides.

One of Lenin's motives in agreeing to unity was that the continuing split repelled many social-democratic workers from joining either group. Since recruiting non-party elements was key to struggle against the Menshevik leadership of the RSDRP, Lenin naturally wanted to be able to publicly attack that leadership. It was in that historic context that Lenin defined democratic-centralism as "freedom of criticism, unity in action." In the 1906-07 period, Lenin on numerous occasions advocated the right of minorities to publicly oppose the positions, though not the actions, of the party leadership.

Predictably, various rightist revisionists have "rediscovered" Lenin's 1906 advocacy of "freedom of criticism"—the product of a continuing adherence to a classic social-democratic concept of the party and a tactical maneuver against the Mensheviks—and proclaimed it the true form of Leninist democratic centralism. Certain left centrist groupings, which broke out of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat in the early 1970's, made "freedom of criticism" a key part of their program. The most significant of these groups was the West German Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands, of which but feeble remnants exist today. The Leninist Faction (LF) in the American Socialist Workers Party, which gave rise to the short-lived Class Struggle League (CSL), likewise championed "freedom of criticism." A central leader of the LF CSL, Barbara G., wrote a lengthy document entitled "Democratic Centralism" (August 1972) on the subject. The central conclusion is:

> "Lenin felt that discussion of political differences in the party press was important because the party and press were those of the working class. If the workers were to see the party as *their* party, they must see party questions as *their* questions, party struggles as *their* struggles. The worker coming around the party must understand that he has the possibility of helping to build the party, not only through repeating the majority line, but through (under party guidelines) advancing his criticisms and ideas." [emphasis in original]

Barbara G. quotes approvingly from Lenin's May 1906 article, "Freedom to Criticize and Unity of Action":

> "Criticism within the limits of the *principles* of the Party Program must be quite free—not only at Party meetings, but also at public meetings. Such criticism, or such 'agitation' (for criticism is inseparable from agitation) cannot be prohibited."

The "Party" that Lenin is referring to

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Speech to 1973 Spartacus-BL Conference

In Defense of Democratic Centralism

We publish below excerpts from a speech by Comrade James Robertson of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee to a national conference of the West German Spartacus (Bolschewiki-Leninisten) in February 1973. Spartacus-BL subsequently underwent organizational hemorrhaging through a series of clique splits among its central leadership. The remnants fused in early 1974 with the equally debilitated Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands (IKD), with which Spartacus-BL had split in December 1972, to form the Spartacusbund (SpB). Continuing in the same vein of trying to form an eclectic amalgam of Trotskyism and Menshevism, the centrist Spartacusbund was unable to politically answer authentically Leninist oppositionists and, racked by recurrent cliquist infighting, resorted to repeated bureaucratic expulsions which have left the fused organization a fraction of its original size. The core of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—German section of the international Spartacist tendency) was constituted by fusions and recruitment of left oppositionists from both wings of the original IKD. The full text of the speech is available in the German edition of Spartacist, *No. 1 (Spring 1974).*

• • • • •

We see two parallel problems internationally among those who profess to be Trotskyist. One is not yours. That is the formal Bolshevism with all of the formal lessons properly assimilated, represented by such formations as the Spanish POUM, the French OCI, the Bolivian POR. The problem, and it is not a definitively closed question, is that while these comrades have mastered quite fully in a way that you have not the forms of a Bolshevist organization, they have minimized the content. They do not see the united front and all of its related phenomena—that is, entrism into other reformist workers formations, regroupment processes and the like—as the way in which, to quote Trotsky, "the proletarian base should be set against the bourgeois top." Rather, they came to separate the united front from the party, expecting, for example in France, that the Socialist and Communist parties would somehow, by coming together organizationally, achieve revolutionary proletarian pasts. They cancel out the role of the Bolsheviks.

We see a somewhat different problem with your organization in particular, and that is a tendency to go back in form and political outlook to the Russian social democracy as it was around about 1903. To the extent that some of you do this in ignorance, it can be overcome through struggle. But those of you who deliberately ignore the experience of the October Revolution, the founding of the Communist International and all that came after—the first four congresses of the Comintern, the struggle of the Trotskyist Left Opposition—those of you who would turn your backs on this are already, in the egg, opportunist little Kautskys.

Any variant of the Kautskyist conception of the "party of the whole class" is a wilfully non-revolutionary and ultimately counterrevolutionary position. The latest and fullest representative of this species of revisionists is Max Shachtman. The last major article that he ever wrote was entitled, "American Communism: A Reexamination of the Past." He finds the original sin of communism in the splits to the left from the social democracy that took place during and after World War I, creating a division in the political expression of the proletariat. He finds the cause of these splits in a change in the understanding of the role of reformism, of opportunism, on the part of revolutionary socialists within the working-class movement.

Shachtman quotes Lenin very favorably through the period of about 1908. In particular, he observes that if the revolutionaries had only followed the rule of "freedom of criticism, unity in action," the unity of the proletarian party could have been preserved. He argues that at that time Lenin had an understanding of opportunism as a transient, ephemeral, secondary aspect of the workers movement. In particular, he praises Lenin for advocating that in those local areas where the Bolsheviks were in the minority they should subordinate themselves to the Mensheviks and vote for the Kadet [Constitutional Democrats] party. (Where the Bolsheviks had the majority, Lenin held, they should either vote for social-democratic candidates or, if given no other choice, abstain.) Shachtman, because he had become a social democrat, does not go into the reason for the evolution in the views of the Bolshevik faction. He merely describes the change in the Leninist position as a kind of original sin.

What we are dealing with in the period from the founding of *Iskra* to the founding of the Bolshevik Party in 1912 is the transformation of the Bolshevik faction from a revolutionary social-democratic into an embryonic communist organization. The model for the Russian revolutionary social democrats in the early period was the German social democracy. In the determination of the Bolshevik wing to pursue a revolution against tsarism, their political practice ran ahead of their theoretical model. And, of course, their organizational practice lagged even further behind and was highly empirical under the clandestine conditions.

It was possible for Lenin during the period of the reunification of the Russian social democracy, 1905-1907, to draw conclusions about the discipline of a party of reformists and revolutionaries which would be rejected out of hand by any Leninist today. That does not make us smarter than Marx or Lenin, it merely means that we are able to face current political questions in the light of their experience. The truth is historically conditioned; that is, the outlook of the Communist movement of the first four congresses of the Communist International rested upon a historic and successful upheaval of the revolutionary proletariat.

A comparable theoretical breakthrough and generalization accompanied this massive revolutionary achievement. It is as though the theoretical outlook of the proletarian vanguard in the period 1919-23 in the International stood atop a mountain. But since that time, from the period of the Trotskyist Left Opposition until his death and afterwards, the proletariat has mainly witnessed defeats and the revolutionary vanguard has either been shrunken or its continuity in many countries broken. One cannot separate the ability to know the world from the ability to change it, and our capacity to change the world is on a very small scale compared

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Party, Faction and "Freedom of Criticism"...

(continued from page 7)

here is *not* the Bolshevik Party which led the October Revolution. It is the inclusive party of all Russian social-democrats led by the Menshevik faction, i.e., by demonstrated opportunists. To equate the RSDRP of 1906 with a revolutionary vanguard is to obliterate the distinction between Bolshevism and Menshevism.

Short of an open split, Lenin did everything possible to prevent the RSDRP's Menshevik leadership from hindering the Bolsheviks' revolutionary agitation and actions. We have already quoted Zinoviev to the effect that the Bolsheviks established a formal leadership structure in violation of party rules. They also had independent finances. By August 1906, the Bolsheviks had reestablished a factional organ, *Proletary*, under the auspices of the St. Petersburg committee where they had just won a majority.

That the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks could not coexist in a unitary party according to the formula "freedom of criticism, unity in action" was demonstrated by the St. Petersburg election campaign in early 1907. During this period the principal conflict between the groups focused on electoral support to the liberal monarchist Cadet Party. At a party conference in November 1906, the Menshevik majority adopted a compromise whereby the local committees determined their own electoral policy. In order to undermine the Bolshevik stronghold of St. Petersburg, the Central Committee then ordered that committee split in two. Correctly denouncing this as a purely factional maneuver, the Bolsheviks refused to split the committee. At a St. Petersburg conference to decide on electoral policy, the Mensheviks split, claiming the conference was illegitimate. They then supported the Cadets against the Bolshevik RSDRP campaign.

When Lenin denounced this act of class treason in a pamphlet, *The St. Petersburg Elections and the Hypocrisy of the Thirty-One Mensheviks*, the Central Committee brought him up on charges of making statements "impermissible for a Party member." The Central Committee's juridical actions against Lenin were postponed until the Fifth Congress, where they were rendered moot by the Bolsheviks gaining a majority.

The spirit in which Lenin advocated "freedom of criticism" can be seen in his "defense" against the Menshevik accusation that he "cast suspicion upon the political integrity of Party members":

> "By sharp and discourteous attacks on the Mensheviks on the eve of the St. Petersburg elections, I actually succeeded in causing that section of the proletariat *which trusts and follows the Mensheviks* to waver. That was my aim. That was my duty as a member of the St. Petersburg Social-Democratic organization which was conducting a campaign for a Left bloc; because, *after the split, it was necessary* ...to rout the Mensheviks who were leading the proletariat in the footsteps of the Cadets. *It was necessary* to carry confusion into their ranks; it was necessary to arouse among the masses hatred, aversion and contempt for those people who had *ceased* to be members of a united party, had become political enemies. Against *such* political enemies I then conducted ...and in the event of a repetition or development of a split *shall always conduct* ...a struggle of *extermination*." [emphasis in original]
>
> "Report to the Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. on the St. Petersburg Split..." (April 1907)

Lenin's advocacy of "freedom of criticism" in the Menshevik-led RSDRP of 1906 was analogous to the Trotskyists' position on democratic centralism when they did an entry into the social-democratic parties in the mid-1930's. The Trotskyists opposed democratic centralism for those parties in order to maximize their impact both among the social-democratic membership, and outside the parties as well. Conversely, elements of the social-democratic leadership then came out for democratic-centralist norms in order to suppress the Trotskyists. Referring to the Trotskyists' experience in the American Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, James P. Cannon expresses very well the unique applicability of democratic centralism to the revolutionary vanguard:

> "Democratic-centralism has no special virtue per se. It is the specific principle of a combat party, united by a single program, which aims to lead a revolution. Social Democrats have no need of such a system of organization for the simple reason that they have no intention of organizing a revolution. Their democracy and centralism are not united by a hyphen but kept in separate compartments for separate purposes. The democracy is for the social patriots and the centralism is for the revolutionists. The attempt of the Zam-Tyler 'Clarityite' faction in the Socialist Party in introducing a rigid 'democratic-centralist' system of organization in the heterogeneous Socialist Party (1936-37) was a howling caricature; more properly, an abortion. The only thing those people needed centralization and discipline for was to suppress the rights of the left wing and then to expel it."
>
> Letter to Duncan Conway (3 April 1953), in *Speeches to the Party* (1973)

Following the definitive split with the Mensheviks and creation of the Bolshevik party in 1912, Lenin abandoned his 1906 position on "freedom of criticism." In July 1914 the International Socialist Bureau arranged a conference to reunite the Russian social-democrats. Among Lenin's numerous conditions for unity is a clear rejection of "freedom of criticism":

> "The existence of two rival newspapers in the same town or locality shall be absolutely forbidden. The minority shall have the right to discuss before *the whole Party*, disagreements on program, tactics and organization in a *discussion journal specially published for the purpose*, but shall not have the right to publish in a rival newspaper, pronouncements disruptive of the actions and decisions of the majority." [our emphasis]
>
> – "Report of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Brussels Conference" (June 1914)

Lenin further stipulated that public agitation against the underground party or for "cultural-national autonomy" was absolutely forbidden.

Barbara G., in her paper on "Democratic Centralism," recognizes that by 1914 Lenin had changed his position:

> "By 1914, then, Lenin had definitely changed his thinking on the following question: Where he used to think it permissible to have faction newspapers within the RSDLP, he now thought it impermissible because it confused and divided the working class."

Barbara G. *minimizes* Lenin's rejection of "freedom of criticism." He not only rejected rival public factional organs, but the *right* of minorities to *publicly* criticize the majority position in any form. He further specified that on two key differences – the underground and "cultural-national autonomy" – the minority position could not be advocated publicly at all. It is characteristic of centrists, like Barbara G., to prefer the Lenin of 1906, who accepted unity with the Mensheviks and still adhered to classic social-democratic concepts of the party, to the Lenin of 1914, who had definitively broken with the Mensheviks and thereby challenged the Kautskyan doctrine that revolutionaries and labor reformists should coexist in a unitary party.

The membership and particularly the leading cadre of a revolutionary vanguard have a *qualitatively* higher level of political-class consciousness than *all* non-party elements. A revolutionary leadership can make errors, even serious ones, on issues where the masses of workers are correct. Such occurrences will be very rare. If they are not rare, then it is the revolutionary character of the organization which is called into question, not the norms of democratic centralism.

A minority within a revolutionary organization seeks to win over its leading cadre, not to appeal to more backward elements against that cadre. The resolution of differences within the vanguard should be as free as possible from the intervention of backward elements, a prime source of bourgeois ideological pressure. "Freedom of criticism" maximizes the influence of backward workers, not to speak of conscious political enemies, on the revolutionary vanguard. Thus "freedom of criticism" does grave damage to the internal cohesion and external authority of the proletarian vanguard.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

V.I. Lenin

Leon Trotsky

Penguin

ПРОЛЕТАРІЙ

First issue of *Proletary* published 21 August 1906 in Moscow by the Bolsheviks.

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Witchhunt in West Germany...

(continued from page 4)

resting on a false strategy and tactics"—but not "counterrevolutionary" (*Kommunistische Volkszeitung*, 5 December 1974). Today the KBW parrots the same "gangland war" nonsense as the KPD.

Last spring the *Kommunistische Volkszeitung* (5 May 1977) went on in the most revolting fashion about the "high living of RAF members" (perhaps they mean Holger Meins and Ulrike Meinhof, who died in prison?). The KBW pontificated: "The RAF never engaged in terrorism in pursuit of a goal. The RAF executed bombings in order to get attention. *It was as if one part of the bourgeoisie wanted to make the other aware that something had to be done*" (our emphasis)! Remarkably, however, the capitalist class has failed to recognize the RAF, which specializes in kidnapping and assassinating prominent representatives of the bourgeoisie, as one of its own. For some "inexplicable reason" the West German government persists in trying to wipe out this organization and its "sympathizers," and to use the RAF's spectacular actions as an excuse for a crackdown on all self-proclaimed communists (the so-called "K-groups").

The SB, DKP, KPD and KBW simply read the Red Army Faction out of the left in order to escape the obligation of calling for its defense against the murderous repression of the West German state. In contrast, the critical Maoist Kommunistischer Bund (KB) announces in the first paragraph of a front-page statement that it will not take part in the "frenzy within the left to distance themselves [from the RAF] on orders from Strauß, Schmidt & Co." It "regrets the stance of various left-wing personalities and organizations which seek to worm their way into the columns of the pro-government press with vile disavowals" (*Arbeiterkampf*, 3 October).

But already the concealed opportunism of the KB shows its face. Although it terms the RAF "comrades," *it does not demand freedom for the RAF prisoners.* Nor does the KB explain why it no longer raises this demand. (Earlier it called for their freedom, albeit under the completely false liberal slogan of "freedom for all political prisoners," which would also include right-wing prisoners such as Rudolf Hess.) The only explanation offered by the KB for this cowardly omission is that the left cannot "at this time" make any "suggestion for the 'freeing' of the political prisoners that is even moderately credible and has a chance of success." This sublimely objectivist excuse (Kautsky and Bauer would heartily approve) is presented as an "expression of the relation of class forces" in West Germany.

On the other hand the KB is concerned about the "increase in desperate individual 'armed attacks' by comrades who, lacking faith in the historic power of the workers movement, no longer see any 'way out'." This is because "the relative weakness of the West German left makes the situation worse, because in the short run it cannot offer a credible alternative to the future 'terrorists'." But such an alternative, whether in the short or long run, can only be provided by a political perspective, a political program. And the KB shrinks from program almost as much as the devil from holy water. "It is in fact a tradition with us that we deal very little with so-called 'programmatic questions'," they say smugly, "but concentrate instead primarily on *concrete, practical* questions of political struggle" (*Arbeiterkampf*, 5 September). Thus the KB demonstrates that *it* will never provide this alternative, either for despairing individuals or for the working class as a whole.

Stern

Special intervention commandos of the West German police.

The demand for freeing the victims of the bourgeoisie's reactionary terror is only one point of our revolutionary program, although an indispensable one. To raise it only when success appears possible is simply to capitulate before the pressure of "public opinion." In particular, proletarian comrades in the factories, who are subjected to tremendous pressures to capitulate in periods of political hysteria, will be able to resist only if their organization displays the greatest clarity and hardness. Those who do not accept the cynical ploy of reading the RAF out of the left cannot simply "forget" the demand for their freedom because it is unpopular. It must be raised loudly and unceasingly.

Abject Capitulation of the GIM

It is not surprising to see the aspiring social-democratic bureaucrats and Maoist fatherland defenders solidarizing with bourgeois state repression against the "terrorist threat." But, although even for these shameless reformists their grovelling over the Schleyer affair represents a new low, the most revolting capitulation of all comes from the supposed Trotskyists of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM, German section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat" [USec]). These opportunists, who once beat the drums for a "guerrilla strategy" in Latin America, venerated Che Guevara and supported "without reservation" the "unstoppable ascension" of Spanish premier Carrero Blanco (as a result of a Basque nationalist bomb attack), now crawl under their beds when the same terrorist tactics are used at home and the bourgeoisie puts the heat on.

Beginning with the repulsive banner headline "Individual Terror Only Aids the Right!" the 15 September issue of the GIM's *Was Tun* (No. 175) is filled from cover to cover with legalistic doubletalk, veiled slanders against victims of reactionary repression and grovelling apologies to the bourgeois state. To top off this nauseating collection of social-democratic evasions, the GIM presents its *own* anti-terrorist program! "Our 'program against terror' is a program of mass actions against unemployment and atomic pollution, for the common defense of democratic rights."

What an abomination of Marxism! Not only does the GIM refuse to defend the RAF against the witchhunt of the West German state; not only do these phony Trotskyists fall into line with the government's "anti-terrorist" hysteria; not only do they fail to make the elementary *class* distinction between the terror of the capitalist state and that of the RAF; but these panicky opportunists in full flight to the right claim (just as Schmidt says to Strauß) that they have a better program to fight *left-wing* terror. For shame! Has the GIM "forgotten" the principle of class solidarity against bourgeois repression? Has it "forgotten" about the class character of the state?

Apparently they have, for the infamous *Was Tun* No. 175 states:

> "The Schleyer kidnappers, who provide the excuse [for state repression against the left], thereby prove their unpolitical attitude: they are simply following the 'military' logic of a private war which is completely lacking in justification. Their demands for freeing prisoners are only aimed at [increasing] their own capacity for action. Their methods include the death of Schleyer's escorts."

After this "indictment" of the RAF, which could have appeared in any SPD newspaper and is worthy of the SB, the GIM concludes:

> "In the case of contemporary groups which follow a policy of individual terror, whether they belong to the workers movement is extremely questionable.... We are presently discussing within our organization the more far-reaching political conclusions to be drawn from the recent upsurge of individual terrorism."

It is a telling indictment of the Pabloists, who change their positions with every shift in the winds of petty-bourgeois opinion, that the people who at the height of the Guevarist rage called for a strategy of "protracted guerrilla war" in Latin America now want to read any group which uses terrorist methods out of the left.

In fact, not so long ago the centrist USec majority excused incidents of indiscriminate terror by nationalist groups whose victims were not representatives of the bourgeoisie but random individuals. The criminal slaughter of Puerto Rican Baptist tourists at Lod Airport in Israel by the "Japanese Red Army" in league with the Palestinian PFLP was called merely a "great mistake" in *Was Tun* No. 6. And don't forget the Munich massacre. When Israeli athletes were killed as a result of their senseless kidnapping by the Palestinian nationalist Black September group, the political bureau of the USec's French section wrote that "the action of Black September must be unconditionally supported" (*Rouge*, 30 September 1972). But let some homegrown terrorists—not exotic "Third World" heroes who can be romanticized and vicariously cheered on—kidnap a top industrialist and former Nazi, and the fickle GIM suddenly questions whether the RAF is part of the left.

The shamelessness of the Pabloists does not even stop here. The GIM's first reaction to the Köln attack was one of sympathy for the dead cops! "We feel no joy over the kidnapping of Schleyer. Not only because of the death of four policemen, who are of course not uninvolved, but at least are not personally guilty..." (*Was Tun*, 8 September). Are the police not the professional gunmen, the mailed fist of the bourgeois state? Yet this infamy should not be surprising coming from supporters of an "International" whose Spanish section calls on the Francoist state to dissolve fascist bands, whose American "fraternal" supporters call on the U.S. imperialist army to protect black people in Boston, and whose French section supports unionization of the cops. Perhaps, in the tradition of the American SWP, which sent a telegram of condolences to the widow Kennedy in 1963, the GIM will soon issue public statements of its sympathy for the next of kin of the Bubacks, Pontos, Schleyers and their "escorts."

Down with the "Anti-Terrorist" Witchhunt!

The GIM tries to buttress its capitulation with a quote from Trotsky, writing in 1911 in *Kampf*, the newspaper of Austrian social democracy. *Was Tun* No. 175 prints a passage in which Trotsky shows how terrorists with their "heroic actions" push the masses aside, driving them into political passivity. But

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Witchhunt in West Germany...

(continued from page 9)

these cowering renegades from Trotskyism neglect to print the end of the article which breathes a revolutionary fire far too hot for the pages of their economist sheet:

> "No matter what the eunuchs and pharisees of morality say, the desire for vengeance has its legitimate rights. It attests to the highest moral honor of the working class that is incapable of simply observing with bored indifference what goes on in this best of all worlds. The task of social democracy is not to extinguish the proletariat's thirst for vengeance but, on the contrary, to always fan its flames, to feed it, in order to deepen it and direct it against the true causes of all injustice and human depravity.
>
> "If we nevertheless reject terrorist acts, it is not because we do not recognize the right to revenge, but instead because individual revenge is insufficient. The bill we have to settle with the capitalist world order is too large to present to a vulgar government official with the title of minister. To understand all the crimes against mankind and all the disgraces to human dignity as the products of a social system, in order to bring together all our force in collective struggle against this system—that is the path whereby the most flaming desire for revenge can find its highest moral satisfaction."

Unlike the USec, the Spartacist League has always politically opposed guerrillaism (whether urban or rural) and terrorism as deadend strategies of petty-bourgeois adventurism, substitutionism and despair which can never lead to the revolutionary workers state based on soviet democracy which is our goal. Moreover, we have consistently distinguished the false and dangerous policy of individual terror from the criminal practice of indiscriminate terrorism. When the French section of the USec called the Black September action at Munich "an act of legitimate violence of a people to whom international reaction and the treason of the Arab bourgeoisies have left no choice," the Spartacist tendency wrote:

> "The indefensible petty-bourgeois terrorist frenzy manifested at Munich grows out of the evident Israeli consolidation of the victories carved out of the living body of the Arab peoples ... the bourgeois outcry passes lightly over the vastly bloodier retaliation by the Israeli state.... But while one can understand how the plight of the Palestinian people drives groups like the PFLP and Black September to desperate and frenzied acts, nonetheless indiscriminate mass terror such as Munich or Lydda is completely indefensible."
>
> *Workers Vanguard* No. 13, November 1972

In the same article, while condemning the criminal attack at Munich, we made clear our consistent defense of the entire left against the terror of the capitalist state:

> "Individual terror directed against the class enemy, no matter how inevitably counterproductive and substitutionist, is still an act of class hatred against oppression, and its perpetrators must be defended against bourgeois repression."

Unlike the sometime vicarious guerrillaists of the USec, who now seek cowardly excuses to avoid defending the RAF prisoners, the international Spartacist tendency does not apologize for its unblemished record of defense of the workers movement.

Freedom for the RAF prisoners! Freedom for all left prisoners! Down with the "anti-terrorist" witchhunt! For proletarian unity of action against the threatened ban against "communist organizations"!

Down with all emergency laws! Down with the "contact ban" law! For the dissolution of the *Bundesgrenzschutz* and the mobile intervention commandos!

Smash the *Berufsverbot*—No blacklisting in the trade unions!

For the proletarian class justice of a workers government! ■

The German Kill...

(continued from page 1)

venturist and criminal terrorists, whose pointless hijacking was doomed to failure, but also against the helpless leftists imprisoned in West Germany.

The hijacking was a godsend for the West German ruling class. Instead of the unsavory Schleyer, the former SS man and right-wing capitalist, attention could now be focused on the plight of innocent men, women and children. Even Pope Paul VI managed to get into the act, pompously pontificating, "If it were useful we would offer even our person for the liberation of those hostages" (*New York Times*, 18 October).

The antics of the Lufthansa hijackers stand counterposed not only to the aims but even to the tactics of the proletarian vanguard, which seeks to assert its revolutionary mission when the bourgeoisie is divided, capitalist society is in manifest disarray and the vast majority of the working population has been won to support of the revolutionary cause. The blood-drenched bourgeoisie can now congratulate itself for being the "liberators" of innocent people from the "leftist" forces of chaos.

The alleged suicide of the RAF prisoners is even a more spectacular story. The version given out by the West German authorities would seem incredible on the face of it: that four RAF prisoners—who have been held in isolation from each other in a special prison-fortress built for them, under conditions of imprisonment which have given a new meaning to the phrase "maximum security," not permitted visits even from their lawyers—managed to acquire deadly weapons (including 7.65mm and 9mm military pistols) and seek to kill themselves (by shooting, stabbing and hanging) in their cells. According to the minister of justice of Baden-Württemberg, Traugott Bender, the cells of the RAF prisoners were searched daily.

The tale is hideously reminiscent of the alleged suicide in May 1976 of Ulrike Meinhof, co-leader of the RAF with Andreas Baader (one of the new "suicides"). According to preliminary news reports, some elements of the Bonn government expressed "shock" at the news of the supposed suicides, while nevertheless insisting that there appeared to be no lengths to which the "Baader-Meinhof Gang" would not go in their terroristic assault on the West German state—including "self-destruction"!

Shades of Count Otto Skorzeny!

The well-executed Mogadishu raid by the increasingly aggressive "federal border police" is being compared in the bourgeois press to last year's Israeli raid on a hijacked aircraft at Entebbe, Uganda. It is the first such action by German forces since an SS Kommando led by Count Otto Skorzeny in 1943 rescued the imprisoned fascist dictator Mussolini from an Italian mountaintop fortress. Skorzeny, a lifelong Nazi who finally died in exile in Madrid, would have totally approved of the Mogadishu raid. But, in fact, the GSC-9 commando responsible for the Mogadishu raid and the deaths of three of the four hijackers is the offspring of the governments of Social Democratic chancellors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt.

The increasingly authoritarian West German state now presided over by Schmidt & Co. is a product of the American bourgeoisie. The "father" of the Federal Republic of Germany—"Der Alte," Konrad Adenauer—stepped into his job as the administrator of a state "Made in the U.S.A." It was U.S. imperialism that set up the state which allows the SS to hold legal reunions and gives its members government pensions. It was U.S. imperialism which created a state that absorbed the bureaucracy of the Third Reich more or less intact.

As for the West German social democracy, it got its start during and after the war in the service of the American CIA, and was originally assigned (with pay) to placate and deflect the struggles of the powerful working class of western Germany. As late as a couple of years ago, Social Democratic Party leader and then chancellor Brandt was a conduit for massive funds to Portuguese social democrat Mário Soares.

The courageous but misguided attempts of the RAF to struggle against imperialism and oppression in an individualistic petty-bourgeois fashion have failed miserably. The West German bourgeoisie is firmly in the saddle and making ready use of every action of the decomposed New Leftist RAF to strengthen its repressive apparatus which is aimed, in the final analysis, at the proletariat. Only by rejecting the road of petty-bourgeois despair, and by turning to and organizing the proletariat under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, can the imperialist order be toppled and replaced with the soviet dictatorship of the working class. ■

Stearns...

(continued from page 12)

The leaders of the UMWA, however, have not matched the courage and stamina of the Stearns miners who fought the cops yesterday in opposition to local union organizers. "We advised them not to break the restraining order," Wright told *WV*, "but they just felt like they had to make a stand and they did."

The UMWA International has provided a team of organizers and $100 per week in benefits for each striker. A hundred and fifty militants cannot be expected by themselves, however, to defeat the combined resources of Bonnyman and his allies, the Storm gun thugs and the Kentucky cops and courts.

Faced with this iron front of the miners' class enemies, the beleaguered strikers need immediate demonstrations of working-class support in Stearns. Militants throughout the coalfields must be organized for massive rallies and picketing to demand that the court charges be dropped and to defeat the imminent assaults by scabs and cops.

A five-day national coal workstoppage belatedly called by Miller in August, 1974 was required to force the Duke Power Company to recognize the union after the 13-month Brookside strike at Harlan. The same tactic will work today. An industry-wide strike bringing the weight of the entire union to bear in solidarity with the Stearns miners is crucial and would quickly win a contract from Blue Diamond.

Drop the Charges! Bring out the UMW! Victory to the Stearns Strike! ■

Anti-Bakke Demos...

(continued from page 2)

ing organized a strategy of defeats, the reformists try to deny reality by proclaiming phony victories. The anti-Bakke rallies are hailed as the beginning of a new "upsurge" in the "mass movement." Worst of all, the reformists' eagerness to counterpose the call for blacks' rights to the union movement has assisted in a particularly dangerous racial polarization of the working class when the need for a strategy to undercut this deadly antagonism is more urgent than ever.

The NCOBD reformists will only impede the struggle against *Bakke* by teach-

Liberal Newsweek legitimizes the racist codeword "reverse discrimination."

ing black students and workers to bloc with the Democratic Party—black people's worst enemy—against the labor movement. Unlike state-enforced school busing, affirmative action retains a certain political usefulness for "ethnic purity" Carter as a legal basis for attacks on the unions.

The reformists' idea of a "victory" for blacks is for Carter to persuade the Supreme Court to defer any definitive decision on affirmative action, quota hiring and special admissions programs. There can be no victory for blacks so long as the black masses remain tied to the Democratic Party and isolated from the labor movement! What is required is a class-struggle leadership to mobilize the entire working class in defense of the rights and aspirations of specially oppressed strata of the working people, centering on the struggle within the unions to unlock the social power of the organized proletariat from the deathgrip of the reactionary labor bureaucracy. The liberal/reformist misleaders who see the bourgeois state as the agent of progressive social change have brought the black masses nothing but defeats. Only an integrated working-class leadership can point the way to revolutionary victory. ■

Building the Leninist Vanguard—

From the Gay Left to Trotskyism

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Concorde: Let It Land!...

(continued from page 5)

Coalition to Stop the SST they have embraced something far more sinister. In an intensely racist country, which is moreover in the midst of a rightward drift, it is not surprising that the membership of the Emergency Coalition, based on Queens homeowners, overlaps with the local chapter of ROAR, the group which led the reactionary anti-busing mobilizations in Boston and has since branched out to other East Coast cities.

In coming out for landing rights for the SST, transportation secretary Adams conceded that the approaching French elections were a prime consideration for the U.S. government. It is estimated that Air France loses $4 million a month by not being able to land at JFK, and the U.S. is concerned to protect the Giscard/Barre government from the threat of Union of the Left electoral gains amid mounting anti-Americanism linked to the Concorde ban.

In the past few months the French Communist Party (PCF) has mounted a rabidly protectionist campaign for Concorde landing rights in New York. The PCF has plastered the walls of Paris with "Concorde à New-York" posters, and to dramatize the issue, on July 21 some 50 Communist militants from Aerospatiale (the French company manufacturing the planes in partnership with Britain) invaded a TV station to demand that the news broadcaster read their manifesto on the SST. The communiqué read in part:

> "The landing of the Concorde in New York is not an affair of noise or pollution since the nuisances are equivalent to those of American Boeings. Instead of talking about national independence, a government that cared about the interests of our people would act. At stake is the sacrifice of the most developed branch of French industry on the altar of American profit."

What is really involved here is the PCF's electoral strategy of proving itself as the best defender of French capitalism. Ever since the days of the World War II resistance, when the bulk of the French bourgeoisie collaborated with the Vichy government and the Nazi occupiers, the Stalinists have posed as the strongest defenders of the bourgeois "fatherland," often in conjunction with the Gaullists. (Thus one aspect of the PCF's pro-Concorde propaganda is its current effort to attract dissident Gaullists as the fourth element of the popular front.)

The international Spartacist tendency holds, along with the Communist Manifesto, that "the workers have no country" this side of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We alone of the left groups in the United States have criticized the chauvinist outcry over the Concorde and demanded that it be allowed to land. This gives added authority to the critique of the PCF's social-patriotism and economic chauvinism by our French sympathizing section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France. No other left group in France can make this claim, including the PCF. (The U.S. Communist Party maintains a stony silence on the Concorde.)

In addition to our struggle against insidious nationalism which poisons relations between the national components of the international working class, we favor development of the SST as an important technological advance. Marxists are not Luddites, and even though the Concorde will primarily benefit businessmen and the rich, it will also have its fallout for what the ultra-rightists slanderously call the "international communist conspiracy." In future history books it will certainly be recorded that jet airplanes played a vital role in reforging the Fourth International, along with those two other marvelous technological advances, the long-distance telephone and the xerox machine ■

In Defense of Democratic Centralism...

(continued from page 7)

to the heroic days of the Communist International.

One of the great achievements of the Bolsheviks was to recognize that a political split in the working class is the precondition for proletarian revolution. The Bolsheviks had achieved this by 4 August 1914, but they had not generalized it either theoretically or internationally. The German revolutionary left of the time paid with the loss of its leaders, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, and a lost revolution for its failure to have assimilated this lesson.

Workerism and "Freedom of Criticism"

We presented to you, comrades, in our written greetings to your conference, a certain definition of our understanding of the Leninist form of organization: "We state that the fundamental principle for communists is that one struggles among one's comrades to gain a majority for one's program, and that anyone who seeks to mobilize backward forces and alien class elements from outside a revolutionary Marxist organization in order to struggle for ascendency inside that organization is no communist." To depart from this conception would immediately lead to the organization of the backward sections of the class against the party, especially its majority. I'm speaking in connection with the slogan "freedom of criticism, unity of action" employed in the united Menshevik-Bolshevik party of 1906. In the long run it necessarily leads to dissolving the party back into the class as a whole.

In the United States, I am acquainted with a particular species of workerism, the semi-syndicalists such as the Ellens group (related to Lutte Ouvrière) and the Leninist Faction (LF) majority, who have a conception that the working class in its natural condition has a pure proletarian essence. Now there's a very good book called *The Making of the British Working Class* by E.P. Thompson, and in the opening paragraphs he makes the observation that the working class cannot be described as a class detached from capitalist society. It can only be seen in the context, not only of the economics, but of the social relations of society as a whole. There are backward sections of the working class. The workers who support the social democracy in most countries are relatively advanced, as is the case with the workers who support the Stalinist parties where they are mass parties.

In a working class such as that in the United States, large sections of the workers are very backward indeed. But they are backward from the standpoint of the historic interests represented by the proletarian vanguard. They are forward in terms of bourgeois ideas. Religion, alcoholism, male chauvinism and the most virulent forms of racism are predominant manifestations in the absence of class struggle and without the presence of a proletarian vanguard. The workerists refuse to see all this and instead see a pure, uncontaminated, isolated proletariat. At the same time they see the vanguard party as a mixture of radical workers and radical intellectuals who may not be so declassed.

The principal party internationally of the International Socialists (IS), the British organization of Tony Cliff, has lately become workerist. The IS, as a collection of the world's most perfect centrists, avidly follow political fads. Until a few years ago they were very pro-Labour Party and called their newspaper *The Labour Worker*. Today they are very much opposed to the British Labour Party, denying that it has any working-class character, and now call their paper the *Socialist Worker*. This by way of a preliminary to a current view of Tony Cliff.

Wanting to unite with the soul of the workers (as against the ugly Labour Party, which he once worshipped), he has written an essay called "Trotsky on Substitutionism" [in the I.S. pamphlet *Party and Class*], from which I'd like to read you a quote:

> "Since the revolutionary party cannot have interests apart from the class, all the party's issues of policy are those of the class and they should therefore be thrashed out in the open in its presence. The freedom of discussion which exists in a factory meeting, which aims at unity of action after decisions are taken, should apply to the revolutionary party. This means that all discussions on basic issues of policy should be discussed in the light of day, in the open press. Let the mass of the workers take part in the discussion. Put pressure on the party, its apparatus, its leadership."

It's a little awkward to know what to say about that. The idea that the whole class, in all its sectional, racial, national backwardness, is to be the jury to decide questions of revolutionary strategy is appalling. In a trade union, which is a kind of economic united front, or in a political united front it is of course necessary for all of the participants who act to offer freely their criticism. But the idea that workers who follow priests, workers who are Stalinists, workers who belong to social-democratic parties should put pressure on in order to determine the policy of the revolutionary Marxists is an idea that will maintain the power of the bourgeoisie until a thermonuclear bomb eliminates the question.

"Exceptions" to Democratic Centralism

In our greetings to your conference, we spoke of certain exceptional circumstances in connectinn with the application of democratic centralism among revolutionaries. Among the exceptional circumstances are when the party form does not centrally correspond with the revolutionary Marxist program. In the period at the end of and just after World War I, several large parties of the Socialist International broke apart with big sections, often majorities, going over to the Third International. France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the United States come to mind. We also grabbed the left wing of the Polish PPS. In the period of this transition, there was just such a separation of party and program.

Another comparable circumstance would be where the revolutionists have entered in a reformist or centrist political formation. There, too, we would struggle for the maximum freedom of public discussion and the minimum unity in action. Still another exeeptional circumstance would be when the division between the internal and external has become diffuse, as in truly mass parties, especially those in power. The third case comes under a document that I was just handed entitled "On the Principle of Democratic Centralism: Freedom of Criticism, Unity of Action." Trotsky is quoted as writing, "The entire history of Bolshevism is one of the free struggle of tendencies and factions." This is a perfectly true quotation, but it is misleading because everywhere in that period (as even Barbara Gregorich of the LF, who did research on it, admits) Trotsky spoke of *internal* freedom of discussion.

Here's a quotation which makes that clear. In the Trotsky *Writings 1932-1933*, speaking of the Russian Oppositionalists, he says: "They were subjected to persecution only for having criticised the policy of the leading faction within the limits of internal criticism that had constituted the vital element of Bolshevik Party democracy." Also in the paper that I was handed there's another quotation taken from the Transitional Program. It says, "Ohne innere Demokratie gibt es keine revolutionäre Erziehung." Now "ohne innere Demokratie" sounds to me like "without inner democracy."

But the list of exceptional circumstances has not been exhausted. There was the projected split of Shachtman and Burnham from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1940. It cut the SWP in half on the eve of World War II. Many of the youth that followed Shachtman and Burnham believed that they were involved in no revisionism, but were only going to build a bigger, better, faster revolutionary party. Trotsky and Cannon, in an effort to secure a little time in the framework of formal unification, made very substantial concessions in an attempt to retain the minority. There was, of course, no stopping of the minority, but Trotsky's majority made it very clear that these were episodic, special concessions in an attempt to give some of those in the minority a chance under easy organizational conditions to reconsider. Just as you might have wanted to make special concessions to the IKD when they walked out as a large minority. But even a special internal bulletin, much less the public presentation of differences, is not a stable or healthy condition of inner-party life.

I was in an organization which had such organizational guarantees as a permanent fixture. It was the Young Socialist League, the Shachtmanite youth group in 1954-57. The Shachtmanites had put many very democratic statements about "freedom of criticism" in their organizational rules in order to appeal to liberals who were afraid of totalitarian Bolshevism. Nobody ever used these rules until a left wing formed three years later. We then began to publish the left-wing bulletin—not only internal, but a public bulletin of our own. It could have had no other meaning, and was intended as a split bulletin. When the fight came to a showdown, they had to pass 22 amendments to their constitution. But of course these new restrictions were only for the troublesome Trotskyists. The right-wing social-democratic elements could continue to practice freedom of criticism.

This gets to the core of the question. Why, why, why do you want to take your differences outside your organization, to rally its enemies against your organization? Shachtman wanted to. The American radical liberals had turned very sharply against Russia after the Hitler-Stalin pact. That section of the SWP that was sensitive to this petty-bourgeois public opinion wanted to prove that they weren't as bad as the other Trotskyists. And in ordinary times that is always the way it is with those who want to take their troubles outside a revolutionary party.

In times of great revolutionary turmoil the mass of the working class may run ahead of a somewhat sluggish revolutionary party. Lenin faced this situation a couple of times between the February and the October revolutions. When he was faced with conservative obstruction on the Central Committee, he threatened to take his case to the workers. This was not freedom of criticism within the party: it meant *split* and the creation of a second party, and Lenin knew it. To split is no crime, providing that there is sufficient political clarity and necessity to make a split. It is part of the living political process. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

80 Jailed as Scabherding Cops Assault Coal Strikers

Stearns Explodes

Bring Out the UMW– Remember Harlan!

OCTOBER 18 The coal miners of Stearns, Kentucky stood toe-to-toe with club-swinging, helmeted state cops yesterday afternoon at the entrance to the struck Justus mine in the Cumberland Mountains. The cops were determined to break the miners' resistance to the Blue Diamond Coal Company's first attempt to bring scabs into the pit. The strikers were equally determined that the scabs would not pass.

The mine has been closed for 15 months in a struggle to win a United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract. The strike has been marked by months of gunfire from Blue Diamond's hired Storm Security Service gun thugs and the workers' grim resolve to answer every attack.

The Stearns, Kentucky coal miners are in desperate need of financial assistance. The company and its cops continue to try to break their strike, their spirit and their pocketbooks. On October 26 the 80 jailed miners will come to court to face heavy legal charges and expenses, as well as the wrath of a capitalist court hell-bent on stopping their drive for union organization. On behalf of the embattled miners, UMWA field organizer Freddy Wright appealed to *Workers Vanguard* for contributions to the Stearns Miners Relief Fund. *WV* urges its readers to send the urgently needed funds immediately. Checks should be made payable to: Stearns Miners Relief Fund, c/o Freddy Wright, 303 Yoakum Circle, La Follette, Tennessee.

When nearly every one of the 153 strikers gathered Monday at the miners' picket site and refused police orders to disperse, the cops called for reinforcements. After more than 100 of the uniformed riot-equipped strikebreakers had assembled, they waded into the workers' ranks, freely swinging their clubs. The miners battled back with clubs of their own in a ten-minute melee which left more than a dozen injured, including five cops. One worker received a fractured skull and his eardrum was hurst. Mahan Vanover, the local president, had a broken arm when the cops were finished. Eighty strikers were arrested.

Eventually the miners were defeated and the cops continued to beat their prisoners as they lay face down with their hands cuffed behind their backs.

Wide World

Above, state police stand guard over handcuffed Stearns miners, many of whom were beaten to the ground, below.

Wide World

At almost the same time, the police—with drawn guns—were arresting 20 women for being supporters of the union. They were gathered in the yard of a 67-year-old women who was dragged from her front porch and thrown into a squad car. When her 14-year-old son protested, he too was hauled off. Obviously innocent of any offense, the women were subsequently released.

The miners spent the night in jail and were arraigned today. The last were released this afternoon on their own recognizance after sitting for hours in police cars outside the courthouse. They will be tried October 26, and face severe penalties. It is urgent that the workers movement come to their defense.

The strikers' rage has risen steadily during the last week. Limited by court order to six pickets on the UMWA property which *the strikers purchased* near the mine entrance, a seventh worker was arrested October 12 as he delivered food to his comrades on picket duty. The same day, the first three scabs were brought into the mine. Sixteen strikers were arrested for protesting these provocations. The next day four scabs appeared and the following day, five. Miners reported rumors that 20 more were hired last weekend.

Needless to say, the cops, scabs and Blue Diamond's Gordon Bonnyman are working hand-in-hand. Union organizer Freddy Wright told *WV* that the police knew of company plans to scab the mine two weeks ago. Wright himself watched the police as they displayed their weapons to the scabs, shaking hands and patting them on the back. Robert Storm has boasted of close working relations between the cops and his private police force which gets 90 percent of its contracts in labor disputes.

Months of semi-automatic rifle and shotgun fire from the Storm thugs have not broken the strike (seven guards and one miner have been shot). An "organizing campaign" by the boss-controlled Southern Labor "Union" also failed to gain enough support for an N.L.R.B. certification vote, so Bonnyman is hoping that full-fledged scabbing backed up with state force will do the job. Although no scabs showed up yesterday or today, 160 cops are standing by, UMWA organizer Lee Potter told *WV*.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 179

28 October 1977

Black anger erupts at Stephen Biko funeral.

Majofra/Contact

Black Newspapers Closed, Anti-Apartheid Groups Banned

South Africa: Vorster Lashes Out

Mourners carry Biko's coffin into stadium.

Majofra/Contact

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

The butchers of Soweto struck again last week. Deepening attempts to intimidate and atomize all opposition to its white-supremacist policies, the South African government launched a new crackdown on October 19. "Justice" Minister James Kruger announced the closing of the largest-circulation black newspaper and the outlawing of 18 organizations, nearly all of them associated with the "black consciousness movement." Additionally, Kruger's stormtroopers arrested some 50 black leaders and more than 100 white university students and served "banning" orders on five liberal white clergymen and a prominent white journalist. The blacks could rot in jail indefinitely under the draconian preventive detention provisions of the Internal Security Act. The banned white oppositionists are consigned to virtual house arrest for five years.

With the outlawing of the "black consciousness" groups—principally the Black People's Convention (BPC), the South African Students Organization (SASO) and the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC)—every significant black political organization in South Africa is now illegal. Despite intense repression, these groups had operated openly, filling the void left by the older nationalist groups, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which were banned and driven into exile by the massive crackdown following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Prime Minister Balthazar J. Vorster explicitly linked the current wave of arrests and bannings with the post-Sharpeville repression, which he had personally overseen as Minister of Justice. "If we did not act against individuals and organizations as we acted in the early 1960's, you and I would not be sitting here tonight," Vorster told a crowd of cheering supporters at an election rally (*New York Times*, 21 October).

Kruger's official announcement of the new curbs was typical of the regime's policies: self-delusion beyond parody, racist arrogance beneath contempt. With the blood of black schoolchildren from Soweto and "Coloured" youths from Cape Town on his hands, with the body of murdered BPC leader Stephen Biko fresh in its grave, Kruger declared: "The Government is determined to insure that the peaceful co-existence of peoples in South Africa [!] is not disturbed by a small group of anarchists."

Besides the black consciousness groups—which embrace a broad political spectrum from accommodationist liberal tendencies to militant black nationalism—the so-called "anarchists" include the black secretary general of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference; a majority of the Committee of Ten, the moderate community leadership body which replaced the discredited Urban Bantu Council in Soweto; a director of a black group which runs medical clinics in the Eastern Cape; and the editor of *The World*, South Africa's most important black newspaper. The proscribed organizations also include the Union of Black Journalists and the well-known Christian Institute of Southern Africa, a white ecumenical religious body which has consistently irked the Vorster regime by its attacks on white supremacy.

Liberal Press Under Attack

Among the bourgeois opposition forces, the liberal press is especially

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Letters

To The Editor:

The Bakke decision has become the spearhead of a racist offensive aimed at stripping away the democratic rights of blacks and other minorities. This racist decision must be resolutely opposed by the entire labor movement. Our unions, ILWU Locals 6 and 10, have taken a strong position against the Bakke decision. In doing so, however, we have not joined with the liberals and reformists who link opposition to the Bakke suit with support for the capitalist government's union-busting Affirmative Action schemes.

The recent flurry of activity around the Bakke case demonstrates once again that the bosses and their government will waste no opportunity to use racial oppression and the divisions it fosters as a club against the working class. In the 1968 New York teachers' strike, a coalition of fake-leftists, black nationalists and liberal democrats came together under the guise of "community control" of education to undermine the teachers' union. The AFT bureaucracy, accepting the false logic of their arguments, equated the fight against black oppression with the destruction of unionism and opted for the racist status quo. Now, with the Bakke issue, we've seen legitimate concern about the special oppression of racial minorities turned into uncritical enthusing over union-busting capitalist Affirmative Action schemes. At bottom, what these two episodes have in common is the false notion pushed by Democratic Party liberals and echoed by the reformist left and their supporters in the trade unions: that gains for blacks can only come *at the expense of the organized labor movement.*

The ranks of the ILWU, from many bitter experiences with government intervention, know well that the government of big business is no friend of labor. Debates on Bakke and Affirmative Action in recent meetings of ILWU Local 6 and 10 revealed once again a willingness on the part of the union ranks to reject the divide-and-conquer schemes of the bosses and their government. They know that any real gains—jobs, decent housing, better medical care and equal educational opportunities—for racial minorities will be wrested from the ruling class only by a united struggle of black and white workers against the employers.

For the membership of our union, like most major industrial unions in the U.S., racial discrimination is not a secondary issue. Some 60 percent of Local 10 Longshoremen are black. The membership of Local 6 is over one-third black and one-third Spanish-speaking. Any infringement on union seniority rights by government Affirmative Action lawsuits would itself be an attack on the rights of minorities, leading to an erosion of the job opportunities and living standards of black and Latino union members.

In Local 6, the membership went beyond the position of simple opposition to Bakke taken by the leadership. The September 15 East Bay Division membership meeting unanimously endorsed a Militant Caucus motion which, in addition to opposing the Bakke decision, called for open college admissions with full scholarships and a living stipend paid for by the government to provide equal educational opportunities for all.

In Local 10, a political fight broke out at the September membership meeting over a motion put forward by loyal "oppositionist" Leo Robinson with the support of his regular bloc partner, Communist Party supporter Bill Proctor. Originally proposed at a previous Local 10 executive board, Robinson's motion called for support to the National Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision, not only in its efforts to reverse the Bakke decision but also in *any other efforts* of the Coalition. The CP-backed coalition makes support for Affirmative Action lawsuits a central part of its program. When we opposed this at the executive board, Robinson race-baited us and successfully rammed through his motion. He was not so successful at the subsequent membership meeting, however, where Howard Keylor's warnings about the dangers of Affirmative Action lawsuits forced the Local president to change the wording of the motion during the course of the meeting.

Keylor warned against any reliance on the government to defend democratic rights for black people, noting the waffling Justice Department brief on Bakke. And he read the sections of the Coalition leaflet which *condemned* the Supreme Court decision allowing the Teamsters seniority system to stand. He noted the dangerous conclusion of the Coalition's position: capitalist government intervention in the union hiring hall.

As it was eventually passed, the motion supported the Coalition's efforts to overturn the Bakke decision, but specifically denied Local 10 support for any other efforts of the Coalition which would attack union seniority.

It is our belief in the working class as the instrument of revolutionary change which has differentiated us from Robinson, Proctor & Co., who go scurrrying to the capitalist government and its politicians at the first opportunity. Thus, for instance, in the fight against South African apartheid, Robinson/Proctor have been quick to make verbal calls for total, open-ended boycotts of South Africa—a demand which could only be either meaningless tokenism (boycott Krugerrands) or a call on the American capitalist government for chauvinist trade war. At the same time, it was Robinson, Proctor & Co., who scuttled a motion for longshore action against South African shipping on the eve of the general strike to protest the Soweto massacres last year.

The history of our union has much to offer in the way of lessons for those genuinely concerned about combating racial oppression. Every major step forward was made in defiance of the capitalist government. The bloody 1934 San Francisco general strike was fought principally over the issue of the union hiring hall. The 1948 longshore strike was waged in defense of this historic gain despite Taft-Hartley injunctions. Thirty years of union-controlled hiring in longshore and warehouse meant successful racial integration of Local 6 and Local 10. In Hawaii, where the ILWU was successful following World War II in organizing virtually the entire island's workforce, decades of racial hostility were overcome by the bonds of solidarity forged in those organizing struggles. More recently, due largely to the efforts of the Militant Caucus, Local 6 and 10 lent active support to the campaign to jail the murderers of Tyrone Guyton, a black youth shot in the back by racist Emeryville cops.

The popularity of "Affirmative Action" schemes has been facilitated by the insensitivity and complacency of the union bureaucracies, and on this point the ILWU bureaucracy is no exception. Over the past two years alone for instance, the International leadership has ignored or refused to implement repeated votes by the membership to dump the contract and strike for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay to create more jobs—the basis for a real solution to racial oppression.

It is clear from events surrounding the anti-Bakke campaigns that the current union leadership is unwilling to mobilize the union in defense of the civil rights and living standards of blacks and other minorities. That can and must be changed. By forging bonds of struggle between black, white and Latino workers to dump the labor fakers, we can help put the labor movement on the road of struggle toward a workers party and a workers government. As a class-struggle opposition in the ILWU, we are determined to bring that about by building a new militant leadership in our union.

Howard Keylor
Executive Board
ILWU longshore Local 10
Stan Gow
Executive Board
ILWU longshore Local 10
Bob Mandel
General Executive Board
ILWU warehouse Local 6

Letter to the Toronto Globe & Mail:

"Middle Class Blacks Aren't Real Africa, Editor Writes"

The following letter was published in the 12 October Toronto *Globe and Mail*.

Ray Clifton's story "South African Blacks Have Serious Misgivings About Majority Rule" (Oct. 6) was followed up the next day by your editorial, "Passlaws", expressing a modicum of skepticism regarding Mr. Clifton's claim that blacks actually approve of apartheid regulations which require such savage police terror to enforce. But skepticism is a less than adequate response to Mr. Clifton's blatant apology for white supremacy in South Africa.

Unlike those "who have never stepped inside the country and based themselves on out-of-date information" Mr. Clifton seems to base most of his information on interviews with eight middle-class black Africans including teachers and the chief of personnel at a large factory. He does not mention the up-to-date information that blacks who reach managerial or professional status in South Africa are rather unrepresentative. Thus, as against 24.1 per cent of the white work force in such occupations, they are only 3.1 per cent of the black work force.

Further, even though two of the eight blacks interviewed were teachers and one was a university lecturer, either they failed to inform Mr. Clifton or he fails to inform us that while education is free and compulsory for whites, it is voluntary and often prohibitively expensive for the impoverished black population. Nor does he mention that the gap between what the Government spends for every white pupil and for every black pupil has increased every year since the National Party came to power in 1948. Thus in 1953 expenditures per white pupil were 5-1/2 times greater than those per black pupil; in 1964 they were 10 times greater and by 1974, 15 times greater.

Further as it is not economically feasible for many black children to enter or complete school, the gap for expenditures per child is even greater. Perhaps Mr. Clifton was not given this "up-to-date" evidence of gross discrimination because blacks who express opinions contrary to the white supremacist regime in Pretoria do not long hold middle-class jobs. Or perhaps he does not report such evidence because it does not conform to his attempt to convey widespread black support for apartheid.

European colonialism destroyed the tribal-based economies which rested on unlimited grazing rights, communal land, etc. Apartheid is, in turn, destroying what remains of family life. Only those repressive aspects of tribal institutions which directly serve the interests of white supremacy and South African capitalism are being reintroduced to "retribalize" the black proletariat. Black townships are nothing but concentration-camp ghettos. According to the *London Observer* (June 20, 1976) in Soweto 86 per cent of the homes are without electricity, 93 per cent without a shower or bath, 97 per cent without hot water and the unemployment rate is 54 per cent. According to reports in the Johannesburg *Financial Mail* last year, before the Soweto uprising, in May, 1976, the poverty datum line (PDL) for a black family of five in Soweto was estimated at 129 Rands per month, but the actual average income was 73 Rands. I suspect that if Mr. Clifton had to live under such conditions he might consider them a hardship, even if he could live with his "own". For blacks he portrays these deplorable conditions as communal bliss.

Mr. Clifton concludes by praising the "mood of optimism about the future of the black in South Africa." But optimism cannot be founded on faith in reforming the vicious apartheid system which Mr. Clifton so disingenuously defends. Optimism can only be based upon the social weight and combativity of the black laboring masses. It is they who by smashing apartheid and translating "majority rule" into a black-centred workers and peasants government will repossess their birthright and wealth and open the road for ending poverty and injustice through black Africa.

John Masters
Editor, *Spartacist Canada*
Toronto

Spartacus Youth League
CLASS SERIES

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SL/SYL Demonstrate Against David Duke:

"The Klan Will Not Ride in the Bay Area!"

Demonstrators protest appearance of KKK Grand Wizard David Duke.

WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO, October 25—On Sunday, October 16, David Duke, national director and "Grand Wizard" of the Ku Klux Klan, swooped down in a rented helicopter on the 24-lane San Ysidro border crossing just outside San Diego, California, where, in the company of about a dozen fascist companions, he held a press conference to announce plans for 500 to 1,000 *armed* Klansmen to patrol the Mexican border from San Diego to Texas. Duke snarled: "The rising flow of color is washing over our border, washing away our culture, our racial fabric and changing America as we know it." Duke also claimed that several Border Patrol members are Klansmen and that the KKK had been receiving cooperation from lower-level officials of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Following the press conference, the KKKers were given a tour of the INS office by the agent in charge.

This publicity stunt, aimed at generating press coverage of the KKK, was only one stop on Duke's recruiting tour in California. Playing on liberal guilt and demanding the Klan's "right" to freedom of speech, Duke has managed to garner a good deal of free press coverage and air time for his vicious hate campaign. But he has met with militant resistance as well.

At the San Ysidro border crossing about two dozen supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party/Revolutionary Student Brigade (RCP/RSB), the RCP-supported Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), and the Progressive Labor Party-backed Committee Against Racism (CAR) confronted Duke, chanting "Death to the Klan" and throwing eggs, at least one of which hit its target. One demonstrator was arrested (for assault with a deadly weapon) after allegedly throwing a brick at a car full of Klansmen. According to VVAW spokesman Landy Collier, the car had been attempting to run down the demonstrators. None of the fascists were arrested.

Again at a hotel press conference in Sacramento on October 20, Duke was met by about 50 demonstrators who tore the door of the conference room off its hinges in an attempt to stop him from spewing out his calls for lynch moh race terror. The Klansmen were protected by deputy sheriffs, who dispersed the demonstration.

In the Bay Area, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) took the lead in mobilizing against the KKK publicity campaign, calling for united-front action around the slogan, "The Klan will not ride in the Bay Area!" An Ad Hoc Committee to Stop David Duke, initiated by the SL/SYL, threatened to picket the KPFA radio station in Berkeley and began a call-in campaign protesting the scheduled live appearance by the Klan Führer. The barrage of protest forced the station to cancel the event. When KGO Radio across the Bay in San Francisco offered free air time to Duke on Saturday, the Committee threw up a militant picket line of about a hundred demonstrators chanting "Genocide is not debatable!" and "No platform for fascists!"

The Ad Hoc Committee was formed on the elementary position that there can be "no platform" for fascist scum. In an October 20 press release, the Committee said:

> "The KKK is a fascist organization of *action*, not words, whose only use for 'debate' is to gain publicity to carry out its racialist and genocidal program against blacks, Jews, union militants and leftists. Recent events such as racist anti-busing mobilizations in Boston and Chicago, and the pro-Bakke decision have emboldened these vermin to more openly propagate their fascist ideology—as evidenced by their recent appearances at anti-Bakke demonstrations in the Bay Area and their recent proposal to establish *armed* KKK border patrols aimed at stopping undocumented Mexican workers from crossing into the U.S.
>
> "The Ad Hoc Committee, initiated by the Spartacist League, and endorsed by labor and left groups and concerned individuals, was instrumental in forcing KPFA to cancel its proposed debate with Duke this Friday. The demonstration is called to protest the increasingly more heinous activities of the Klan and prevent it from propagating its program and organizing its terror and murderous campaigns. No platform for fascists!"

But while even the bourgeois liberal San Francisco Press Club turned down Duke's request to use its facilities for a press conference—on the grounds that it feared damage to its property—"left" groups could not even muster the courage to endorse the Ad Hoc Committee's picket line. Most blatant was the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), whose spokesman, John Votava, bluntly stated in reference to the Klan: "We don't think they should be deprived a priori of their right of free speech.... Besides, you can't protest against every bad thing that happens." An SL/SYL leaflet distributed at an SWP-sponsored anti-deportation conference in the Bay Area over the weekend excoriated the head-in-the-sand civil libertarianism of these reformists:

> "The Ad Hoc Committee to Stop David Duke contacted the self-proclaimed 'best builders' of the anti-deportations movement and invited them to come and confront *la migra*'s fascist assistants. The SWP/YSA response? 'It's a false issue,' said their Berkeley organizer; 'That's not our approach,' said an SWP organizer in San Francisco; 'You know our position,' said the SWP organizer in San Jose. Yes, we are familiar with the SWP/YSA's position, respect for the fascists' 'right' to free speech 'without qualifications' (*Young Socialist*, July-August 1975). The SWP is so committed to demonstrate their loyalty to bourgeois legality that they will defend the Klan's 'right' to organize racist border-patrol murder squads. The SWP/YSA's refusal to demonstrate against the Klan shows their opposition to deportations to be a hollow sham."

Equally disgusting was the response of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), which was more interested in maintaining its friendly relations with the liberal, listener-sponsored KPFA than in smashing the Klan's organizing drive. When asked by a Spartacist spokesman on October 19 about endorsing the picket line, CP leader Albert Lima agreed that the fascists have no right to a platform but recoiled from endorsing the protest on the absurd ground that it might mean the "destruction of KPFA." Unlike many liberal supporters of the station, such as Jessica Mitford and attorney Charles Garry and trade unionists like ILWU International secretary-treasurer Curtis McLain, who responded to the Committee's call to protest Duke's appearance, the possibility that the growth of the Klan might result in more than the destruction of KPFA apparently did not bother the fake "communists" of the "Communist" Party.

Eventually KPFA management canceled Duke's live appearance—a real victory for the workers movement—after "a lot of internal debate" between management and workers (most of whom are in UE Local 1412) and because "community people became involved in the discussion," according to Alan Snitow, chief steward of UE workers at KPFA. But it was clear that the political question was not resolved. Instead, a rotten compromise was worked out. In place of Duke, KPFA featured a program on the "resurgent right" with guest speakers Mark Allen, staff writer for the CP West Coast weekly *People's World*, and teacher/activist Yvonne Golden.

Allen agreed with the liberal concept of "exposing" the Klan but objected to the "concept of a debate" and quickly separated himself from the Ad Hoc Committee by noting proudly that "I did not launch a picket line against the station." True enough. Allen pandered to the self-styled "Third-Worldists" at KPFA, asserting that "a people's radio station" cannot respond to threats. Thus he equates the working-class militancy and hatred for the Klan of the Ad Hoc Committee with the fascist terror of the KKKers!

But the liberal talk show host, Mama O'Shea, would not accept the cancellation of Duke. So when the phone calls came in, O'Shea admitted that she selected Duke's phone call first to allow her listeners to respond. Caught by his own treachery in a de facto debate with

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100 Ad Hoc Committee supporters demand "No platform for fascists!" outside KGO-TV station.

WV Photo

Protectionism at USWA District 31 Conference

Balanoff Plays Footsie with McBride

Sadlowski Bureaucrats Slide Toward Protectionism

CHICAGO—Faced with upwards of 65,000 firings and layoffs in the steel industry since summer the annual conference of District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) was held here this past weekend. While there was plenty of huffing and puffing about protectionism and price rollbacks, there was not the slightest hint from the militant-posturing Balanoff/Sadlowski district leadership to prepare for strike action to halt plant closings and defend jobs.

Instead the Sadlowski/Balanoff wing of the burcaucracy has abandoned even its cheap campaign rhetoric of last winter and spent the conference mending fences with the openly reactionary McBride leadership of the International. Thus while the conference adopted a motion opposing the campaign for import quotas, the Balanoff-dominated resolutions

Jim Balanoff WV Photo

committee concurred with a motion submitted by Local 1033 (Republic Steel) "in favor of strong restraints on the importation of specialty steel"! In devious bureaucratic fashion, the motion was never actually discussed and was simply passed in bloc with "related" motions.

USWA president Lloyd McBride addressed the conference plugging the steel bosses' vicious protectionist schemes which pit American steel workers against Japanese and European steel workers in destructive competition for a shrinking number of jobs. Showing his contempt for the membership, McBride boasted that by acting "reasonably" the union leadership had limited job cuts at the Johnstown, Pennsylvania, plant of Bethlehem Steel to "only" 3,500. Cleveland-based District 28 director Frank Valenta seconded McBride, going so far as to condemn U.S. Steel president Edgar Speer for dropping the call for import quotas in favor of vigorous enforcement of so-called anti-dumping laws.

Acting like anything but a militant oppositionist, Balanoff could only murmur that he did not agree with Valenta 100 percent. Of McBride's social-chauvinist speech, the District 31 director whimpered, "I think there is no difference between brother McBride and myself in building this union," though there might be differences in approach. "I wish the rest [of you] would understand this also," he emphasized.

Another invited speaker was Chicago preacher and poverty hustler Jesse Jackson, who gave the invocation. Jackson asked that "god grant us help from internal dissension," and his protectionist

District 31 conference in Chicago, October 15. WV Photo

remarks following the invocation went unchallenged.

While the McBride bureaucracy demands import quotas, the Balanoff/Sadlowski forces also place their hopes in the capitalist government. Resolution 17, endorsed unanimously, urged that "our union should call upon the federal government to order the steel companies to roll back their prices to a level allowing them to compete more effectively." Thus, by a wave of a magic wand, the government is supposed to restore the competitive position of decaying American capitalism!

Balanoff attempted to placate the left by asserting that "Our union must raise the question and the idea" of a shorter workweek, an idea embodied in paper resolutions of the USWA since the 1940's. However, this reference to a shorter workweek is not a call for militant struggle, but a legislative demand made on Democratic Party politicians. McBride and Balanoff can happily agree to support the utopian and meaningless Humphrey-Hawkins bill, a weaker version of the existing and impotent Full Employment Act of 1946.

The failure of the leadership of District 31, which has the largest concentration of basic steel workers in the U.S., to call for militant strike actions against the plant closings allows the companies to continue to pick off plants one by one. And if the Balanoff bureaucrats still maintain even a semblance of opposition to protectionism, it is only because the firings that have hit Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York have yet to strike the Chicago-Gary district. Even so, these two-faced hypocrites have demonstrated their willingness to talk out of both sides of their mouths, endorsing quotas on specialty steel while ever so gently upbraiding McBride. It is significant that at U.S. Steel's Southworks division, which has been threatened with a plant closing, the pro-Sadlowski Local 65 leadership has failed to oppose protectionism. Local president John Chico has, in fact, indicated his personal preference for selective quotas.

In spite of the evident capitulations to McBride by the Sadlowski bureaucrats, the reformist opposition groups in the union continue their support to these fake oppositionists. Joe Kransdorf, prominent spokesman for the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC), politically backed by the Communist Party (CP), spoke in favor of the price-rollback gimmick and directed his remarks against protectionism at the easy target of McBride, letting Balanoff and Chico off the hook. Another NSRFC supporter, Roberta Wood, even urged the conference to endorse and publish Balanoff's mealy-mouthed speech.

A spokesman for Breakout, supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, could only stutter that he gave support to Resolution 17, but that it was necessary to "go further than that and put our whole union and its 1.44 million members up against the company" in some unspecified way. These disoriented workerists of Breakout found their entire empty program adopted by the conference, including "support from the International" for workers' struggles. They

Ed Sadlowski WV Photo

could only distinguish themselves by challenging the steel companies to a ludicrous "public debate on imports and our jobs"—as if there were anything to "discuss" with the job-slashing bosses.

In Chicago today it is impossible to avoid the question of racist terror being whipped up by the capitalists and their politicians. The powerful, integrated Steelworkers union, if mobilized to defend open housing in Marquette Park or bused schoolchildren, could easily drive the racists off the streets. Referring to attacks on black steelworkers en route to and from their jobs, Balanoff claimed the union must "do all in our power to stop these dastardly attacks." In fact, because of fakers like Balanoff the power of Steelworkers has not been employed at all. Instead the sellouts misleading District 31 call upon racist mayor Bilandic and his police chief to protect black children in Chicago's limited transfer program and "take firm action against those promoting violence or race hatred." This appeal to racist cops and capitalist politicians is a gross betrayal. How many times do they have to show that their role is to brutalize rather than "defend" blacks?

The District 31 conference also endorsed resolutions calling on the unions to take their money out of banks that invest in South Africa and demanding that U.S. Steel cease its operations and investments in South Africa and "redirect the huge flow and revenues toward providing jobs for our brothers and sisters here who are currently facing layoffs." Under the guise of opposing apartheid, these motions are in fact only appeals for protectionism, no different from a similar ploy launched by Arnold Miller's Mine Workers bureaucracy against imported South African coal three years ago. The answer for the oppressed South African black masses is not throwing them out of jobs by closing down American-owned plants, but supporting their just struggle for trade-union recognition and against apartheid. The labor movement in the U.S. must take strike actions to force U.S. firms with plants in South Africa to recognize

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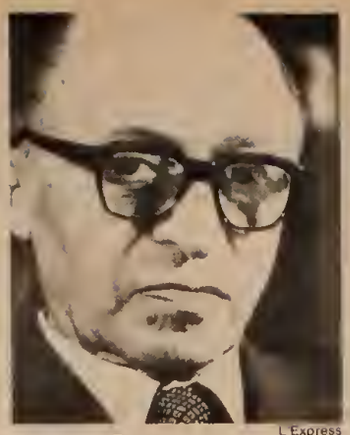

Menahem Begin L'Express

Dayan with Carter, Vance and Brzezinski in Washington. McNamee/Newsweek

Yaslr Arafat Salhani/Sygma

Geneva Conference–An Imperialist Hoax

Jimmy Carter: Smiling on the PLO?

U.S. president Jimmy Carter presented his domestic energy program as the "moral equivalent of war." Lately he has been losing that war in the Senate. But at the same time he has escalated American diplomatic activity in that part of the world where the imperialist struggle for energy resources is very likely to lead to a real shooting war, the Near East.

International diplomacy, which offers numerous opportunities for empty moral bombast, is for bourgeois politicians a favored diversion from domestic failure. In this regard the annual farce performed at the glass menagerie overlooking New York's East River, the United Nations General Assembly, is particularly useful. Appropriately, Carter chose the UN as the place to attempt to redeem Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's abortive August trip to the Near East.

But Near East diplomacy is more than mere diversion for U.S. imperialism, given its increasing dependence on Arab oil. This dependence was graphically brought home to the American bourgeoisie by the Arab oil boycott engendered by the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war. The U.S. and Soviet Union, after nearly escalating that conflict into a thermonuclear confrontation, convened the peace conference in Geneva which brought an unstable ceasefire to the battlefields. The Arab oil spigot was turned back on, but not before crude petroleum prices underwent a fivefold increase.

Since then U.S. dependence on Near East oil has continued to increase. In 1973, Arab petroleum supplies constituted 22 percent of total U.S. oil imports; last year that figure had risen to 38 percent. And it will go on escalating in the immediate future irrespective of whether Congress deregulates domestic fuel prices or further emaciates the American automobile. Therefore, U.S. "mediation" of the Arab-Israeli conflict (i.e., stirring up the conflict, arming one side and preferably both and then stepping in as policeman) has taken a "pro-Arab tilt."

This does not mean that American imperialism, which this year alone is lavishing $2 billion in aid and military credits on Israel, will dump its Zionist client state. It does mean that the U.S. will bring increasing pressure to bear on Jerusalem, including the threat of reducing aid or military shipments, to make concessions to the Arab regimes, especially withdrawal from the territories occupied in the 1967 war.

Israeli police beat Arab demonstrator. AP

Palestinian Question

Unlike former Secretary of State Kissinger, whose piecemeal shuttle diplomacy got no further than getting the Zionists to give up a "piece of land for a piece of peace," Carter wants the adversaries to return to Geneva to negotiate a "comprehensive settlement." But such a settlement must address the "Palestinian question," for fully one million Palestinian Arabs live in the occupied territories of the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. In addition, Palestinians living in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan constitute a constant threat to those shaky regimes, as was dramatically demonstrated in the Jordanian civil war of 1969-70 and the Lebanese civil war of last year. In 1974 the Arab League states sanctified the Palestine Liberation Organization as "the sole representative of the Palestinian people," and they have since demanded PLO representation at Geneva.

Since Israel was created through the destruction of the Palestinian people, the PLO has historically called for Palestinian self-determination through the destruction of Israel. But as the PLO has become more respectable, it has accepted the West Bank/Gaza mini-state "solution." The Zionists, of course, can never recognize the Palestinian right to self-determination, as that would call into question the legitimacy of their existing state. The current right-wing Likud coalition government led by former Irgun terrorist Menahem Begin stands for no territorial concessions at all. Begin's own party, the Herut, stands for the conquest of the East Bank (the present state of Jordan) as well as the West Bank and the incorporation of both banks into a Greater Israel. Again, for the sake of international respectability, such pronouncements are temporarily shelved. But Begin is no less resistant than the previous "Labor" government to negotiations with the PLO.

The U.S. has attempted to jockey between the two positions through economic, political and military pressure on the one hand and diplomatic formulas so vague and duplicitous that all real differences are masked. However, most of the pressure has been on Israel, as Carter has at one time or another called for the return of all occupied territories (except for "minor adjustments"—the Golan Heights, for instance?), for a "Palestinian homeland" and Palestinian representation at Geneva. But after the failure of the Vance mission in August, the Carter administration has apparently come to the conclusion that the road back to Geneva requires the additional pressure that can be brought by the conference co-chairman, the USSR.

U.S.-Soviet Statement

On October 1, Vance and his Soviet counterpart, Foreign Minister Gromyko, signed a joint statement which, while making certain verbal concessions to the Begin regime, could only be construed as an extension of Carter's "pro-Arab tilt." On the one hand, the statement referred to Israeli withdrawal "from the territories occupied in the 1967 conflict" rather than "*all* the territories"—an omission which the Zionists seized upon as license for continued military occupation. The statement also calls for the "establishment of normal peaceful relations," implying lifting of the Arab trade and travel ban with Israel in addition to diplomatic recognition. But by referring to the "legitimate *rights* of the Palestinians" rather than the usual American diplomatese "interests," the statement appeared to endorse Palestinian rights to national self-determination.

The statement was purposely ambiguous about inviting the PLO to Geneva, calling instead for "representatives of all the parties involved in the conflict, including those of the Palestinian people." The Carter administration's official position is not to recognize or negotiate with the PLO until the latter recognizes the existence of the Israeli state as expressed in UN Resolution 242. (The Resolution, passed after the 1967 war, is ambiguous about the extent of Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, and also refers to the Palestinian question as a refugee problem rather than a national question, while recognizing Israeli sovereignty and the 1949 borders.)

By not explicitly reaffirming Resolution 242, the October 1 U.S.-USSR joint statement leaves open a possible change in Washington's attitude toward the PLO. But at the same time one of the purposes of the statement was to get Moscow to pressure the PLO to recognize Israel in some form. Finally, the statement calls for "interna-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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RAF Deaths Spark Protests in Europe

West Germany Unleashes Police State

OCTOBER 24- In the wake of the discovery of the body of leading West German industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer in the trunk of an abandoned car in Mulhouse, France last Wednesday, Bonn officials have unleashed what they called "the greatest manhunt in West Germany's 33-year history." While ostensibly aimed at tracking down 16 suspects allegedly implicated in the kidnapping-assassination of the former SS officer and Nazi, an equally obvious purpose of the dragnet was to whip up hysteria against the radical left, lumped together under the catch-all rubric of "sympathizers."

Since federal chancellor Helmut Schmidt's appeal in the Bundestag (lower house of parliament) for a worldwide campaign to "stamp out terrorism," West German police have been turning the country upside down looking not only for members of the "Red Army Faction" (RAF - referred to in the mass media as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang"), but also for those suspected of being in the RAF "periphery." The police published "special phone numbers that citizens should dial if they wanted to supply clues, even anonymously," reported the *New York Times* (21 October).

Already heated up by government blacklisting of radicals (*Berufsverbot*) and a panoply of "anti-terrorist" laws, the atmosphere in the federal republic recalls the McCarthy era in the U.S. when schoolchildren cheerfully sang, "If your mommy is a commie, turn her in." By the weekend, roadblocks were thrown up from Berlin to Munich as police stopped thousands of vehicles to examine the passengers' identity papers and search through their luggage. Television programs were interrupted to show films of the RAF suspects. In some cities police roamed the streets with bullhorns urging the populace to report any "suspicious" activity. And police around the country reported local precincts were besieged by thousands of callers with hot tips.

With the decision by the Schmidt government to launch the Mogadishu commando raid which rescued the passengers aboard a hijacked Lufthansa jet October 18, it was understood that Schleyer's fate was sealed. A government spokesman announced at the time that Bonn would "never" give in to the kidnappers' demands. And when, only hours later, the authorities announced the deaths of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe - three imprisoned RAF leaders whose release had been demanded both by the kidnappers and hijackers - it was simply a matter of time until the anonymous phone call came which led police to Schleyer's body.

This was the signal for the manhunt to begin. Federal republic police immediately released a list of suspects, prepared weeks ago, and began distributing throughout West Europe three million posters and leaflets in seven languages containing their descriptions and photographs. Topping the most-wanted list are Friederike Krabbe, younger sister of one of the 11 jailed RAF prisoners whose release was demanded by Schleyer's abductors, and Christian Klar, who police say was seen in the car where the body was found. At present the most intensive search is reportedly centered on the French-German-Swiss border area where French police are searching forts and underground tunnels of the World War I Maginot Line, looking for the hideout where Schleyer was apparently held for 43 days since his kidnapping in early September.

In Bonn, all parties in parliament eulogized the powerful businessman who was simultaneously a director of Daimler-Benz and president of both the West German employers' and industrial federations. However, it was difficult to generate popular enthusiasm for "the bulky industrial executive with the dueling scars on his face [who] looked to some West Germans almost like a caricature of the 'ugly capitalist'" (*New York Times*, 20 October). This was particularly true because, for the first time since his kidnapping, the press had begun reporting Schleyer's Nazi past. Significantly, there was considerable unease over the decision by the Christian Democratic mayor of Stuttgart to permit the burial of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe in a public cemetery, out of fear that their graves would become a shrine and gathering place for youthful radicals.

Fallout from the "Schleyer Affair"

There was good reason for this nervousness, as the deaths of the three RAF leaders provoked a wave of leftist demonstrations throughout southern Europe, from Athens to the Basque region of Spain. In Italy, West German governmental offices and business properties were attacked and bombed in Venice, Naples, Bologna, Torino, Milano, Livorno and Siena. Thousands of youths battled riot cops outside Rome University after the government refused to authorize a march on the German embassy protesting the "murder" of Baader and his comrades. The next day armored personnel carriers surrounded the German embassy after an anonymous threat to arrange the "suicide" of Bonn's ambassador.

Many of the demonstrations in West Europe protesting the deaths of the inmates in Stammheim prison shaded over into anti-German chauvinism. In France, three German tourist buses were firebombed in downtown Paris and two in Nice. The RAF itself has been implicated in this poisonous reaction. Thus the UPI reported on October 21 a telephone call from the Siegfried Hausner Commando of the RAF (the group which kidnapped Schleyer) threatening to set off "100,000 bombings which will destroy the capitalist German economy throughout Europe.... We give firms and private individuals three months to get rid of any German products. On January 20, the first German automobiles will be blown up throughout Europe." This dangerous nationalist logic is shared with those who claim the entire German nation bears a "collective guilt" for the rise of Nazi barbarism.

Moreover, it feeds into heightened inter-imperialist rivalry, which has engendered a resurgence of anti-German chauvinism in France in particular. On 2 September, shortly before the Schleyer kidnapping, noted French writer Jean Genet published a front-page essay in *Le Monde* praising the "heroic" effort by the RAF to unmask the "brutality" of European bourgeois democracy. Then in a two-part series correspondent Manuel Luchert summarized:

> "The German Federal Republic is sick. Political assassinations, unemployment, recurring terrorism, a latent economic crisis, social peace threatened, Hitler suddenly making the front pages: not a day goes by without the good citizens being jolted in their democratic consciences. The German mark reigns over Europe, the *Bundeswehr* seems solid as steel—and yet the giant is quaking in its boots. Doubts have invaded people's minds and one word, *Angst* (fear, anxiety, anguish), keeps turning up obsessively, disturbingly in their remarks and reactions."
>
> *Le Monde*, 7 September

He added, "only a society which is itself monstrous can beget monsters."

While Genet's opinions are certainly idiosyncratic, his and Luchert's remarks feed into very tangible bourgeois anti-German sentiment in France. In siding up to dissident Gaullists, the French Communist Party (PCF) has called for maintenance of the nuclear "*force de frappe*" (strike force) *as a defense against West German imperialism*. (About *French* imperialism the PCF says not a word.) The prevalence of such views in liberal circles is heightened by the hardline stance of Bonn against popular frontism in southern Europe. The Social Democratic-led cabinet in Bonn has given crucial backing to Mário Soares in Portugal because of his pronounced anti-Communism, and multi-million mark loans to Italy on the condition that the PCI be kept out of power. Consequently, those segments of bourgeois opinion that see the desirability of bringing the Communists into the government, by a Union of the Left or a "historic compromise," complain about the arrogant interference of "Deutschmark imperialism."

Nevertheless, on the whole the "Schleyer affair" has visibly strengthened the hand of the West German state. At home Schmidt is praised for his "cool" crisis management, combining a "steady hand" with the "daring" Mogadishu raid. The grateful federal chancellor waxed biblical in thanking the Somali government for its cooperation: "Our black brother was the good Samaritan who rescued whites from distress at the hands of the brigands." And the diplomatic correspondents noted an unusual degree of international cooperation in preparing the raid by the German "border police." The commandos used special "stun grenades" developed by the British for use in Northern Ireland, while U.S. aid was instrumental in obtaining Somali agreement. Everyone drew the obvious parallel to the Israeli raid on Entebbe, and 13 nations let it be known that they already had or were training special anti-hijacking commando squads of their own.

AP

Police roadblock in Bonn.

AP

West German bourgeoisie congratulates itself for the commando raid at Mogadishu.

Revulsion over the criminal airliner hijacking gave the Bonn government its biggest boost in stature in years. Israeli prime minister Begin congratulated Schmidt, marking the end of his long-standing boycott of Germany, and the press was full of praise for the "new," "33-year-old" West German state—ignoring the fact that Bonn openly claims to represent the continuity of Hitlerian Germany and took over the state apparatus of the Third Reich more or less intact. As thousands of cheering West German citizens greeted the returning commandos, the *Wall Street Journal* (19 October) reported

> "The raid gave heroes to a nation that hasn't had any for a long time. . . . Behind all the rejoicing was a feeling that perhaps, at long last, there wasn't any further need to feel ashamed for what happened 40 years ago. Germans have been reasserting slowly their pride for some years, but this was the first time that German troops conducted what was essentially a military operation on foreign soil."

Mogadishu and Stuttgart

Bonn has capitalized on the legitimate disgust of the population generally for the criminal tactics of the terrorist hijackers of the Lufthansa jet. The very act of taking scores of random individuals hostage is a declaration of intent to kill utterly innocent persons who are in no way enemies of the working class. In no sense can such indiscriminate terror be defended as an anti-imperialist act, even in intent.

Accounts of the ordeal of the 86 victims of the Lufthansa hijackers make it clear that their captors were a gang of

Measures

Keystone
Jan-Carl Raspe

AP
Gudrun Ensslin

AP
Andreas Baader

sadistic thugs. The plane's pilot was forced to kneel and beg for his life, then shot in cold blood and left in the aisle for some time as a "reminder." The hijackers searched the passengers' hand luggage thoroughly looking for Israeli goods. Three young women who had jewelry with stars of David were accused of being Jewish, and it was announced they would be executed a few hours hence. (Later the terrorists backed off from this threat, in order, they said, to prove that they were "freedom fighters.")

The international Spartacist tendency, unlike various petty-bourgeois armchair guerrillaists who hail every act of the most fanatical Palestinian nationalists, has always sharply distinguished between such *criminal* actions and the misguided, counterproductive strategy of individual terrorism aimed at symbols and representatives of imperialist oppression. The RAF, at least implicitly, had recognized such a distinction in the past, as even the German liberal news magazine *Der Spiegel* (17 October) admitted:

> "In practice, up until the [Lufthansa jet] hijacking, the RAF comrades sought to give the impression that their people's war was not directed against the people. It was always supposed or actual 'establishment figures' [*Systemträger*] of West German society who were chosen as the assassination targets.
>
> "In contrast, the RAF and its sympathizers always distanced themselves with indignation from attacks endangering the general population which were ascribed to them, such as the mysterious bomb threat against the city of Stuttgart in the spring of 1972 or the subsequent bomb attack on the Bremen train station. But the hijacking of the [Lufthansa jet], jammed with vacationers, fit exactly in this category."

What was the connection, then, between the RAF prisoners in Stammheim and the group which seized the German airliner in Mallorca, between a decomposition product of the German New Left and an Arabic-speaking group with the previously unknown name of "Society Against World Imperialism"? That some relation existed was made evident by a picture of Schleyer in RAF captivity, sent to the Paris newspaper *Libération* shortly after the Lufthansa hijacking, which bore the name *in Arabic* used by the hijackers.

But who exactly were the hijackers? A UPI dispatch of 24 October quotes "Middle East sources" as suggesting that the operation was planned by the elusive "Carlos" (of course) and a former leader of the Palestinian PFLP, Wadie Ha Haddad. Yet no information has been forthcoming from the sole surviving hijacker. A 21 October UPI dispatch from Somalia reported: "She is mentally deranged,' one official said of the young woman, who has been hospitalized with minor wounds...."

Concerning the triple deaths in Stammheim prison in Stuttgart questions abound. First and foremost, how did the prisoners obtain the alleged suicide weapons, in particular two military pistols? This was so obvious that even Chancellor Schmidt remarked that the deaths in the maximum security prison were "inconceivable." Then, "upon subsequent investigation," further items were uncovered. It turns out that the specially built prison-fortress had more holes than a Swiss cheese. An entire communications system was uncovered whereby the prisoners could have tapped out in morse code the terms of a suicide pact. A package of 270 grams of ammonium nitrate, conveniently labeled explosive, was found in another hole. Razor blades, a stomach probe and an "unidentified putty-like substance" were found in yet another hiding place, while a fourth recess held a transistor radio wrapped in a sweater. Yet supposedly every cell was searched daily.

Such miraculous discoveries are all too convenient for government authorities eager to bolster their case for the draconian law, rushed through the Bundestag in record time, prohibiting any contact with "dangerous" prisoners. The very quantity of unanswered questions concerning the official version invites extreme skepticism, and Ensslin's attorney, Otto Schilly, who was present at the autopsy, has called for an international commission to investigate the deaths. But there are also questions on the other side. If prison authorities had murdered the prisoners and tried to make it look like suicide, then why was Baader shot in the neck in classic execution style?

Above all, why was the job so badly botched that one of the prisoners, Irmgard Möller, survived? On the other hand, why is there no statement from Möller? Officials claim she has refused to talk to anyone, but they have removed her to a secret locale (allegedly to prevent any attempt to free her), and her lawyer reports he was denied permission to talk to her on the grounds that nothing had changed since the hunger strike by the RAF prisoners last summer which proved her "suicidal tendencies."

Melloul/Sygma
The press joins an anti-terrorist/anti-left campaign.

In any case, whether it was a classic prison murder or whether the prisoners were driven to attempt suicide by the inhuman conditions of their imprisonment and the obvious determination of the West German state to keep them locked up until their dying day, the responsibility for the deaths of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe clearly lies with Schmidt and the bourgeoisie. For years West German rulers have used the "Baader-Meinhof Gang" as the excuse for stepping up repression against the left and enacting all sorts of anti-democratic legislation. The bloody events of October 20 in Stammheim prison were only the last act in a murderous scenario which rips the "democratic" mask off capitalism's barbarous class "justice."

McCarthyite Hysteria

Even though it is doubtful in the extreme that an accomplished and sophisticated group of terrorists would sit around in West Germany waiting to be caught, the "anti-terrorist" repression in the federal republic continues to escalate. Several examples are indicative of the extremes which the McCarthyite hysteria has reached:

• In mid-September, two actors who play the part of clowns in a well-known children's television show took a break during a filming session, going out in full costume for a snack. Suddenly they were surrounded by more than 20 cops with drawn machine pistols, who had been notified of "suspicious figures" by "phone calls from the citizenry." The *Frankfurter Rundschau* (16 September) reported:

> "A check of identity papers established that these two were not, as had first been supposed, bank robbers or anarchists, but employees of the Hesse radio and television network who had taken a short break in filming. ..."

Nevertheless, a spokesman for the Frankfurt police announced: "It is very good that people are so suspicious." Luckily, the clowns Nappo and Kunkel didn't make any "suspicious movements."

• The 3 October issue of *Der Spiegel* contained the first installment of a series on "The Sympathizers." The article contains several photos of religious leaders above the caption, "theologians suspected of sympathizing." (The next issue features pictures of "terrorist lawyers" who defended the RAF prisoners.) In answering the question of who is a sympathizer, the liberal magazine quotes the ominous definition of Rheinland-Pfalz prime minister Vogel, that it can be "someone who simply says 'Baader-Meinhof Group' instead of 'Gang'."

• The same issue of *Der Spiegel* published the results of an opinion poll conducted on behalf of the federal chancellor's press office. Under the headline, "In Full Harmony With Popular Opinion," and accompanied by a picture of a border policeman with a finger on the trigger of his machine pistol, it reports that "the average *Bundesbürger* is confused" about the kidnapping and did not know what would happen. *Der Spiegel* noted:

> "The press office specialists commented in an internal memorandum that the confusion of the population concerning the outcome of the kidnapping would have 'an entirely positive effect' for the future action of the government, 'because none of the indicated possible results would disappoint widespread expectations among the populace'."

In other words, the government could adopt a hardline stance without fear of popular pressure. The article ended with a comment on the cooperation of the "free but responsible press" with the government's news blackout on the Schleyer affair that was worthy of any Latin American dictatorship:

> "That the chancellor and his government feel so close to their subjects is certainly thanks to the understanding commentary on their actions by the German press. According to press office analysts, never before has the chancellor enjoyed such a unanimously positive press coverage as at this moment."

• A conference of state interior ministers in Bonn on October 15 recommended that following terrorist attacks a siren warning signal should be sounded indicating to the population that they should all turn their radios to a particular channel in order to receive further instructions. Another measure which had been under discussion was a proposal to turn all traffic lights red in case of a terrorist action. However, it was apparently felt that the resulting mammoth traffic jams would hinder rather than help the police.

Down With the "Anti-Terrorist" Witchhunt!

With the "anti-terrorist" hysteria in the federal republic at a fever pitch, it is necessary that the workers movement respond with massive, united protests. From the *Berufsverbot* to police roadblocks on the Autobahns to laws barring contact between left-wing prisoners and their lawyers, the goal of the ferocious state repression in West Germany is to intimidate the entire citizenry and build up the apparatus of a "strong state" which is ultimately directed at straitjacketing the proletariat with a barrage of bonapartist measures. It is indicative that after proposing to outlaw communist organizations in the wake of the Schleyer kidnapping, right-wing

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40,000 Aircraft Workers Strike Boeing, Lockheed

Simultaneous strikes against two major aerospace companies began October 10 as 15,000 Lockheed Aircraft Corporation machinists walked off the job to join 24,000 Boeing Company workers on strike since October 3. On October 19 workers at Lockheed's Marietta, Georgia plant set up picket lines. This is the first Boeing strike since 1965 and the first at Lockheed in 15 years.

The action taken by members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) provides a rare opportunity to win substantial gains, and above all jobs, for workers in the unemployment-ravaged aerospace industry. But the IAM bureaucracy led by William Winpisinger has already demonstrated its determination to cripple the struggle with the toothless tactics of business unionism.

Approximately 90,000 aerospace workers are covered by contracts currently being negotiated with the IAM and the United Auto Workers (UAW), and the Boeing settlement will most likely set the pattern for nearly 200,000 workers at more than a dozen firms throughout the industry. In order to wage an effective strike against the aircraft and military contractors, militants must demand an industry-wide strike across the U.S. and Canada

The IAM bureaucracy has not made an effort to shut down the Seattle Boeing complex, as thousands of employees report to work every day. This includes a small number of the 18,500 IAM members at the complex as well as 10,000 engineers, designers and machine tool planners belonging to the Seattle Professional Engineering Employees Association (SPEEA). A Local 751 official in Seattle told a *WV* reporter that SPEEA had not been asked to honor the IAM's picket lines despite the fact that SPEEA members receive the same medical and retirement benefits as IAM.

The IAM tops are unconcerned by the stampede of scabs. Al Schultz, chief union negotiator, remarked, "They'll have a couple of thousand engineers running around but there'll be no planes moving out the back doors and that's where it counts" (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 October 1977). A Boeing spokesman, however, stated that presently the company is making deliveries as committed and hopes to finish work on 15 airliners scheduled for October completion. While uncorroborated company claims must be taken with a grain of salt, the presence of management personnel, technicians and white collar workers in the plant poses a real threat to the effectiveness of the strike. Boeing must be shut down solid.

The UAW bureaucracy, which represents 62,000 aerospace workers and is currently negotiating contracts for almost half that number, is equally culpable in this shameful betrayal. While pledging "our complete support and assistance to our colleagues in IAM who are carrying on this fight..." (UAW press release, 5 October), Solidarity House has kept 2,500 UAW members on the job at the Vertol Divison of Boeing in Pennsylvania and 13,000 union members have been working without a contract at Rockwell International since October 1. The "colleagues" in the IAM and UAW bureaucracies are also collaborating in maintaining production at the McDonnell-Douglas Corporation where contracts affecting 10,000 workers expired October 16.

Solidarity House rationalizes its backstabbing policy with the same "one-at-a-time" strategy used to cripple auto workers' solidarity since the days of Walter Reuther. Ken Bannon, UAW vice president for the union's aerospace division claims to be aiding the IAM strike by slowing UAW negotiations. "If you aren't producing the [McDonnell-Douglas] DC-10, that makes it easier to make fewer 747's" (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 October 1977). Bannon used identical inverted reasoning in the negotiations which he led with Ford Motor Company in 1976, resulting in a defeated four-week strike and the current wretched auto contract subsequently foisted on Chrysler and G.M. workers.

It is imperative that the IAM and UAW ranks learn from Bannon's treachery in the auto strike. Mass pickets must be organized at aerospace factories across North America. The plants must be sealed and the industry entirely shut down.

Lockheed and Boeing are offering the IAM wage increases from 3 to 3.5 percent. This is a slap in the face; the Boeing Company, for example, recently reported second quarter earnings more than doubled over the same six months of the previous year. The union negotiators want a 20 percent pay increase over three years at Boeing and seek 8 percent from Lockheed the first year of the new contract to be followed by two annual 4 percent raises. Lockheed wants individual seniority dates lumped together in six-month periods, allowing the company considerable latitude to lay off out of seniority. The company also wants the freedom to exempt favored workers from layoff regardless of length of service. Similarly the IAM is resisting Boeing "retention" policies by which lower seniority workers are kept at work in certain positions while more senior workers are laid off. The Machinists union is also seeking a closed shop at Boeing.

As a result of the de-escalation of the war and eventual defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina, cutbacks in the space program and stagnation in the commercial aviation industry, over half a million aerospace jobs were lost between 1968 and the end of 1976. Some 318,000 of these layoffs affected production and maintenance workers. Winpisinger's small-change reforms do not even approach the membership's needs. The obvious and crucial demand for jobs among workers in this industry calls for a struggle for full employment with a sliding scale of wages and hours.

The bureaucrats' efforts to win aerospace jobs have centered on support for expanded military projects coupled with utopian "missiles-into-plowshares" schemes. The IAM convention in 1976 passed a resolution supporting continued production of the B-1 bomber. According to an IAM spokesman at the international headquarters in Washington, D.C., Winpisinger now favors "a more active space program" which would also "play a major role in future defense plans."

Likewise at the UAW aerospace convention in February, Bannon discussed efforts to bring the Pentagon's business to UAW-represented plants. This includes the B-1 at Rockwell, the Advanced Tanker/Cargo Aircraft (ATCA) to McDonnell-Douglas and the Light Airborne Multi-Purpose Systems (LAMPS) helicopter to Boeing's Vertol Division. Lacking any strategy to recover 80,000 UAW aerospace jobs, the delegates backed the ATCA and LAMPS projects and called for full budgeting for the B-1 program, describing the soon-to-be-canceled bomber as the only weapon system "capable of meeting the requirements for an effective, recallable strike force in the 1980's and 1990's" (*Solidarity*, 18 March).

When Carter scratched the B-1, thereby eliminating 8,000 union jobs at Rockwell, the UAW tops exhumed their Reutherite "social conscience." Solidarity House issued a press release August 5 which stated, "We need the equivalent of a 'civilian NASA' for the conversion of idled and underutilized aerospace manpower facilities to peacetime production that would help meet our nation's needs for mass transportation, development of new energy sources, housing and other programs."

Militants must support the IAM strike against the aerospace giants. But instead of begging for government bailouts to finance the corporate slush funds of these notoriously corrupt war profiteers, militants must demand the immediate expropriation without compensation not only of scandal-ridden Lockheed but of all military production. And as against the labor fakers' social-patriotic sabre-rattling bluster for a "strong defense posture," class-conscious workers must oppose not only the B-1 but the entire war budget of U.S. imperialism.

Counterposed to the bureaucrats' hypocritical schemes to reallocate a portion of the U.S. war budget for peaceful purposes, Marxists demand unconditional, unlimited unemployment compensation and massive programs of public works to be planned and carried out under union control. *Union* unemployment committees must be created in the depression-level aerospace industry, and all seniority rights must be preserved indefinitely.

Winpisinger (appropriately nicknamed "Wimp" even by his friends) pretends to champion leftism within the labor movement hierarchy. But his real class loyalties are revealed by his leadership—shared with ex-astronaut and Eastern Air Lines chief Frank Borman of the Institute of Collective Bargaining, which is dedicated to promoting harmonious labor-management relations in public and private employment.

The Aerospace Workers Organized to Fight in '77 (AWOF), an opposition group in the IAM, leafletted a strike vote meeting in Los Angeles on October 11. Like several similar outfits backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party in other unions, AWOF has nothing to offer strikers but empty rhetoric. The leaflet fails even to call for industry-wide strike action for fear of antagonizing conservative workers, and AWOF says not a word in opposition to the U.S. military budget. Likewise the Stalinist *Daily World*, usually a harsh verbal critic of the "military-industrial complex" has avoided any mention of the bureaucrats' anti-Soviet salesmanship for the Pentagon's armaments programs. A front-page article in the 18 October issue reported on rallies at the White House and in half a dozen cities in protest of the B-1 and neutron bomb without any reference to the IAM strike.

Leadership in the aerospace workers' strike cannot be left in the hands of the bureaucrats who for the last decade have stood by and watched the union gutted by layoffs, offering no alternative but a bigger arms budget for the warmongers. A successful struggle requires the election of authoritative strike committees where militants can fight for an industry-wide shutdown, raising demands for full employment, total opposition to the U.S. war budget and expropriation of the bloodsucking merchants of death. ■

WV Photo

Striking machinist at Boeing plant in Seattle.

WV Photo

Pickets at Lockheed-California in Burbank.

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Owens-Illinois Strike in Oakland

ILWU Militants Demand: Expel Union Scabherder

OAKLAND, October 14—A month-long strike by the American Flint Makers Union (glass moulders) at Owens-Illinois Glass Container Division here sparked a militant revolt among the approximately 160 warehousemen who steadfastly honored the moulders' picket line. The warehousemen, members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), correctly recognized that class solidarity is crucial at Owens-Illinois (OI), where craft divisions have kept the 1,800 employees separated into nine different unions. During the strike the ILWU ranks were particularly incensed at the actions of their own union misleaders in encouraging scabbing.

The glass moulders strike began September 15 as part of a nationwide walkout against glass container producers at some 90 plants around the country. While the glass moulders union avoided publicizing the strike or the issues involved, a central point of dispute was reportedly management's desire to force workers to operate many machines, i.e., to throw out existing job classifications. In their support for the strike picket lines, the warehousemen clearly recognized that a defeat for the moulders on this issue would mean speed-up and possibly layoffs, which would quickly spread to other unions in the plant. (The strike ended yesterday although the terms have yet to be announced.)

On the first day of the strike, ILWU warehousemen were shocked to find their own business agent, Joe Villegas, *ordering* them to cross picket lines. Thoroughly disgusted but determined, the ranks held solid—only *two* out of 160 scabbed despite repeated instructions from Villegas! But even two scabs represented a blot on the union and a toehold for company scabherding. The ranks responded by demanding reinforcement of the picket lines, and suspension and a union trial of this scabherding business agent.

Such elementary class solidarity flies in the face of the cravenly legalist policies of the ILWU leadership, which at all costs seeks to avoid mobilizing the ranks for militant struggle. After trying unsuccessfully to get support from the Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse division) general executive board (GEB), frustrated Owens-Illinois workers finally got action at an East Bay Stewards Council meeting October 6. Lacking any direction from so-called union "leaders," the assembled stewards, officers, business agents and general executive board members adopted a motion put forward by the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the local.

The motion endorsed honoring the picket lines, calling on Local 6 members "to participate on the picket line to stop the scabs." It also ordered that "the East Bay Business Agent and the union president be present on the picket line," and demanded that "Villegas, who ordered the brothers to scab, and the Local 6 scabs be suspended immediately and that a trial body be established to investigate the charge in front of the membership and to expel them if guilty." An amendment also endorsed the specific charges against Villegas.

But while the meeting went on record "unanimously" for the motion, it was clear that some of the assembled bureaucrats and fake-leftists were voting only as a sop to the angry ranks. At the picket line the next day, with about 50 ILWUers present (including Militant Caucus supporters), Local president Keith Eickman was nowhere to be found. Business agent Abba Ramos, a well-known supporter of the Communist Party (CP), showed up only briefly but gave no directions, allowed two ILWU scabs to go in after a brief verbal exchange and then left the line.

WV Photo

Strikers list scabs by name at Owens-Illinois Glass in Oakland.

According to ILWU members interview by *WV*, at an OI house meeting at the union hall on October 10, the angry ranks confronted Eickman, who at first tried to prevent Bob Mandel, a GEB member and leader of the Militant Caucus, from addressing the meeting. But the ranks insisted on Mandel's right to speak. Mistakenly hoping that the OI workers were tired of the strike and "hungry," Eickman even tried to stampede them back to work, but was forced to drop the subject when it became clear the ranks were in no mood to tolerate scabbing. Dissatisfied with Eickman's noncommital stance, the picketers enthusiastically endorsed a united-front leaflet drawn up by the Militant Caucus, which included the original anti-scab motion. Over 50 ILWU members eventually signed the leaflet, mostly strikers from the OI plant, including the chief steward.

With the scabbing halted, the left-talking reformists quickly abandoned the necessary disciplinary action against Villegas, since that would mean challenging the treacherous Local 6 bureaucracy bequeathed by former president (now International secretary-treasurer) Curtis McClain. Even though the Stalinists ran Abba Ramos against Eickman in the special Local election this summer, another well-known CP supporter, Joe Lindsay, chief steward at Golden Grain, refused to sign the united-front leaflet despite the fact that he had voted for the original motion. At a class on "Work in Trade Unions: A Marxist Approach" on October 12, Lindsay tried to excuse the absence of his name on the leaflet by muttering that it "was not on the issue of the Owens strike" (!) and slanderously claiming that the original anti-scab motion did not mention the possibility of expulsion.

Similarly, Vern Bown, a well-known supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), flatly refused to sign the leaflet, although he too had voted for the original motion. His excuse was to claim that the strikers would somehow get all they need whether or not he added his name to a leaflet expressing the determination of the Local to militantly support the OI strike and its refusal to tolerate scabs and scabherders in its midst. Perhaps this cowardly refusal is Bown's interpretation of the Maoist slogan of "self-reliance."

Villegas is a notoriously corrupt official whose ouster has long been sought by ILWU militants. During the recent Local 6 presidential election campaign, Bown and his cohorts helped circulate a petition demanding the recall of Villegas. This, however, was essentially an election ploy by supporters of Bob Camara designed to create a phony impression of "militancy," while deliberately whitewashing the class-collaborationist policies of the McClain/Eickman leadership. Following the vote, Camara quickly made up with the winner and dropped the recall campaign. Bown's reluctance to demand the ouster of this proven scabherder is doubtless due to the fact that the demand no longer has the support of a wing of the bureaucracy.

The Militant Caucus, on the other hand, says that scabherders cannot be tolerated within the workers movement. Villegas must be suspended immediately, brought before a union trial and then expelled from the ILWU for his offenses. To fail to do so is to demoralize the union membership and set a precedent for the toleration of such crimes against the labor movement. But no thanks to the ILWU bureaucracy, the OI warehousemen respected the lines throughout the strike, which at the very least frustrated management's plans to run roughshod over the moulders' union.

The Stalinist hacks such as Lindsay and Bown regularly denounce the Militant Caucus as "sectarian" and "disruptive" because it refuses to capitulate to the pro-company bureaucracy. But the real sectarians are the Stalinists who when faced with an elementary question of trade-union solidarity refuse to wage a principled struggle against scabbing rather than join a united front initiated by the Militant Caucus. Such cowardly sectarianism only aids the bosses, and the poisonous reformists who spread it must be rebuffed if strike struggles such as at Owens-Illinois are to emerge victorious. ■

Klan...

(continued from page 3)

Duke, Allen could only mutter, "This is precisely what I didn't want to participate in." So the liberal/Stalinist coalition ended up giving free air time to the fascist scum after all!

On October 22 the Ad Hoc Committee mobilized the picket line at KGO, which had also offered Duke a platform to broadcast his racist filth. The Committee raised the demonstration call in a number of unions and leafletted about a dozen work locations of the ILWU, phone workers, transport workers and auto workers in an attempt to bring out as many workers as possible to the protest. In addition to UE Local 1412, the demonstration call was discussed in ILWU Local 6, AFSCME 1695 and the UAW Local 1364 executive board.

The RSB, whose latest campaign is opposition to "BaKKKe," refused to endorse the picket line, while boasting that it would mobilize far more people than the "Trots." As it turned out, no one for the RSB/RCP even showed up at the KGO picket line. The Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), formerly October League, sent a token force of three people to "fight fascism." The only other significant force at the demonstration was PL/CAR, whose contingent of 15 people was overshadowed by an SL-led contingent of over 70. Unable to expel the SL from demonstrations as it once did, a disintegrating PL was forced by circumstances to join the larger and more militant picket line initiated by the Spartacist League. As a result of this demonstration, the Spartacist League will receive equal time on KGO to answer the Klan on Saturday, October 29 at 6 p.m.

The picket at KGO was ended with a short speech by Al Nelson, spokesman for the SL, who noted the increasing boldness of the KKK and the Nazis in the Bay Area and the need for a massive working-class mobilization. Ultimately, he pointed out, only the working class with its own workers defense guards, organized and led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, can smash the Klan and the fascists once and for all. ■

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Speaker:
Joseph Seymour
SL Central Committee
Workers Vanguard Editorial Board

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University of Illinois, Circle Campus

Friday, November 4 at 7:30 p.m.
Reynolds Club Lounge
University of Chicago

CHICAGO

Life at Stake

Hands Off Joan Little!

Joan Little's life is in danger as revenge-hent state troopers attempt to hunt her down. Reported "missing" from the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women on October 15, prison authorities claim she escaped by climbing a ten-foot-high chain-link fence topped with barbed wire.

Little has been subjected to a gauntlet of state vengeance since she defended herself against the prison guard who raped her two years ago. When North Carolina authorities tried to frame her for the stabbing of that guard, a nationwide defense campaign focused attention on her victimization and raised the tens of thousands of dollars necessary for a first-rate legal defense. Under the pressure of mass protests, Little was acquitted.

But despite this acquittal, the racist courts threw her back into prison to finish a seven-to-ten-year sentence for a prior conviction of breaking and entering. It was immediately clear that Little's life would be in grave peril in jail, where prison guards could take revenge. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee along with thousands of others who supported her defense continued to demand, "Free Joan Little!"

Those fears were indeed justified. Clearly Joan Little either escaped because she feared her life was in immediate danger, or else she was set up for a murder in the style of George Jackson. Incredibly, prison officials have claimed that Little escaped because a friend was released earlier in the day. This nonsensical "explanation" is made doubly ludicrous by the fact that she was scheduled to come up for consideration for parole in a month.

Joan Little's many-year ordeal in prison has been a relentless record of harassment and assault. Attacked and raped by one of those professional thugs known euphemistically in the bourgeois press as a "correctional officer," she had good reason to believe that fellow guards would try to avenge his death. Since being returned to jail the attacks on her have escalated: denied parole, she also faces charges of "violating prison rules" and other "serious and substantial" disciplinary actions. Most recently she was dropped from the work release program and completely separated from all other prisoners. For her a barbed-wire fence may have seemed a better bet than getting set up for a jail killing.

But Joan Little's life is threatened in or out of prison! Right now the North Carolina cops and prison guards believe they have a legal license to kill her with impunity, if she has not already been shot. She must not be returned to prison. A mass movement like the one which won her acquittal on the charge of murder must again take to the streets demanding, Hands Off Joan Little! Stop the Manhunt Now! Drop All Charges—Joan Little Must Not Be Re-imprisoned!

South Africa: Vorster Lashes Out...

(continued from page 1)

hated by the government, and dozens of individual journalists have been arrested for "security" offenses over the last three decades. The Nationalist Party holds an overwhelming and seemingly permanent parliamentary majority over the opposition political parties, of which the largest, the United Party, is often virtually indistinguishable from the government. The liberal press therefore assumes central importance as the mouthpiece for English-speaking capitalist interests who bridle at the economic dislocations and international outcry caused by extreme apartheid policies. The wide circulation and international prominence of press criticisms offend the Afrikaner Nationalist government's sense of propriety, given its predominance over its white political opponents.

AP

Cops frisk blacks at checkpoint near Soweto.

It is indicative of Vorster's political strategy that, in the midst of the furor over the police assassination of BPC founder and leader Biko, he announced the dissolution of Parliament and the provincial councils and called for general elections November 30. He confidently expects a repeat of his party's dramatic electoral gains in the early 1960's, when naked police-state terror against the black masses and an elemental outburst of black rage and frustration eclipsed the political middle ground and drove racially frenzied white voters (including many English-speaking whites) into the Nationalists' *laager*.

The government also included two prominent newspaper editors in its demagogic attack on opponents who seek "to create a revolutionary climate." In fact, the two men, Percy Qoboza of *The World* and Donald Woods, white editor of the East London *Daily Dispatch*, are leading voices in the moderate bourgeois opposition. Both journalists have been particular sources of embarrassment to the Vorster regime. *The World*'s black reporters have been able to circulate through Soweto and other black townships and expose police atrocities while the white press has been, by circumstance and/or choice, frozen out. For his part, Woods recently earned the prime minister's wrath by publicly recalling Vorster's World War II internment for pro-Nazi underground activities and by calling for Kruger's dismissal.

In addition, the two editors and the clergymen from the Christian Institute represent the few remaining links between moderate black and white government critics. Woods was a close friend and adviser to Stephen Biko. Qoboza worked for Harry Oppenheimer's Progressive (now Progressive Federal) Party before interracial organizations were prohibited in the early 1960's. Since becoming editor of the white-owned *World*, he has had close contact with prominent white liberals in the press, churches and political parties.

The broad scope of the arrests and bannings stunned "world opinion" from the just outrage of the working masses to the paper-thin hypocrisy of liberal imperialist spokesmen. *The Times* of London labeled the repression "a terrible and hateful deed"; the *New York Times* called it "grave folly." Washington even recalled its ambassador "for consultations," and a State Department spokesman said the U.S. would "reexamine its relations with South Africa" in the wake of this "totally unprecedented event." What is "unprecedented" is not the number of arrests: over 20,000 black militants were rounded up in the stormy months after Sharpeville—but the outlawing of major oppositional bourgeois institutions. *The World* and the Christian Institute, along with the arrest of prominent liberals at a time when the imperialist powers are hoping to strengthen just such forces.

From the viewpoint of the imperialist powers, the attack on respectable liberals, black and white, is far more ominous than the repression of militant black nationalists. The latter is merely embarrassing while the former strikes directly at the Anglo-American attempts to defuse the situation in Southern Africa through incremental concessions to the black masses and a deal with their most accommodationist leaders. In this they are aligned with the more internationally oriented South African capitalist interests which have always distrusted the implicitly isolationist, semi-populist Afrikaner nationalism of the ruling party.

The liberal imperialists follow a clear class criterion in their reactions to Vorster's police state measures. When close to a thousand non-white youths and working people are gunned down in cold blood they express mild dismay and shock; when their own friends and agents are locked up, however, they scream loudly. The proletariat, on the other hand, has a clear interest in vehemently protesting *all* suppression of bourgeois-democratic liberties in South Africa, including when it is mainly directed at liberals.

Vorster's escalation of apartheid repression must be met with a concerted campaign of international protest. However, such a campaign must be initiated and led by the workers movement and must carefully maintain its independence from the treacherous moral posturings of the liberal imperialists. The Sharpeville and Soweto massacres, Stephen Biko and thousands of nameless victims of apartheid barbarism, will not be avenged by diplomatic snubs, UN deals or imperialist economic sanctions.

The workers movement internationally must use its strength in protest actions aimed at materially damaging the murderous Vorster regime (such as a labor boycott of all arms shipments to South Africa) and forcing the imperialist corporations to open a breach in the solid wall of apartheid regimentation. In particular, labor militants must demand that the "multi-nationals" recognize black unions and abolish apartheid practices in their South African operations. Not through imperialist pressure or moralistic consumer boycotts, but only by aiding the organization and ultimately the revolutionary mobilization of the powerful black proletariat can the death blow be dealt to white supremacy in southern Africa. ■

West Germany...

(continued from page 7)

Christian Democratic demagogue Franz Josef Strauss denounced the power of the trade unions.

Torching tourist buses in Nice, bombing Mercedes Benz dealerships in Milano and declaring political solidarity with the politics of the RAF in Rome do not aid the struggle against the McCarthyite repression emanating from Bonn. On the contrary, this simply feeds into the Schmidt government's claim that all left-wing opposition to its draconian crackdown is anti-German terrorism. Such actions are based on the assumption that the German working class will remain forever acquiescent in the face of mounting repression. But the German working class—the most powerful in West Europe—is the only force which can put a stop to the right-wing resurgence in the federal republic. The key is to build a revolutionary, Trotskyist leadership which can break the West German proletariat from its bloody Social Democratic leadership, which today attacks the RAF so that tomorrow it can again murder the Luxemburgs and Liebknechts.

While denouncing all anti-German chauvinism and sharply attacking the RAF's petty-bourgeois politics of despair, the international Spartacist tendency and its German section, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, demand:

Freedom for all left prisoners! Down with the "anti-terrorist" witchhunt! For proletarian unity of action against the threatened ban against "communist organizations"!

Down with all emergency laws! Down with the "contact ban" law! For the dissolution of the "federal border police" and the "mobile intervention commandos"!

Smash the *Berufsverbot*. No blacklisting in the trade unions!

For the proletarian class justice of a workers government! ■

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PLO...

(continued from page 5)

tional guarantees" of the borders and settlement terms reached at Geneva, and the participation of the U.S. and the Soviet Union in such "guarantees." For Begin this raises the spectre of Soviet troops ringing Israel's borders.

Zionist Furor, Carter Double-Talk

As could be expected, the Vance-Gromyko statement engendered a furor in the Zionist camp. When a draft of the statement was shown to Begin by the U.S. ambassador to Israel, an angry meeting ensued according to press accounts. Thereupon Begin, who has a weak heart, had to be rushed to the hospital for several days of recuperation from what was diagnosed as "exhaustion." AFL-CIO autocrat George Meany and cold warrior U.S. senator from Boeing Henry Jackson were quick to denounce the statement. But Carter's national security advisor and principal architect of his Near East policies Zbigniew Brzezinski was equally quick to retaliate:

> "I think the point to bear in mind is that the U.S. is not just an interested bystander, not even just a benevolent mediator. The U.S. has a direct interest in the outcome of the Middle Eastern conflict. And therefore, the U.S. has a right to exercise its own leverage, peaceful and constructive, to obtain a settlement. And that is exactly what we will be doing."

Carter played soft cop in his speech before the General Assembly on October 4. Attempting to assuage the U.S.' former close comrades-in-arms in Jerusalem, he claimed Washington's "commitment to Israeli security is unquestionable." As if he was unaware of his national security advisor's remarks about the U.S.' "right to exercise its own leverage," Carter cooed: "We do not intend to impose from the outside a settlement." But to make clear the drift of his policies, Carter again referred to the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."

In order to sweeten this bitter pill for the Zionists, in his very next breath the double-talking U.S. commander in chief hailed "our shared respect for human rights and the courage with which Israel has defended such rights." Talk of "shared respect for human rights" from the imperialist butchers of Indochina and the Zionist terrorists who drove the Palestinian people from their native land simply underlines the reactionary, hypocritical character of Carter's anti-Soviet moralizing. But in any case, neither the threat of U.S. "leverage" nor appeals to "human rights" can cow the fanatical Begin government.

On the very day that Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan spoke before the UN, October 10, the Likud government announced authorization for six new Jewish settlements in the West Bank. To be populated by members of the clerical-fascist Gush Emunim sect, the settlements would be located inside the military and police bases that ring the densely populated Arab region of Samaria, an area formally closed to settlement under the previous "Labor" government. Further, Dayan returned to Jerusalem with a U.S.-Israeli "working paper" which limited Palestinian representation at Geneva to non-supporters of the PLO, as part of a pan-Arab delegation; treated the Palestinian question only as a refugee problem, equated with the 600,000 Jews "gathered in" from Arab lands; and reserved Israel's "right" to walk out if the PLO shows up or the Palestinian question is debated separately.

The Likud cabinet unanimously approved the "working paper" the next day, but the 11 October *Jerusalem Post*, the English-language daily written for right-wing American Zionist opinion, ruefully remarked in an editorial that the only hope for convening the Geneva conference "lies in a formula purposely left vague so as to postpone the clash between the parties to the time of the conference itself." Thus Vance's position during his August tour, that there was no purpose to a Geneva conference if there was not previous agreement, has been scuttled in favor of staging a conference even if nothing has been resolved.

There can be no reconciliation between the existence of an expansionist, racialist Zionist state in the Near East and the Palestinian right to self-determination. The bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state shares, along with the U.S., the criminal responsibility for sponsoring the birth of the Israeli state through the destruction of the Palestinian people as a nation. Now, once again, the Soviet Union seeks a partnership with the U.S. to ensure the continued existence of Israel, while giving the Palestinians a slice of their land as a hantustan in which to plant their flag, under the military supervision of the UN.

While we defend the Palestinians' right to a "mini-state," this is not a solution to the Palestinian question and is certainly neither just nor democratic. A genuinely democratic resolution of the Palestinian right to self-determination which also recognizes the right of the Hebrew people to self-determination can arise only out of the revolutionary overthrow of the reactionary Zionist and Hashemite regimes by the Hebrew and Arab proletariat. ■

Balanoff...

(continued from page 4)

the black trade unions and eliminate all aspects of apartheid in their South African operations. This will be a powerful aid in the struggle of the South African proletariat against apartheid, paving the way for a struggle to topple the South African bourgeoisie and expel the imperialists.

Iron Miners Strike

While Sadlowski/Balanoff pretended business as usual, 18,000 USWA iron ore miners, who largely supported the Sadlowski slate, were in their third month of a strike. The steel bosses, who control the iron mines, have taken a hard stance toward the strikers. At a bargaining session on October 5, U.S. Steel's William Miller made it clear that the companies would not negotiate on the key issue of incentive pay, designed to bring the miners' wages up to parity with steel workers. This followed by two days a ruling by an arbitrator who declared that as of October 20, strikers would be forced to pay their own medical insurance premiums. These expenses, averaging $100 a month, will be an enormous burden for workers drawing only $30-a-week strike benefits.

McBride has done everything he can to isolate this strike, which threatened to bust apart the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). According to the USWA's *Steel Labor*, McBride answered miners' questions by declaring, "The strikes were called on the [iron] range and they will be settled on the range."

But not only McBride is isolating the strike. So are the miners' own leaders, including District 33 director and Sadlowski supporter Linus Wampler, who addressed the District 31 conference. Although the companies' massive stockpiles have been augmented by significant importation of iron ore, Wampler did not address himself to the need for joint strike action from steel and maritime workers, limiting his appeals for solidarity to passing the hat at the District 31 conference.

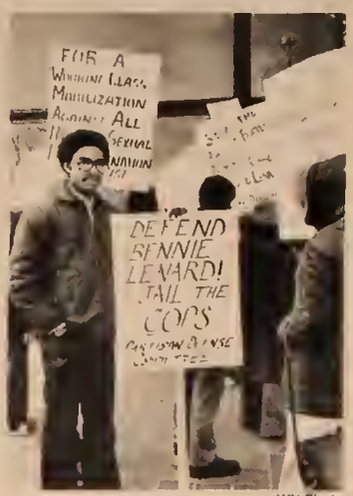
The Sadlowski/Balanoff bureaucrats are as treacherous and useless as McBride & Co. in the face of the determined onslaught of the American steel trust to restore its competitive position through plant closings, more brutal exploitation of the workforce and doses of protectionism. The fake oppositionists have continually prostrated themselves before bourgeois legality, refusing to mobilize steel workers against Abel's sellout contract and in a joint struggle with the iron miners to bust the ENA. Today, their occasional references to strike action are less frequent than ever, while they bleat all the more hysterically for the government to intervene to bail out the companies. Such is the hallmark of trade-union reformists, who when pressed hardest, find no other recourse but to seek the reactionary embrace of the capitalist state. ■

Bennie Lenard...

(continued from page 12)

Chicago Area Bennie Lenard Defense Committee mimics this legalism, making the demand for a jury of his peers central to its campaign. However, before it was scuttled by Graham & Co., the original official UAW Local 6 Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, set up by a membership vote, had demanded that all charges against Lenard be dropped; that the cops involved be indicted, jailed and dismissed from the police force; and that Lenard and his family receive full compensation for all injury by the police. The fight for these demands is not over.

The nightmare of cop terror and legal frame-up to which Bennie Lenard was subjected is no isolated incident. In the tense Chicago situation, which continues to be the scene of assaults on black schoolchildren and open housing marchers, the Lenard case could galvanize labor support as a symbol of resistance to the racist onslaught. It is because they fear the tremendous power of a labor movement mobilized around integrated working-class defense that the UAW tops, from Solidarity House to the Local 6 misleaders, have dragged their feet and even sabotaged the defense of Bennie Lenard. The reformists, in turn, simply try to bypass the uncooperative union officialdom.



WV Photo

Bennie Lenard's supporters at court house.

Only by fighting to bring out the strength of organized labor can the anti-busing bigots, racist cops and night-riding fascists be stopped. This was the lesson of the successful UAW Local 6 defense two years ago of the house of black union brother C. B. Dennis against firebombing marauders. This exemplary defense effort was initiated and led by the Labor Struggle Caucus, which has also consistently pushed for official union defense of Bennie Lenard. While UAW support to the Lenard defense was grudging, always under pressure from the ranks, there is no doubt that it was instrumental in winning his acquittal on the frame-up charges. His victory in court represents the promise of what a genuine mass labor/black defense could do to crush the recent upsurge of racist reaction. ■

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Jury Declares Bennie Lenard Innocent

Jail the Racist Cops!

CHICAGO, October 21--After a ten-day frame-up trial, the state of Illinois was unable to pin the rap for the brutal beating of black United Auto Workers (UAW) member Bennie Lenard by suburban Melrose Park policemen on the badly injured victim. A jury declared Lenard "not guilty" on five of the most serious charges, including all counts of resisting arrest, battery and obstructing justice, and those relating to an "unlawful firearm" which the cops and prosecution falsely claim he was carrying. However, the partially blinded defendant was found guilty on a minor charge and no action has been taken against the racist cops who savagely assaulted him.

In declaring Lenard innocent, the jury ripped away the cops' cover story that he "resisted arrest," was drunk and tried to strike the woman driver whose car collided with his last January 31. The truth was so apparent that there was no hiding it at the trial: Lenard had insisted on calling the police to report the minor accident, but was then set upon by race-hating cops and beaten until he lost consciousness, taken to the police station and beaten again. As a result he permanently lost sight in one eye.

Even though the judge ruled out all testimony on the vicious beatings of Lenard after his arrest, and the prosecution appealed to the jury on the basis of their "civic responsibility" to stand behind the police, it didn't work. It was too obviously a frame-up. All of the state's witnesses told stories that were contradictory, in spite of the fact that they seemed carefully coached. It was noticeable, for instance, that six prosecution witnesses used one and only one adjective to describe Lenard's allegedly drunken condition: "staggering."

The jury's decision is an important partial victory for Bennie Lenard and those who supported his defense. But he was declared guilty on the ludicrous charge of "possessing a beer can." (Three other phony traffic violation charges were dropped by the prosecution before the trial even began.) This "beer can" charge is an insult to a man who was beaten, grievously injured, harassed and framed. It is clearly meant as a lesson to black people, to meekly submit to cop terror: if the cops beat you, you get a police record. But Bennie Lenard is innocent, and his supporters must continue to demand that this trumped-up charge be thrown out. It is the cops who are guilty, as the trial testimony made abundantly clear.

The Bennie Lenard defense must continue its work, buoyed by this courtroom victory but not lulled into accepting an amnesty for the racist cops. Opponents of police terror must demand that the remaining charges be dropped, and that the cops who beat Lenard be indicted and jailed. The injured victim must receive full financial restitution. The damage suffered by Lenard is nearly inestimable in human terms. The physical injuries received may mean that he can never work again. A civil suit for $24 million has been filed against the policemen, officials of Melrose Park, the driver of the car who assisted the cops in the frame-up and the hospital which helped in the cover-up. But under capitalist "justice" an appeal of the "beer can" charge and putting together this civil suit costs thousands of dollars. Bennie Lenard still needs your support.

Bennie Lenard entering court house as supporters protest racist frame-up.

WV Photo

Labor Support for Bennie Lenard

What was most significant in the case of Bennie Lenard was the support he received from the Chicago labor movement. Certainly such support was influential in gaining this partial victory in court and in focusing attention on the racist cop brutality. Although far from the needed large mobilization of Chicago-area labor, pressure from the ranks did bring out some labor support for the first time in many years for such a case. This was dramatically evident on the first day of the trial when nearly 400 supporters protested at the Maywood District Court October 11.

The September membership meeting of UAW Local 6, of which Lenard is a member, passed a motion calling for a demonstration at the trial opening, and the Local's Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) issued a leaflet urging members to attend a rally for their union brother at the court house. This brought a significant display of solidarity, as around 100 of Lenard's fellow workers from the Melrose Park International Harvester plant, many from the first shift, showed up at court.

Also present was the entire executive board of Local 6 and a delegation from UAW Local 1307 of Harvester's West Pullman works. Additional contingents participating were from the Labor Struggle Caucus of Local 6, Auto Workers United to Fight, the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), the Chicago Area Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, the Spartacist League (SL) and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC). The SL, PDC and Labor Struggle Caucus set up a picket line outside the building, chanting "For labor/black defense! Drop the charges, indict the cops!" Gradually the lines swelled as others joined in.

As the trial proceedings began, faced with hundreds of Lenard supporters, the judge quickly ruled against a defense motion to move to a larger courtroom. Restricted to a chamber that barely seats 50 spectators, much of it reserved for courthouse dignitaries, the overflow crowd was banished to the hallway. There Ardrella Lenard addressed the protesters on behalf of her husband:

> "It's up to us here and the working class of people to defend Bennie. It's no surprise that there's no room in the courtroom for working people. We demand the charges be dropped, and the cops indicted."

The picketing outside was marred by incidents of sectarianism. A leader of the unofficial group which uses the name Local 6 Bennie Lenard Defense Committee tried to assert proprietary rights to the line, saying only "approved" chants could be used and *WV* could not be sold. He piped down, however, when the head of the Local 6 FEPC said there had never been any such decision by the union. The ALSC, which is controlled by the Maoist Workers Viewpoint Organization, refused to march in the same demonstration with other supporters of the defense. Instead they set up their own line and chanted: "Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee; you won't get Bennie Lenard and you won't get me."

While Local 6 officialdom was well represented at the trial opening, this was only due to pressure from the ranks. At every turn it has sought to keep the Lenard defense restricted to token gestures, while the UAW International has tried to wash its hands of the issue altogether. The Local 6 "leadership," headed by president Ed Graham, refused to commit union funds to the defense and sought to bury the issue in the FEPC. In an effort to force the bureaucrats' hand, an October 9 Local membership meeting passed a motion, proposed by the Labor Struggle Caucus, to give a day's pay to those executive board members and shop committeemen who showed up at the trial opening.

The bureaucrats and reformists have steadfastly refused to challenge the capitalist legal system which framed Bennie Lenard from the start. Graham told *WV* that "all we want" is to see that Bennie "gets his day in court." The unofficial

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 180 4 November 1977

Labor Must Demand: Recognize Black Unions!

Imperialist Chief Carter Scolds South African Ally

The hard-line posture of South Africa's white supremacist regime is unsettling Western capitals. With Pretoria rapping at the door of the atomic powers' club, its rulers pugnaciously denouncing foreign (especially U.S.) "meddling," and the country hurtling toward greater chaos and bloodshed, the major imperialist powers are nervously searching for measures to dissociate themselves from their increasingly embarrassing ally. Hence, the world's most dangerous warmongers have made a partial concession to long-standing "Third World" demands that South Africa be declared a "threat to international peace," empowering the United Nations Security Council, under the terms of the UN Charter, to impose international sanctions.

This is the significance of the resolution initiated by the major imperialist powers to ban all sales of weapons to South Africa. Such an embargo would not, in fact, prevent Pretoria from covertly obtaining arms (particularly from its close ally Israel) unless it were accompanied by a full-scale military blockade. Nevertheless, the arms-embargo motion represents an attempt by the imperialists to pose as the champions of "democracy" in South Africa and to rap the knuckles of the murderous regime which they have long protected.

Unfortunately for Carter and his European cohorts, however, their arms ban resolution was upstaged at the UN yesterday by an African-sponsored resolution for economic sanctions against South Africa. While an economic quarantine of the Vorster regime would not really aid the victims of apartheid—it would either be ineffective moral posturing or a stage in the escalation of inter-imperialist conflict—the African resolution effectively stole the imperialists' thunder. With its militant rhetoric and its demand that the "multinational" giants and the governments which serve them relinquish South African superprofits, the resolution forced the U.S., Britain and France to exercise their Security Council veto right.

But the very willingness of the Western powers to brand South Africa's acquisition of arms as a "threat to international peace" is an indication of the shift in imperialist strategy in sub-Saharan Africa. Two years ago the U.S., France and Britain vetoed a mandatory arms embargo; today it is their proposal. Why the change? It is obviously not the noxious apartheid system itself. The imperialists have long shed crocodile tears and passed paper resolutions against apartheid while arming South Africa to the teeth and garnering superprofits from the savagely exploited black workers.

Der Spiegel

Sahm Doherty

Moralizing Carter (left) threatens empty "sanctions" over crackdown by South African premier Vorster (right).

UN/Contact

South Africa buys Western armaments despite UN embargo imposed in 1963.

Nor is it "democratic" imperialism's disdain for bonapartist police-state measures. South African "Justice" Minister Kruger responded to the recent Western criticisms with a remark that however self-serving or overstated, struck effectively at the major powers' incredible hypocrisy: "We're in exactly the same position as the British are with the I.R.A. and the Germans are with the Baader-Meinhof case" (*New York Times*, 22 October).

Pretoria was certainly not less of a threat to its black neighbors two years ago. Indeed, in October 1975 it threw its European and American weapons (obtained despite a voluntary arms ban dating from 1963) into a full-scale invasion of Angola and decisively internationalized the civil war among rival black nationalist groups. Nor was the murder of perhaps a thousand black and Coloured youths in the six months following the Soweto massacre deemed sufficient grounds for invoking the UN Charter powers.

Announcing his decision to back "strong sanctions against the sale of weapons to South Africa," Carter was quite specific about the timing of the move:

> "The crisis was engendered last week [!] when South Africa took away the rights of free press and eliminated many of the organizations themselves who had been working toward improved equality for the citizens of South Africa."
>
> —*New York Times*, 28 October

Now, it will come as news to the black masses of South Africa that "the rights

continued on page 8

Cambodia: Peasant Stalinism Run Amok...6

Letters

Bakke Decision

San Francisco
October 21, 1977

To the Editor:

While I agree completely with the *WV* position on the Bakke decision (No. 178, 14 October), I thought I might expand somewhat on one aspect.

On page 4 you say: "The failure of the liberal civil rights movement followed from its strategy of linking the struggle for black equality to the capitalist state rather than to the struggle of the working class against capitalism.... It is nearly 10 years since a claque of liberals, black nationalists and 'socialists' succeeded in mobilizing the 'black community' against the 1968 New York teachers' strike, helping to cement the racist labor bureaucrats' hold over backward white workers...."

The role of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1968 strike was, unfortunately, something more than "mobilizing the 'black community' against the... strike."

I was at that time a member of the Minneapolis branch of the SWP. When the news of the party's position reached us, I took the floor and opened an attack on the leadership for supporting the scabs.

While virtually alone in my opposition, the leadership launched a sustained counterattack against me. I was told that not only did the leadership give full political support to the strikebreakers in this "racist strike," but that leading members of the NYC branch, including presidential candidate Fred Halstead, had actually participated in crossing the picket lines and opening the school buildings for the scab "community teachers."...

Comradely,
Ernest Everhard

Who Really Killed Cock Robin?

Cleveland, Ohio
July 21, 1977

To the Editor:

As a regular reader of the *WV* I have been spoiled by your consistent delivery of lucid and sophisticated analysis of political events. However, I was recently puzzled, to say the least, at the seemingly synchronic reasoning and the resultant conclusion of the King assassination article in the 17 June *WV*. The conclusion calling for the "full facts to be revealed" in the King assassination and the deaths of Malcolm X and other black militants was glaringly truncated by not extending it to call for the reinvestigation of all assassinations in which the CIA and FBI have been implicated.

While your aversion to the tendency of left-liberals and reformists to find the source of capitalist-created problems in government conspiracies is certainly justified it seems that you neglect your duty as Marxists to seek and tell the truth simply to avoid the liberal stigma of "conspiracy psychosis." More importantly, however, it would seem that if such reinvestigations were to prove CIA and/or FBI involvement it could only further serve the socialist cause by demonstrating to the world the great lengths to which the fetid capitalist class and its conspiratorial agencies will go to maintain and preserve their choke-hold on the proletariat. The exposure of such conspiracies would not necessarily have to serve as fodder for the liberal "rogue elephant" explanation and apology for the bourgeois rule we live under and certainly the SL's record would prevent it from being tainted with the liberal litany of conspiracy apologia. Marxists must make use of every opportunity handed them to reveal the nefarious and frenetic machinations of capitalist rule if they are to hasten the hour of socialist victory.

In the same article you also speak of the myriad of conspiracy theories concerning the Kennedy assassinations but nowhere have I seen you give these theories the same attention you have given the ones surrounding King's murder. Granted, we do not mourn the Kennedy deaths or place them on equal footing with the murder of a black dissident such as King but that is not really the crux of the matter. Rather, it would seem that the nexus of the assassination/conspiracy question is posed by asking: would a reinvestigation into the Kennedy assassinations reveal indicting data of the capitalist system (e.g., paranoic divisions within the bourgeoisie, Mafia ties, etc.)? If the answer to this question is yes then it would behoove all Marxists to demand it!

Of the questions surrounding the Nix and Zapruder films, the "magic bullet" theory (and accompanying ballistic tests), the possibility of the Oswald double, JFK's missing brain and the E. Howard Hunt connection, none have been adequately answered to the satisfaction of millions of lay people and experts. And thus, fourteen years hence, enough suspicion and pressure prevail to have forced the creation of a House Select Committee on Assassinations (in which, of course, we should place not an ounce of faith). Suffice it to say, a slew of unanswered questions remain all pointing to a conspiracy within this country to kill the Kennedys and given the longtime cozy relationship of the CIA and the Mafia there exists both the motivation and the means to carry out this otherwise outlandish plot.

I believe it was Marx who once said in regard to religious agnostics that there is really no such position because in practice they usually act one way or the other (i.e., as theists or atheists). Although your article does not rule out such reinvestigation of the Kennedy assassinations it is evident that the "aggressive agnosticism" you profess in this matter is clearly an unwarranted atheism and obfuscation of duty. While I join you in your religious atheism I cannot concur with you in the atheism you evince on this matter. Expose the bourgeoisie to hasten their defeat!

Fraternally,
A.B.

WV replies: A.B. is a careful reader of *WV*. He has correctly noticed that we are more interested in exposing the truth of the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King than we are in dipping into the mysteries of the Kennedy assassinations. Our attitude is shaped by our class perspective on the capitalist state.

Of course we are for the full exposure of all of U.S. imperialism's secret assassination machinery, including any possible connection to the Kennedy assassination. But we are most interested when they try to poison Castro, when they slaughter Fred Hampton in his bed and routinely open our mail. We are most interested in exposing the class function of the bourgeois secret police, its regular MO: surveillance, persecution and (when deemed appropriate) murder of members of the left, black and labor movements. When we demand that the full facts be revealed in the murders of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, we are seeking to focus attention on the murderous class nature of the capitalist state, its reason for existence as an instrument of oppressive class rule.

But what about the Kennedy assassination? Does not exposure of that also focus attention on the bourgeois state, asks A.B. The "nexus," he says, lies in the question, "Would a reinvestigation into the Kennedy assassinations reveal indicting data of the capitalist system?" Our answer: probably not. Even if there were a conspiracy by one wing of the bourgeoisie against another, while important in terms of evaluating the political climate, this would not necessarily expose the class nature of the state. Suppose it were revealed that the Kennedy assassinations were the result of a right-wing plot: since there was no class-conscious workers movement to speak of, what this would show is not "the great lengths to which the fetid capitalist class and its conspiratorial agencies will go to maintain and preserve their choke-hold on the proletariat," but rather the extent to which one wing or element of the bourgeoisie would go to impose its will on the other sectors of its class. There was such an investigation recently, namely the Watergate exposures, and while it temporarily weakened capitalist repressive forces, in the absence of a combative working-class opposition its net result was to strengthen the Democrats.

For our part, we do not know if there was a conspiracy to assassinate the Kennedys. Unlike the attitude of religious agnosticism, in our case it is not a question of lack of faith but of the absence of facts. Without facts we refuse to fire off speculative shots in the dark. Rather than a dereliction of duty, this is our elementary responsibility to the working-class movement. And since a CIA/FBI/Mafia plot against the Kennedys would not be business-as-usual for the capitalist state but rather an unusual occurrence, there is not the same basis for suspicions as in the case of black leaders who were being obviously harassed by the FBI and local police.

A Congressional investigation is hardly likely to expose anything, and there is no such thing as an "independent" investigation in such matters since the capitalist state controls whatever decisive evidence exists. While we would not oppose a Congressional inquiry, it makes no sense from a working-class perspective to demand it. We denounce the Kennedy assassination cover-up, the locked files and secret documents. But we do not call on the bourgeoisie to investigate itself, just as we do not call on the state to investigate its cops through police review boards or for Congressional "oversight" of the secret police. We want the truth, not cover-ups. If such secrets do exist that are worthy of 14 years of relentless suspicion, they may well be kept under wraps a while longer. The tsar had secrets too, and they were not discovered until *after* the revolution.

We know there are conspiracies, but Marxists reject the liberal notion of a conspiratorial basis of the capitalist state. The Kennedy assassination conspiracy suggested in A.B.'s letter would be an inter-bourgeois drama of enormous scope. About this we do not know. We remain "aggressively agnostic," pointing out that the obsessive yearning to speculate in this case really hides desires to pin the crimes of the capitalist system on a few right-wing plotters. Our propaganda is thus directed in large part at debunking the liberal Kennedy conspiracy industry; exploding the Camelot aura around the man who ordered the Bay of Pigs invasion; and exposing the *normal* function of the capitalist secret police, which is not to assassinate Democratic presidents but to hound the left, labor and black movement.

We do know this: Watergate is the exception targeting Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X is the rule. There was a state conspiracy to disrupt the civil rights movement and any organized expression of black militancy: exposing this constant conspiracy by the armed bodies of men who are the heart of capitalist state power is a central task of Marxist propaganda.

Prostitution

Oakland
8 July 1977

Dear Comrades,

In *WV* No. 164 [1 July 1977] in the introduction to "The Lumpen Vanguard Myth," *WV* refers to "anti-social parasites (e.g., prostitutes)." While prostitution as an *institution* is certainly parasitic, prostitutes, as individuals, are both socially parasitic and victimized, but not necessarily anti-social. This is a distinction that the SL and the revolutionary Marxist movement has generally made. *Women and Revolution* No. 9, Summer 1975, in an article entitled "French Prostitutes Protest Police Harassment," writes:

> "Prostitution is criminal, but the prostitutes are not criminals; they are the victims....
>
> "They are mercilessly exploited by pimps and madams—disgusting social parasites whose prosecution Marxists welcome. As in past revolutions, they [pimps and madams] can expect to meet with summary justice when the workers take power...."

Prostitution—where "sexual services" become a commodity exploited by pimps and madams—is perhaps the most extreme form of capitalism's exploitation and degradation of women.

The distinction between anti-social parasites, criminals and the rest of the lumpenproletariat was drawn in blood in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army captured China's major cities. As Jean Pasqualini writes in *Prisoner of Mao*:

> "There was some rapid house-cleaning when the Communists took over. The first victims were the obvious criminal elements and exploiters of the people.... The city's numerous corps of prostitutes was rounded up and witnessed the execution of their pimps and madams, by firing squad at the outer walls...."

While the Chinese revolution was qualitatively deformed, this act of revolutionary terror was not one of its deformations. The soviet dictatorship of the proletariat will quickly eliminate the parasitic institution of organized prostitution. And with the gradual replacement of the nuclear family, its accompaniment—sex as a commodity—will disappear forever.

Comradely,
M.A.P.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Editorial Notes

"Far-Left Unity" Hullabaloo in Britain

LONDON—The current "far-left unity" manoeuvre of the International Marxist Group (IMG, British section of the United Secretariat [USec]) seems to be causing some difficulties for the Sean Matgamna grouping, presently organised as the International-Communist League (I-CL). The IMG call—formally directed at the dozen-odd centrist and reformist organisations to the left of the Labour Party—is primarily aimed at "uniting" the IMG with the far larger "third camp" economists of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (née International Socialist [IS]). Although the IMG is not particularly interested in the small I-CL, the Pabloists' grand "unity" offensive has certainly had repercussions inside the I-CL.

The I-CL deemed it incumbent to respond to the IMG unity-mongering by expressing concern for "complete clarity" and by voicing anxiety at the "confusion" and "false pretenses" of the proposed merger. But the protestation of the need for principle in undertaking regroupments is rendered transparent by the Matgamna grouping's long history of successive entries into numerous organisations, in particular its 1968 enthusiasm for a similarly unprincipled "unity" appeal emanating from the Cliffites.

Evidently the Matgamnaites felt compelled to publicly explain why the IMG "unity" tactic is confusionist whereas the 1968 Cliffite scheme was principled, and a recent article in *Workers Action* (a newspaper which reflects the viewpoint of the I-CL) took the plunge and attempted to explain how. They would have done better to leave bad enough alone and hope nobody would remember.

Thus, the article attacks the diluted ("non-sectarian") nature of the IMG's proposed five-point "unity" programme. But the basis of the 1968 fusion between the IS and the Matgamnaite Workers Fight group was an even more minimal four-point programme: "against racism, against imperialism, against incomes policy, and for workers control" (quoted in *Workers Action* No. 65). The I-CL political contortionists assert that the 1968 fusion "would have massively enlarged the entire left" and that "it would have been a pole of attraction for almost all serious revolutionaries." In a letter to the editor one perplexed *Workers Action* reader neatly captured the essence of the I-CL's method: "It's okay to create political confusion so long as larger rather than smaller numbers of people are won to revolutionary politics."

A similarly absurd position results when the I-CL seeks to use "newness" as a criterion to invest the 1968 lash-up with an aura of purity: thus, while the Cliffite scheme was a product of "the immaturity and experience of a genuinely new vanguard," the current IMG campaign "represents the manoeuvres of experienced politicians." IMG honcho Tariq Ali must indeed be an impressively effective manoeuverer to strike such awe in the hearts of the I-CL, which has come out for the relative political innocence of Tony Cliff—who broke from Trotskyism to state capitalism at the time of the Korean war some 27 years ago!

Of course, the Matgamnaites have a long record of unprincipled "fusions" and casual programmatic shifts in pursuit of their selected entrist targets. The I-CL itself was formed by a fusion between the formally Soviet-defencist Workers Fight and a smaller state-capitalist grouping called Workers Power. In order to consummate what was to be an extremely short-lived fusion (duration: one year), Matgamna & Co. were happy to label the nature of the Soviet state a "tenth rate question."

The most recent expression of the Matgamnaites' appetite for unprincipled "fusions" was the late unlamented "Necessary International Initiative" (NII), which comprised the I-CL and two centrist organisations formed by splits from the USec in Germany and Italy. The NII's formation and evident collapse is of significance not only as a graphic demonstration of the futility of rotten-bloc "internationalism," but also because it mimics the unhappy fate of its largest national component, the German Spartacusbund.

(Some seven years ago, a left-oppositional current departed from the German USec with the intention of outlining an "independent" centrist course quantitatively to the USec's left, without coming to grips with authentic Trotskyism as represented by the international Spartacist tendency [iSt]. The perpetually fragmenting "critical Pabloist" current never escaped the political orbit of the USec, which now stands in a good position to pick up one or another of its decomposition products. A large proportion of the individuals involved in this process have left revolutionary politics altogether, though over the years several leftward-moving groupings emerging from this milieu managed to find their way to the iSt.)

A 15 October position paper on the I-CL distributed by the London Spartacist Group described the spectacular failure of the I-CL's ten-month NII manoeuvre:

> "When challenged from the left the NII posed as a simple 'discussion group'; at other times, particularly when posturing in front of local USec groups, it posed as at the very least an instrument to build an International. Hence its own internal life and its ephemeral 'coordinating committee'.
>
> "The members of the NII—besides the I-CL, the Italian Frazione Marxista Rivoluzionaria (FMR), and the Spartacusbund of Germany—did share a distaste for the worst idiosyncrasies of the relatively unsuccessful local representatives of Pabloism, while retaining an affinity for the fundamental political revisionism of the USec. On its own national territory each organisation found it desirable to make some pretense at international connections, to compete with the USec affiliate and to ward off attacks from the iSt. Thus was the NII consummated.
>
> "Today the I-CL is circulating a half-page statement (dated 15 July 1977) in which it renounces its short-lived involvement in the NII. In the first lines of the statement the following three assertions appear:
>
> "'The NII no longer exists in the form in which we declared our intention to participate in it.... The NII—if the title continues to exist—is now nothing more than a front for the FMR....
>
> "'In fact the NII has never really existed.'
>
> "In case that is confusing the I-CL goes on to say
>
> "'The NII was a project of a structured framework predicated on pretences disproportionate to the reality of the participating organisations and to its inadequate and insubstantial platform (to which the I-CL produced 'neutralising' amendments before affiliating).' (sic!)
>
> "So the I-CL has just left an international bloc which had an 'inadequate and insubstantial' (although fortunately 'neutralised') programme and which never really existed.
>
> "The reason for the I-CL's departure from the NII seems to be sour grapes about what's left of the Spartacusbund carrying out 'an auto-conversion to the entire platform of the FMR [which] has rendered discussion impossible....' The NII remains unprincipled as before...."

Internationalism does not consist in undertaking "initiatives" which must later be admitted to be not merely not "necessary" but presumably downright dangerous!

Fusions are an indispensable part of the struggle to assemble the cadres of a Leninist vanguard party. But the successful fusions which have led to the growth and international extension of the iSt are the result of principled struggle for the Trotskyist programme. The fragmentation of the revisionist rotten blocs and their petty imitators like the NII is a confirmation in the negative of the tactic of revolutionary regroupment.

Marcy and Mengistu

At times it seems that the only purpose in life for the Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF), Sam Marcy's Stalinoid personality cult, is cheerleading for sundry "Third World struggles." There is hardly a guerrilla comandante or "anti-imperialist" colonel on three continents whose praises they have not sung. And in upholding the Marxist-Leninist pretensions of tinpot despots from Maputo to Mogadishu, WWP/YAWF have regularly resorted to gangster tactics against the Spartacist League's exposure of the crimes of bourgeois nationalism and Stalinism.

Recently, however, YAWF's desire for popularity among petty-bourgeois radical circles in the U.S. has run afoul of the methodology of "Global Class War"—Marcy's grand theory of capitulation to the Stalinist ruling bureaucracies. It is easy enough to tout so-called "socialist construction" in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Neto, Machel and Cabral have not yet lost their media appeal, and the Kremlin pretends that these tawdry nationalist regimes are "non-capitalist." Thus YAWF could rubber-stamp the line of the currently most militant-posturing Stalinist regime while maintaining a radical image on campus.

However, the "Global Class War" has now come to the Horn of Africa and consternated Marcyites are faced with two warring "scientific socialist" military dictatorships, Ethiopia and Somalia, presently backed by Russia and China respectively. In the past, YAWF has sided with Peking against Moscow (both ideologically and in the Sino-Soviet border dispute); but since Mao lined up with the U.S. and apartheid South Africa in last year's Angolan war, the USSR and its Cuban front men have gotten top billing in the pages of *Workers World*. So with the same facility with which Brezhnev switched horses from Somalia's Major Siad Barre to Ethiopia's Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, Marcy has suddenly discovered the "Ethiopian Revolution."

Ever since the back-to-back barnstorming tours of Africa by Fidel Castro and then Soviet president Podgorny last spring, Moscow has courted the military junta (Derg) in Ethiopia. During a stay in Addis Ababa, Castro hailed Mengistu as a "great revolutionary." He was silent, however, about the Derg's systematic assassination and execution of leftist opponents at home and its sordid war of national oppression against independence fighters in Eritrea. Taking his cue from Cuba's "jefe máximo," Marcy, too, has concluded: "The working class, the national liberation movements and progressive people as a whole ought to give full, unstinted, and unambiguous support to the Ethiopian Revolution" (*Workers World*, 19 August).

YAWF's bootlicking support to yet another Soviet-backed "revolutionary" regime would not be noteworthy except for the particularly grisly character of the Derg's bloody rule and the Marcyites' earlier support to the Eritrean guerrillas. Two and a half years ago they excoriated the USSR and China for failure to "come to the aid of the Eritreans" and noted:

> "...the principle of self-determination of oppressed nations has been trampled in the rush to form an alliance with the new Ethiopian generals. The fact that they may be progressive to a degree in the struggle against imperialism (and this is really yet to be seen) makes no difference as far as their colonial policy is concerned. A national bourgeois regime is characterized by its need to resist imperialism *in order to better exploit the workers and oppressed.*" [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Workers World*, 28 February 1975

But today, after several waves of purge by assassination, the Derg has switched arms suppliers from the U.S. to the Soviet Union and, lo and behold, it is YAWF that tramples on the Eritreans' right of self-determination:

> "...support for the Eritrean struggle for self-determination must be conditional on their renouncing any part in imperialism's schemes to use their national struggle against the Ethiopian Revolution; in other words, it is conditional on their support for the Ethiopian Revolution and their rejection of the reactionary Arab regimes who are acting on behalf of imperialist interests."
>
> —*Workers World*, 19 August

What has really changed in Ethiopia? Mengistu has gotten the upper hand in the internecine clique infighting within the Derg, emerging from the piles of corpses as the most ruthless exponent of modernizing military bonapartism. He has targeted as enemies of the revolution not only the feudalists, but also the militant socialist-oriented trade unionists and left-wing students, who have been "liquidated" by the thousands. As bourgeois nationalists, the junta as a whole and Mengistu in particular are committed to defending the glory of a Greater Ethiopia forged by the conquests of Coptic Christian emperors beginning with Menelik I in the mid-1800's. Thus the military Derg has continued without let-up the same dirty war which it fought for years on behalf of Haile Selassie against Somali and Eritrean secessionists seeking to escape decades of brutal Amharic domination.

While withdrawing support for the independence struggle of the Eritreans (or, rather, making it conditional on their supporting their oppressors), YAWF also trumpets Mengistu's "peasant and worker militias," the rag-tag army intended to crush the independence movement in an orgy of religious bloodletting. And it applauds the "revolutionary reorganizing at the mass level" of the *kabeles* (*Workers World*, 16 September). Ironically, the prime function of these urban vigilante groups set up by the army is to smash the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), a militant leftist group that so starkly resembles the WWP/YAWF with its eclectic Guevarist/"Third World" nationalist politics.

Internationally, the elimination of pro-U.S. army officers in Addis Ababa led to a cooling of relations with Washington and ultimately a cut-off of arms supplies by the Carter administration, alleging abuses of human rights by the Derg. (Of course, the Pentagon continues to lavish military aid on the equally murderous right-wing Mobutu dictatorship in Zaire.) Moscow thereupon stepped into the breach, trying to create an "anti-imperialist confederation" in the geopolitically strategic Horn of Africa essentially by bribing the several weapons-starved army regimes. But a change of arms suppliers does not determine the *class character* of a regime, and in any case the Ethiopian junta continues to be supported by Israel. (The Zionists set up an elite terror squad, known as the Nebelbal or "flame," which has acted as Mengistu's personal army and carried out systematic repression against the EPRP.)

It was obvious from the beginning that the Kremlin's illusions of an "anti-imperialist" alliance in East Africa would be shattered on the nationalism of the rival strongmen. As Brezhnev has tilted toward Ethiopia,

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Ill-Fated IMT Regroupment in U.S.

Mandel's Unwanted Children

"You must understand that there is a very real danger of total disintegration...." These are the terms in which American supporters of the United Secretariat (USec) majority described their situation a year and a half ago. In a 22 June 1976 letter to the USec's International Majority Tendency (IMT), Milt Zaslow and his group of Los Angeles-based IMT loyalists desperately appealed to their international mentors to desist from upholding the IMT's uneasy political bloc with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) against their closest political supporters in this country. Their plea that Ernest Mandel & Co. should break from a deliberate policy "which compels the IMT leadership, again and again, to aid and abet the [pro-SWP] LTF in its drive to destroy our tendency" has at last been met with an apparently definitive response.

The bitterly faction-ridden USec, which has teetered on the brink of split since 1969, seems to have pasted itself back together. For the U.S. IMT supporters—permanently enjoined from publicly criticizing or competing with the SWP, and instructed to apply for membership in an SWP which had no intention of accepting the vast majority of them—the dissolution of the USec's two major factions puts off for the foreseeable future any hope of emerging from the deep freeze with the USec's American "franchise."

Of course the alliance between the reformist SWP and the centrist IMT is inherently unstable. No matter what under-the-table deals have been made to protect the cease-fire, it must shatter under the impact of any sharp upturn in the class struggle which would pose conflicting opportunist appetites for the bloc partners. But the American IMT supporters cannot afford to wait. Suspended in political limbo, on the IMT's instructions, since the July 1974 purge of the pro-IMT Internationalist Tendency (IT) from the SWP, the U.S. IMT has hemorrhaged its cadres until there are very few of them left to wait, even if they had something to wait for.

So we were not overly impressed this summer when Zaslow and some of his fellow cast-offs proclaimed the imminent formation of "a bold new revolutionary tendency" called the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP). The "Crispies" were evidently expecting to "regroup" most of the dispersed IMT loyalists outside the SWP (expelled ITers and also local groupings, like Zaslow's Socialist Union, which because of their pro-IMT sympathies were never admitted to membership by the SWP) as well as pull in some new elements. Already they are finding the going rough. Somehow, despite the initiators' years of "non-sectarian" efforts to soft-pedal their ostensible "Trotskyism" and downplay their programmatic heterogeneity, the "bold new" lash-up seems to hold little attraction for those unimpressed with the IMT and its occasional whispered words of comfort. Meanwhile, the IMT leadership's years of cynical maneuvers with the bureaucratic SWP have squandered the cadres of the former IT; some have liquidated into other organizations, while most are simply too demoralized to reenter active political struggle.

Expendable

The fate of the IT was sealed years ago by the IMT's categorical refusal to break with its American bloc partner, the SWP. The Barnes regime could suppress the IT, even expel more than 100 people with the arrogant claim that in effect they had already split, but Mandel continued to play the numbers game and conciliate the far larger forces of the SWP. Lauding the SWP's capitulation to the antiwar bourgeoisie, fulsomely praising the SWP's anti-proletarian accommodation to black nationalism, Mandel had little use for the empiricist but would-be leftist IT. Once the left oppositionists in the SWP had decisively thrown in their lot with the IMT, their self-destruction as subjective revolutionists was logical and inexorable.

At the time of the mass purge of the IT from the SWP we warned, "The IT Is Expendable":

> "... In its desperate thrashing about, the IT has tried to persuade itself that the Pabloism of the United Secretariat is only a shibboleth, an empty political epithet. They are finding out differently. The organizational consequence of the USec's objectivist, tailist line is disinterest and contempt toward the painstaking building of communist cadres. What are 112 ITers in the United States to the Pabloist mind? –after all, the automatic unfolding processes of the New Mass Vanguard or some successor gimmick will certainly bring thousands; surely one speech by Ernest Mandel in a suitable mass meeting could win far more, so why worry about small change like the political death of the IT, which is merely the major part of three years of left oppositional activity in the SWP? Thus it is not subjective evil or ill will that causes the USec tops... to look upon the IT not as comrades but as pawns, this willful destructiveness is only the necessary corollary of their impressionistic politics."
>
> "SWP Stages Mass Purge," *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974

The sequel to this warning was the agonized fragmentation of the IT. In the 22 June 1976 letter, Zaslow et al. describe far more eloquently than we could the results of the IT's loyalty to its international "leadership":

> "In September of 1974, two months after the purge, the IT held a conference to assess its situation and plan its strategy. The conference voted unanimously to appeal the expulsion to higher bodies... [and] to make preparations to 'go public' on the assumption that the SWP would not readmit the tendency as a whole, and certainly not with tendency rights.... It was estimated that, with the recruitment of the SU, BMG [Baltimore Marxist Group] and RMC [Revolutionary Marxist Collective], the group would number about 150, with organized branches in 8 or so major cities ... We also understood that the period of marking time had to be very brief or we would surely suffer demoralization and disintegration.
>
> "This perspective was torpedoed by the IMT leadership. Overriding the opinions of the entire tendency, this leadership intervened with a heavy hand to impose a completely different line. That line was to renounce all independent political activity and place ourselves at the disposal of the SWP – whose aim, of course, was to crush us.
>
> "Naturally, this directive threw the previously united tendency into a bitter struggle and split the IT down the middle. At the conclusion of our conference of April 1975, 50 comrades supporting the line of the IMT leadership split from the tendency and regrouped themselves as the 'New Faction' on your line of reintegration at all costs and on any basis.
>
> "The initial demand for collective reintegration on the basis of 'non-negotiable Leninist norms of party democracy', and the right to defend the line on the International in public, ended with a pathetic scramble for admission, one by one, with no conditions whatever.
>
> "Some of the New Faction (NF) comrades could not swallow the bitter pill and left. A few joined RMOC [Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee]; others were lost to our movement entirely. The rest strove pathetically to prove themselves worthy of reintegration....
>
> "And what was the upshot? The SWP kept them dangling on a string, month after month, eventually admitting one here, two there, until finally, a grand total of 17 or so comrades were admitted, scattered across the country.
>
> "So, it is time to ask, what has happened to the 150 supporters of the IMT in the US? The 17 (more or less) are buried in the SWP where they will vegetate, as they cannot possibly make the slightest impact on the SWP monolith. All that can be expected is demoralization and adaptation. About 19 members of the NF, in spite of their self-imposed abstention from all work on behalf of the FI, etc., are suspended in mid air with absolutely no perspective except to hope that someday, or some year, the SWP will relent and readmit them. A half-dozen or so (including 2 of the 5 members of the IT Political Committee), have joined Sam Marcy's cult, (Workers World Party), which happens to be hostile to the FI. A few joined a local centrist formation. The rest have drifted out of political activity entirely, at least for the time being, many demoralized and embittered.
>
> "What a tragic waste of cadres. What remains, in an organized way, out of the debacle, are some 50 comrades who refused to be expended, or sacrificed or immobilized....
>
> "Cde C. declared in Chicago, in April of 1975, that *if only 30 comrades made it into the SWP, that would constitute a victory*! (Incidentally, is 17, or 20, also a victory?) And what about the rest—the large majority? They were apparently expendable...."
>
> letter of 22 June 1976, published in SWP *International Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 2 in 1977, July 1977

Freedom Socialist

From left, Clara Fraser, Murry Weiss and Myra Tanner Weiss.

WV Photo

Milt Zaslow

A bitter postscript to this already sobering tale is the treatment afforded the token ITers who were "reintegrated" into the SWP where, mistrusted and held in contempt, they enjoy the dubious pleasure of watching the recently fused state-capitalist former Revolutionary Marxist Committee being glad-handed on all sides. At the SWP National Convention held last August, where the state-caps were given a lengthy standing ovation and flattered with congratulatory speeches, the delegates snickered as IT spokesman John Barzman was nominated for the National Committee:

> "Comrade Barzman is a member of a major international faction with members in the party, and we felt his membership would strengthen the committee, even though the level of his party activity since he was elected to the National Committee last year has not been defensible for an elected leader ..."
>
> –"Nominations Commission Report," [SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 8 in 1977, October 1977

Belated Break

As we survey the wreckage of the IT, it seems almost excessively cruel to insist that the destruction of the IT in the IMT's hands was predictable. But the IT leaders share the responsibility for the debacle. In August 1974, following the purge, two members of the Houston IT branch leadership submitted to their tendency a document in preparation for the October IT plenum. The document characterized the SWP as reformist and argued that "a complete political break is both politically justified and necessary." In the service of its international mentors' machinations, the IT leadership suppressed the document. When the comrades arrived in Chicago for the October IT plenum, whose purpose was to debate the IT's perspectives toward the SWP, they found that the very first

agenda point was their expulsion. Their countermotion, "The SWP is finished as a revolutionary force," was voted down and they were shown the door. The IT then proceeded to reaffirm the "revolutionary" character of the SWP and adopt the IMT's ultimatum that they seek "reintegration."

The 22 June 1976 letter by Zaslow et al. is the eloquent balance sheet of the "reintegration" perspective. The Houston comrades' position—once such anathema to the IT leadership that it triggered a political expulsion—is now a truism for the bruised remnants of the American IMT. And so the "bold new" CRSP proclaims in its Statement of Purpose: "We are forced to conclude that the regeneration of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. must proceed outside of and apart from the SWP."

At last! Years after the point where it might have made some difference, the U.S. IMT spokesmen are ready to declare that the SWP is not revolutionary (the CRSP calls it "centrist"). But it is not clear that anybody is still listening.

The reason for this new-found wisdom is not hard to find. If the last few years' experiences were not enough, the dissolution of factions in the USec provides the crowning insult. A new era of sweetness and light has been declared in the USec: after the SWP had urged the faction which follows its lead to "unilaterally" dissolve, it would be the basest ingratitude for the IMT to utter even a whimper of protest when Jack Barnes gloats that "In the United States, for the first time in several years, every single person in this country who would be a member of the Fourth International if it were not for reactionary legislation is today a member of the Socialist Workers Party" [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XIV, No. 8, September 1977). In other words, the IMT leadership at last agrees that Zaslow and his fellow "Crispies" are indeed non-persons.

Who Are the "Crispies"?

In their last-ditch effort to pull together some kind of pro-IMT organization in this country, Zaslow & Co. have been joined by a few small clumps of Pabloist undergrowth, some of it fairly exotic. While their general political trajectories—characterized by polyvanguardist impressionism—are certainly similar, each tends to have its own hobbyhorse; in the attempt to arrive at a lowest-common-denominator "program," the CRSP has simply aggregated the various components' eccentricities. The effort to derive a "program" out of the lumping together of everybody's pet enthusiasm leads to some rather hilarious results. Thus the CRSP's Statement of Purpose jumps straight from its opening four points on "Race, Sex and Sexuality"—intended to placate the kooky Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) of Washington state, known for its advocacy of "socialist feminism"—to the call for "A Party of Workers and Scholars," obviously a plug for Murry and Myra Weiss of the Marxist Education Collective (MEC) in New York.

The FSP is the creature of Clara Fraser, who along with her then-collaborator Richard Fraser left the SWP some ten years ago over several oppositional positions: left criticisms of the SWP's pacifist antiwar line and capitulation to black nationalism; a pronounced Maoist bent; the reasonable observation that the women's movement would certainly be a big deal and radicals looking for something to tail should get with it right away. The tendency (formerly the Seattle SWP branch virtually in its totality) subsequently split between the Clara Fraserites and the Dick Fraserites, with the former solidarizing around feminism and the latter around Maoism. Clara Fraser is to our knowledge the only ostensible Trotskyist who considered the disputed questions of her divorce to be political: her group has actually is-

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Expropriate the Mines!

Mass Layoffs Threaten Canadian Nickel Miners

—Reprinted from Spartacist Canada No. 21, November 1977

SUDBURY, Ontario, October 23—More than 1,000 angry miners and other Sudbury residents rallied here this afternoon to protest the impending mass layoffs in area nickel mines. The Inco and Falconbridge mine bosses are seeking to rationalize the collapsing Canadian nickel industry at the expense of the workers, and the jobs and livelihoods of thousands are at stake—as well as the future of this historically powerful and militant sector of the Canadian union movement.

Already 375 Inco employees in Port Colborne, Ontario (some with as much as *14 years* seniority) have been axed; now the company has announced that early next year 2,800 workers in Sudbury and another 650 in Thompson, Manitoba, will lose their jobs *permanently*. Falconbridge has announced similar massive cuts in the Sudbury-area workforce, and local union leaders warned the protesting miners that still more layoffs are likely on the agenda.

Cramming the union hall of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 6500, the miners came hoping to find a strategy to defeat the company's attacks. But all they got was three hours of speeches from politicians and union bureaucrats, containing nothing but rhetoric, vague promises and various reformist gimmicks aimed at cajoling the companies and the governments in Ottawa and Toronto into doing something about the layoffs.

The mood of the miners at the meeting was militant. When a local Liberal MP [member of parliament] tried to defend the "private enterprise system," he was virtually hooted off the stage—and would have been, had Sudbury and District Labour Council President Elmer McVey not appealed to the audience to avoid "cheap shots." Jack Gignac, President of Mine-Mill Local 491 (Falconbridge production workers) thundered that "any politician against nationalization [of Inco and Falconbridge] without compensation does not represent the working class," and received a prolonged standing ovation. But neither Gignac, nor any other speaker presented a strategy to stop the layoffs and win demands like expropriation of the mining companies.

Miners at Sudbury rally, October 23. Spartacist Canada

Among the worst was Dave Patterson, the supposedly "militant" USWA 6500 (Inco employees) president, who won the leadership of this 14,000-member local two years ago as a self-styled "insurgent" rank-and-file candidate. He was a vocal supporter of "rebel" bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski in this year's USWA International elections. Patterson announced that the local executive had a five-point program which it was trying to discuss with the company. This program consisted of nothing more than appeals for pensions to those leaving the industry, no overtime and no contracting out, a better vacation schedule and building more "liaison with the community." Asked by a *Spartacist Canada* reporter whether he supported the demand for the nationalization of Inco, Patterson actually said no. Instead he supported a scheme whereby the government would receive five percent interest in Inco each time it granted the company tax concessions!

Seeking to curry favor with the militant miners, even some Sudbury-area New Democratic Party MP's and MPP's [member of provincial parliament] came off to the left of Patterson. NDP MPP Eli Martel cried that Inco must be taken over by the government, and that the only compensation it deserves is $2.95 for a bus ticket out of town. But federal MP John Rodriguez could come up with nothing better than a scheme for pressuring the government into stockpiling nickel to save jobs.

Even provincial [NDP] leader Stephen Lewis was forced to concede that "public ownership," which he admitted was in general anathema to him, *might* have to be considered. But he preferred the strategy of a legislative inquiry into Inco's business practices if the government failed to step in to prevent layoffs. Later, free from the pressures of the militant rally, Lewis told reporters that the NDP really had no intention of calling for the nationalization of the nickel industry—even *with* compensation.

Lewis' federal counterpart Ed Broadbent echoed his remarks and also took up a nationalist theme, which had been begun by Patterson and continued by several other speakers. For Broadbent, the problem with Inco is that it is "anti-Canadian" because it is laying off workers in Canada while at the same time creating new jobs at its mines in Guatemala and Indonesia. Broadbent demanded that the federal government step in to stop Inco investment in other countries—i.e., lay off workers in Guatemala and Indonesia to save jobs in Sudbury.

Inco and Falconbridge are seeking to drastically cut back their Sudbury operations because they are no longer profitable enough. The companies face increased international competition, particularly from an American corporation, Amax Inc., which is selling nickel at significantly lower prices in order to destroy Inco's historical dominance in the industry. In the face of this competi-

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INCO plant near Sudbury. Spartacist Canada

Cambodia: Peasant Stalinism Run Amok

Pol Pot

Asiaweek

When Pol Pot of Democratic Kampuchea—formerly known as Saloth Sar of the Royal Government of Nation Union—surfaced several weeks ago in Peking, it was revealed to the world (and to his countrymen) that he was not only prime minister of Cambodia but also secretary of the central committee of the Khmer Communist Party. The laconic Chinese announcement of his visit was, moreover, the first official admission of the existence of the Cambodian CP, which was said to be in the midst of celebrating its 17th anniversary (the previous 16 having slipped by unnoticed).

It was revealed in Peking that the shadowy Cambodian leader had paid a previous visit to China (kept secret at the time) in 1975, and movies of his meeting then with Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung were shown on Chinese television. Pol Pot made a series of speeches, stating that the "general situation of the revolution is excellent" in Cambodia and claiming that "security in the whole of our country is perfectly assured" (*New York Times*, 30 September). At a banquet in his honor he warned that the "Kampuchean Revolutionary Army... will not tolerate any aggression, provocation, interference, subversion or espionage activities by anyone."

The world bourgeois press promptly seized on this rare public appearance to speculate on rumored power struggles behind the scenes and tried to fit some new pieces into the "Cambodian puzzle." After the country had been pounded for five years by massive U.S. bombing, the 1975 liberation of the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh from the venal Lon Nol clique provided a shocking spectacle as the victorious Khmer Rouge troops drove out the entire population of 3 million at gunpoint. Even war criminal Henry Kissinger, the architect of the 1970 American-South Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia and of the murderous 1974 Christmas bombing of Hanoi, felt he could get away with condemning the Communists' "inhumanity."

For the past two years the situation in Cambodia has been the subject of countless horror stories in the imperialist media. The most vehement anti-communist diatribes paint the country as a blood-drenched chamber of horrors, to which knee-jerk New Left radicals (e.g., the *Guardian*) respond by dismissing everything as "CIA lies." Now, while taking into account the tendentiousness of the "evidence" presented on both sides, the Cambodian experience clearly shows extremes of Stalinist brutality and bureaucratic rule. While it may not be quite the "1984"-style death camp dreamed up by the more fevered reactionary ideologues, the information that is available and believable indicates that life in Cambodia is indeed quite grim, harsh and terrifying.

This in no way vitiates, but on the contrary verifies, the perspective of proletarian socialist revolution. Unlike the liberals, who now claim they were "duped," and the Stalinists, who simply deny reality, Trotskyists have no need to despair or resort to lies. The Spartacist League hailed the overthrow of capitalist rule in Indochina as a historic conquest, but placed absolutely no confidence in the Stalinist bureaucracies who came to power in the wake of the peasant-guerrilla struggle. The undoubted atrocities perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge, as well as the enforced national isolation and irrational economic destruction they have decreed, underline the need for a proletarian political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers states to overthrow the Stalinist ruling castes and establish the democratic rule of soviet power.

"Self-Reliance," Khmer-Style

Since coming to power the Khmer Rouge have managed to almost completely cut off Cambodia from the outside world. Wrapping themselves in a hysterical xenophobia directed not only against its capitalist neighbor Thailand, but also against Laos and Vietnam, the rare public statements by the new rulers in Phnom Penh have emphasized the sanctity of Cambodia's borders and glorified ancient Khmer traditions. There are constant references in the program of the Stalinist-led National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK) to the greatness of the thirteenth-century empire based at Angkor Wat, whose temples form the centerpiece of the new revolutionary flag (e.g., the "light of Angkor civilization shining throughout Southeast Asia for many centuries").

Like the Albanians, North Koreans and other Stalinist regimes in small, poor countries, the Cambodian CP has made a fetish out of economic "self-reliance." However, in this case it is based on massive forced population transfers and the uprooting of traditional peasant communities. The Cambodian people, using the most primitive tools or even their bare hands, are being forced to build a new society literally from the ground up. As foreign minister Ieng Sary told *Der Spiegel* (9 May 1977) in a rare interview, "There is no precedent for the revolutionary experiment of the Khmers. We want to realize something that has never yet been seen in history. Therefore there is no model, neither the Chinese nor the Vietnamese model, which can apply to us."

The "new Cambodia" does in fact represent a rather unique social reality, for the wracking contradictions which characterize all the deformed workers states are revealed in extreme form there. It is impossible to understand the total secretiveness, the virtually impenetrable national isolation and the deliberate dismantling of the country's economy without an understanding of these contradictions. The brutal repression and extreme regimentation of "Democratic Kampuchea" are not the products of the demented ravings of demonic red monsters but a quintessential expression of the impossibility of peasant Stalinist regimes to establish a socialist society.

The grotesque statements of the Khmer Stalinists naturally do little to shed light on the actual situation. Pol Pot's justification for the total evacuation of Phnom Penh, for example, is ludicrous on the face of it. The policy was decided upon, he said, "because we knew that before the smashing of all sorts of enemy spy organizations, our strength was not strong enough to defend the revolutionary regime" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 21 October). In the first place, U.S. imperialism was on the run in 1975. Moreover, the perfidious CIA frequently turns out to have feet of clay. Recently, for example, the bourgeois press was so in the dark that it could only assert, the day after it began, that the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was "apparently" in session judging from such tell-tale signs as the number of cars parked before the Great Hall of the People, preparations for fireworks displays, etc.

The Cambodian Stalinists' real fear was that with their small military force they would be unable to control a large urban population. At the time of their victory the Khmer Rouge were estimated to have only 70,000 soldiers and a cadre of roughly 1,000 (according to William Shawcross, writing in the 4 March 1976 *New York Review of Books*). Refugees have reported that villages of 750 people are controlled by only a dozen or so soldiers. In addition, the Khmer Rouge army, formed through years of guerrilla fighting in the countryside, was a peasant army whose attitude toward the cities was one of hostility and suspicion. The combination of a successful peasant revolt and an extremely narrow Stalinist layer at the top accounts for the unusually brutal consolidation of the Cambodian deformed workers state.

Der Spiegel

Cambodian Stalinists forced hundreds of thousands of urban dwellers into countryside.

The Obliteration of Phnom Penh

The unexpected action of the victorious Khmer Rouge in forcibly depopulating the Cambodian capital had a tremendous impact on bourgeois public opinion. But the gunpoint evacuation of Phnom Penh came as an even more traumatic shock to the exhausted and starving population of the beleaguered city. The toll in human lives was enormous. While Ieng Sary admitted to *Der Spiegel* that "2,000 to 3,000 people died during the evacuation of the city, and several thousand died in the rice fields" during the first month, the actual total is undoubtedly far higher.

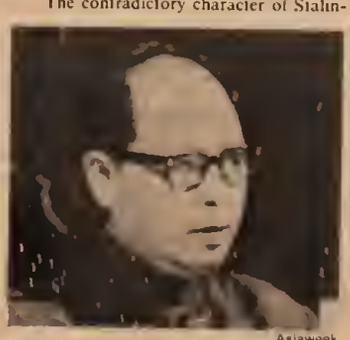
As recounted in the powerful eyewitness reports of Sydney Shanberg of the *New York Times*, the people of Phnom Penh were herded into the streets as the vast tide of humanity slowly moving out of the bloated city choked the thoroughfares. Even the critically ill and wounded in the hospitals were forced out, limping on crutches or lying in hospital beds pushed by relatives, some still hooked up to bottles of serum. Deeply suspicious of every aspect of city culture, young Khmer peasant soldiers broke into the banks, throwing thousands of now-worthless bank notes into the Mekong or burning them in huge bonfires, along with books from the library. (Cambodia today still has no money.)

When it was all over, Phnom Penh was a ghost town, with only a few abandoned cars standing on the deserted streets, their tires and bodies often riddled with bullets by the frustrated soldiers unable to make them function. Meanwhile, in the countryside, those who survived the exhausting trek often found themselves clearing forests, without food, clean water or medicine. Malaria and dysentery were rampant, and many of the former urban dwellers, totally unfamiliar with agricultural practices, were unable to survive the harsh conditions.

Now, in fact, a good part of the misery and suffering of the Cambodian people immediately following the April 1975 victory of the Khmer Rouge cannot be laid at the Stalinists' doorstep. They inherited a devastated country on which the U.S. imperialists had rained more than half a million tons of bombs, reducing most of the towns to rubble and slaughtering an estimated 600,000 people (out of a total population of 7 million). Phnom Penh had been swollen to five times its pre-war size, and even the American government admitted that the population of the capital could not be maintained without a continuous airlift.

But while denouncing the imperialist butchery, the Spartacist League did not excuse the Stalinist bureaucratic atrocities. We wrote at the time:

"The contradictory character of Stalin-



Ieng Sary

Asiaweek

ism was nowhere more graphically revealed than in the actions of the victorious Cambodian peasant army marching into Phnom Penh not to liberate the poor and working people but rather to impose an immediate and total depopulation of the city....

"In Cambodia some urban depopulation was indeed called for. The towns had become unmanageably swollen with refugees from the countryside, most driven there by U.S. saturation bombing. But Phnom Penh, which had already discharged its thin layer of capitalists, also contained a stratum of workers and petty bourgeoisie constituting the only developed basis of Cambodia's urban economy. For Marxists it is crucial to preserve this economic infrastructure while beginning an orderly program for the relocation of the peasant refugees. In any case the working and poor population should have itself decided in democratic soviets how to deal with artificially overpopulated cities. Certainly they would not decide to drive out the aged and the infirm, which surely would kill them."

—"Indochina: Deformed Revolution," *WV* No. 72, 4 July 1975

Worker-Peasant Paradise or Rural "1984"?

For better or for worse, depending on one's viewpoint, the Cambodian Stalinists have yet to produce any significant written material for foreign consumption. (Among other notable features, they are probably the only deformed workers state not to have flooded the world, or at least the Maoist bookstores, with the immortal writings of their glorious leaders—which is just as well, as anyone familiar with the collected works of Kim Il Sung or Enver Hoxha can attest. However, we may be only temporarily spared, for it is only in the last month that it became known just who the Great Father of the Khmer People is.) So apologists for "Third World" Stalinism are forced to rely on the unutterably trivial, incredibly saccharine set-pieces published by Peking featuring sparkling-eyed, red-cheeked sons and daughters of the people, singing and dancing such items as "The Cambodian People's Spirit of All-Out Dedication" while working away in the "heroic spirit of self-reliance."

Not to be outdone the over-aged New Left *Guardian* has printed quantities of mushy enthusing over the "original, revolutionary" Cambodian society. Notable "Third World" buff Wilfred Burchett, writing from Paris, has explained at length that—based on his great familiarity with the Khmer people, discussions with "responsible cadres," and photographs (!) of the new society—all assertions about repression in Democratic Kampuchea are simply CIA-concocted slanders. Why, he writes (*Guardian*, 14 January 1976), the new Khmer constitution "is as Cambodian as 'prahok,' the fish sauce indispensable for any Cambodian meal"! (As American as apple pie? As corny as Kansas in August?) Undoubtedly, the vast majority of the Cambodian people would eagerly exchange "their" constitution for a single bowl or jar of "prahok."

In contrast to the *Guardian*'s sappy folksiness, the hard-line Peking loyalists of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (CP-ML, formerly the October League), have grasped what's really behind the aggressive Khmer nationalism, approvingly quoting Pol Pot's warnings against "outside aggression." "This was a clear warning to the superpowers who have tried to prod neighboring countries into attacking Kampuchea," they write in the 10 October *Call*. Vietnam, in this case, is the local stand-in for the Soviet Union.

Such utterly cynical Stalinist apologetics are, in their own way, as revolting as the malicious ravings of right-wing journalists, whose nostalgia for the "good old days" of comprador capitalism is packaged in such trashy pulp "exposés" as *Murder of a Gentle Land* (New York, 1977), by two *Reader's Digest* editors, John Barron and Anthony Paul. In their imperialist tourist mythology, Phnom Penh had been "a city of tranquility and orderliness, a city of gentle, laughing people, a city of striking women and good cuisine, a city of easy days and amiable nights." With languid racism they bemoan the crushing of "the Khmer ideal, which is to 'listen to the wind blow, watch the rice grow and make love'." Given that introduction, it's hard to believe anything else in the book.

Actually, the corrupt, callous, incompetent Lon Nol regime was quite gruesome, and its war-torn capital was a far cry from this idyllic picture. The sober *Far Eastern Economic Review* (7 January 1977) recalled that after Lon Nol took power in a 1970 coup, "outraged peasants had actually eaten one of his brothers." This evidently became something of a traditional form of protest, as shortly before the neo-colonial regime finally disintegrated, Lon Nol's own soldiers, starving and embittered, ate one of his paymasters after not being fed or paid for months. While the streets of the capital were filled with "gentle, laughing" cripples, beggars, prostitutes, pimps and starving children, the generals put on lavish feasts for those exquisite Cambodian "ladies of the night" with their "elegant French pronunciation."

Before the Khmer Rouge victory *Murder of a Gentle Land* sees nothing but sweetness and light; the authors claim that the figures on the hundreds of thousands of Cambodians slaughtered by U.S. bombing (which they do not even mention) are totally "undocumented." Afterwards they see nothing but hideous massacres and the transformation of the pretty little country into a vast concentration camp, policed by the robot-like minions of the sinister dark force of the "Angka" (loosely translated as "the organization"), its fields strewn with human skeletons, its rivers choked with corpses of those trying to escape and its forests infested with man-eating tigers, their appetite for human flesh stimulated by the "Angka"'s carnage.

However, it is not only the open reactionaries such as Barron and Paul who have expressed outrage at the brutality of the Khmer Rouge regime. Even such notable "progressives" as French author Jean Lacouture, long-time friend of the Viet Minh, have expressed horror and shock at the brutality of the Cambodian Stalinists. Like the liberal American "China hands," Lacouture saw the Khmer Rouge as simple "agrarian reformers" and was dismayed when their Stalinist face showed through. In a review of *Cambodge, année zéro* by the French Catholic priest François Ponchaud, who spent ten years in the country prior to the demise of Lon Nol, Lacouture flatly asserts that in Cambodia "the bloodiest revolution in history is now taking place." Worse than oriental despots, medieval inquisitors, Auschwitz or Stalin's Gulag, Cambodia represents "the ultimate in horror."

"Here is only madness," writes Lacouture in his sadder-but-wiser liberal disillusionment. Nat Hentoff, always a bellwether for rad-lib trends, quotes Lacouture's world-weary comment: "It is always more difficult to be the friend of the conquerors" (*Village Voice*, 28 February 1977). This fits right in with the 1950's-style, "God That Failed" rhetoric of 110 former "peace movement leaders" who last year signed a statement criticizing Vietnam for "violations of human rights." But where this was not simply deliberate pro-imperialist propaganda, it only revealed the inability of liberal moralists to understand fundamental social questions such as revolution and counterrevolution.

L'Express

Khmer Rouge marching into Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975.

Cambodia: A Really Deformed Workers State

The truth about Cambodia lies neither with the Stalinist regime and its starry-eyed apologists nor with the bourgeoisie's hired pundits and the incomprehending, horrified liberals. Cambodia, a very backward peasant country ruled by a very weak Stalinist bureaucracy, embodies in heightened form all the contradictions of the deformed workers states. In order to defend Cambodia against imperialism it is not necessary to prettify the real bureaucratic terror and senseless suffering engendered by its present rulers. It is necessary to understand their origins.

Were there massacres? Undoubtedly. There was certainly plenty of killing, as inevitably accompanies the extension of a revolution throughout the country. Moreover, these were intensified because of the extreme youthfulness and small numbers of the nervous Khmer Rouge troops. But while most refugees interviewed by the more objective Western journalists reported seeing dead bodies, actual reports of massacres referred mainly to executions of officers of Lon Nol's puppet army. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported:

"Life in Cambodia... slowly returned to normal in 1976. One sure indicator, which perhaps also demonstrated increasing Khmer Rouge social control, was the sharp drop in the number of refugees trekking to Thailand.... Unlike the situation in 1975, when refugees reported large-scale killings of officials and soldiers of the former regime, few executions seem to have occurred."

Asia Yearbook 1977

There was and continues to be reported considerable discontent over the regime's collectivization of agricultural production, which was apparently total and immediate. There are no private plots and the organization of production is along military lines. The degree of regimentation equals that in China in the heyday of the communes during the Great Leap Forward; the amount of violence used to impose this organization on a predominantly landowning peasantry recalls the forced-draft collectivization campaign undertaken by Stalin in 1930-32, when millions died as a result of calculated starvation policies. While collectivization is an important gain of the revolution, the Stalinists were incapable of carrying this out in any but a bureaucratic fashion, neither gradually nor with the consent of the working population. Moreover, the material-technical basis for a successful collectivization of agricultural production is totally lacking in Cambodia. Not even mentioning tractors, "a Phnom Penh Radio broadcast urged people to use muscle-powered water wheels rather than foreign oil-consuming pumps" in irrigation works (*ibid.*). Fuel is reportedly obtained primarily by smuggling from Thailand in *plastic bags*.

But the truly staggering crime of the Khmer Stalinists was not massacres in general or bureaucratic arbitrariness per se, but the deliberate, murderous and apparently successful destruction of urban life. For a period of months this was evidently near-total in scope, and only now are the cities and towns slowly being re-populated. This was not simply a question of sweeping out prostitutes corrupted with Western ways, but represented a conscious program against industry. Even today:

"'Our direction in this field [industry] is to consolidate and perfect [existing] factories, and we have no plans to build other factories,' Pol Pot noted.... According to a report by the New China News Agency, about 100 factories and workshops had been put back into operation.... The factories were mostly repair shops or handicraft workshops."

—*Ibid.*

This "unique social revolution," because of the extreme nationalism and xenophobia of its Stalinist leadership combined with the peasant distrust of the cities has attacked the only economic means by which it could hope to begin to climb out of poverty. And the attack on the productive forces is not simply in material terms: in the course of depopulating the cities, the Cambodian Communist Party literally atomized what tiny proletariat the country possessed, while throwing the valuable skills of petty-bourgeois professionals to the winds.

While this is far from being "the bloodiest revolution in history," it is certainly one of the more irrational of recent Stalinist-led social upheavals. In part this is because the Cambodian case more closely resembles a classical *jacquerie* and the bloody elemental peasant revolts of the pre-capitalist era. These outbursts of suppressed rage at brutal oppression have always left in their wake vast devastation and carnage—the smouldering ruins of landlords' chateaus, the heads of tax collectors on pikes. The Russian "Time of Troubles" of the 17th century, the great Chinese peasant revolts against the Ming dynasty and the German peasant wars of the 1500's all were accompanied by tremendous cruelty—and were met with even more terrifying repression. In China during the four great rebellions of the mid-nineteenth century (the Taiping rebellion, Yunnan uprising, northwest Muslim rebellion and the Nien rebellion) it is estimated that some 10 to 20 million died; 40 years later travelers shuddered at the sight of great empty walled cities. In turn, peasant leaders when caught were impaled, beheaded,

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

of free press" existed before the October 19 crackdown. Numerous black and leftist newspapers have been outlawed in the three decades of Afrikaaner Nationalist rule, and their editors and reporters arrested or "banned."

Carter's national security affairs advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski repeated his boss's point on Sunday, explaining on a television news program that: "...our response sought to focus on the specific events of last week and try to correct them, rather than to go wholesale at the generic causes of the problem" (*New York Times*, 31 October).

Keystone

Anti-apartheid demonstrators are arrested in Soweto.

The imperialists' dismay grows partly from the broad sweep of the current crackdown. Last month Vorster's stormtroopers beat the prominent young black nationalist leader Stephen Biko to death. The 30-year-old founder of the Black People's Convention had close relations with important white liberals and had earlier transmitted a plea to imperialist chief Carter to champion the cause of South Africa's blacks. This month Pretoria attacked both the "black consciousness" groups and a number of internationally known liberal clergymen and editors who had been demanding publication of the truth about Biko's death.

The imperialists can read the writing on the wall. South Africa is in the throes of a major political crisis, and its rulers envision an escape route paved with the corpses of untold numbers of blacks. As Afrikaaner Nationalists (and not a few English-speaking whites) withdraw into their *laager* (armed camp), they are drastically limiting the rights even of the white bourgeois opposition, centered in the major South African corporations, the English-speaking political parties, the liberal press and churches. It is precisely these forces which the Western powers count on to avoid a race war through incremental concessions to the black population, particularly the urban petty bourgeoisie. Hence the arms embargo, intended as a signal to the Vorster regime to call off its repression of domestic bourgeois critics.

The arms embargo also provides the Carter administration with an opportunity to pretend that its "human rights" campaign is something more than an anti-Soviet crusade and an attempt to refurbish the tawdry international image of post-Vietnam, post-Watergate America. The UN resolution is the climax of a carefully stage-managed drama involving diplomatic protests, recall of several Western ambassadors from South Africa and high-level meetings in Washington and at the United Nations.

At the same time, Andrew Young, supposedly the champion of "Third World peoples" in the Carter administration, has been assigned the delicate task of explaining the sharply circumscribed character of the Western moves against South Africa. He had to defend, for instance, the American decision, despite its own arms embargo resolution, to continue supplying nuclear fuels to Pretoria: "If you break the relationship altogether, there is no way to monitor and it is almost because you can't trust them [the Vorster regime] that you have to stay close to them"!

The moral posturings of the liberal imperialists are a dangerous trap for the international working class, whose advanced elements have demonstrated an impulse to take action in solidarity with their class brothers in South Africa. After conniving in apartheid for years, the Western powers now claim to be horrified at the brutal police-state measures necessary to defend it and, indeed, they are now trying to pose as the spearhead of the fight against white supremacy in southern Africa.

For years the Soviet Union, pro-Moscow Communist Parties, Maoists, African nationalists and assorted anti-racist liberals have demanded the severing of diplomatic relations and a ban on investments and trade with South Africa. Numerous such resolutions have been raised at the UN, only to be vetoed or ignored by imperialist governments. In 1963, for example, Britain and France declared that they would not abide by the voluntary arms embargo. The U.S. agreed to respect it, then circumvented it in numerous ways such as selling light planes and personnel carriers "for civilian use" to Pretoria, knowing full well that once in South Africa they were easily outfitted for military purposes. Coming from the Stalinists and African nationalists, such demands are simply the old shell-game of asking the "democratic" imperialists—the present and former overlords of the economically backward capitalist countries—to "save" the world from the more openly reactionary imperialists.

For the Western powers in the 1960's and early 1970's—when the apartheid structure seemed unshakeable—such demands were, at most, minor irritants. But independence for the Portuguese colonies, growing commerce with black African states, increasing Soviet influence south of the Sahara, the massive anti-apartheid struggles and the government's bloody response have all forced the Western powers to consider the major potential for an escalation and internationalization of the crisis in the sub-continent. This genuine concern of imperialist *Realpolitik* dovetails with the Carter administration's so-called "human rights" campaign and with the efforts of the ruling social-democratic parties of Western Europe to divert moral outrage from their own oppressive, exploitative and militarist societies.

Rather than embrace the Stalinist/African nationalist panacea of withdrawing "clean" U.S./European money from "dirty" South Africa, the liberal imperialists have found a middle route: urging their leading companies to act more "responsibly" toward non-white employees in South Africa. Late last month the European Economic Community (EEC) Council of Ministers unveiled a new code of conduct for Common Market companies operating in South Africa. Partly reflecting pressures generated from the labor movement and transmitted through the social-democratic parties, the code, initiated by British foreign minister David Owen, contained some surprisingly strong provisions.

The most important urges EEC corporations to recognize black unions in South Africa. While these embryonic organizations are not formally illegal, neither the government nor the corporations recognize them. Other provisions of the EEC code ask that the corporations "formulate specific policies aimed at improving their blacks' terms of employment," help combat restrictions on blacks' freedom of movement, and discriminatory wage rates and, as far as possible, eliminate workplace segregation (*Economist*, 24 September).

The entire code is, however, purely *voluntary* and can be ignored with little risk except bad publicity. West Germany's foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, felt obliged to take to the airwaves to appeal to German companies to abide by the code. In response, the industrial federation warned that "a general politicization" of international trade would jeopardize West Germany's commercial relations. The Dutch Industry Federation also bemoaned potential business involvement in what it termed "a political-ethical decision" (*Business Week*, 24 October).

The point which will most easily go by the boards in the EEC code is the question of trade-union recognition for black workers. In fact, of the 300 American companies operating in South Africa, only Ford has signed a contract with a union representing its black workers. A South African executive of General Motors, one Ron Ironside, even attempted to defend the suppression of the black workers movement by appealing to "democratic principles": "We would want to be sure that the union was representative in the long term. Union membership figures tend to fluctuate" (*Business Week*, 24 October). The figures "fluctuate" as union organizers are jailed and union supporters fired by company after company!

Such naked hypocrisy must not go unchallenged. This is precisely the point on which the international workers movement must make its weight felt in solidarity with its class brothers and sisters in South Africa.

Recently, an oppositional group of U.S. auto workers raised just such a perspective in the Fremont, California UAW Local 1364. The 6 October issue of the newsletter of the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW) declared:

> "The U.S. government, loyal servant of the giant capitalist concerns, whose South African operations reap big profits, is trying to turn the anger and revulsion against apartheid to its own advantage by lecturing South Africa about 'human rights.' No one should be taken in by this trick. U.S. imperialism props up scores of reactionary regimes around the world and as the Vietnam War showed, it will butcher millions of people to make the world safe for capitalist exploitation. It is therefore important that our union, in expressing its solidarity with the heroic struggles of the South African masses, NOT ally itself with the Carter administration's hypocritical 'human rights' crusade.
>
> "Unfortunately, some groups in the local leave us wide open to this danger by calling on GM to get out of South Africa. Let's be clear. We are for the South African workers smashing the apartheid regime, establishing a black-centered workers government, and EXPROPRIATING the capitalists, including GM, IBM, etc. It sows the worst kind of illusion to call on GM to quit investing in South Africa, that is to forget their profits and become 'moral.' This just won't happen. The way to fight the capitalists is the class struggle. The imperialists can't be reformed or made 'humane.' They must be thrown out, here and in South Africa.
>
> "As a union, we can come to the aid of the South African workers. Black workers are barred from organizing trade unions in South Africa. Many of the giant capitalist corporations which employ black labor in South Africa such as GM are unionized in the U.S. Selected strikes by U.S. unions could play a big role in forcing these companies to recognize the now-illegal black trade unions. Union recognition would be an enormous help to the South African black workers, worth a hundred times more than charity or appeals to the imperialists."

This class-struggle approach stands in sharp contrast to the impotent moralism of fake radicals and petty-bourgeois liberals who advocate university divestment of stocks in companies investing in South Africa, consumer boycotts of Krugerrands, sardines and other South African exports and endless appeals to the UN, appeals which are taken seriously only when they coincide with the interests of international capitalism. Such a strategy can do nothing to aid the black workers of South Africa, the motor force in the struggle to smash apartheid, and, in fact, if actually successful it would weaken the already tenuous workers organizations by increasing unemployment.

United Nations

Front gate of Chrysler plant in South Africa.

Instead, international labor actions—such as a union boycott of all arms shipments to South Africa—must be organized around key democratic slogans including: free all victims of apartheid repression, rescind all restrictions on black political organizations, abolish the pass system and all racist legislation, end the industrial color bar, for equal pay and working conditions at the highest existing levels, for the right of trade-union organization.

The class-struggle unionists of the CMUAW have taken a stand embodying the clearest expression of proletarian internationalism. The South African revolution will not be advanced by reliance on imperialist corporations and governments—either to withdraw or to behave "responsibly." But concerted international labor action can wrest real concessions from these exploiters and lend concrete assistance to the non-white working masses ground down by the apartheid jackboot. ■

Mandel's Unwanted Children...

(continued from page 5)

sued a long polemic castigating her ex-hubby for his positions in this conflict.

This personality cult is most notable for its New Left polyvanguardist insistence that the woman question must be elevated to "equal and interlocking" status with the class question; the CRSP Statement of Purpose dutifully states that "the double oppression of women, like the double oppression of minorities, creates a special dynamic amongst them that has already begun to transform every other social movement and political process in this country." Reflecting the FSP's more recent infatuation with the gay movement, the document solemnly postulates that "the gay upsurge has taken the form of a great mass movement whose historical destiny is to link up with the revolutionary forces in this country."

It was the FSP's paper, the *Freedom Socialist*, which last spring became the press agent for homeless veteran American Pabloites with a front-page article subtitled "Marxist Scholars Electrify Seattle Audience." The bombastic piece explained that "the occasion of this thrill-of-a-lifetime event was the recent re-encounter, after 15 years, between the founders of the Freedom Socialist Party and two distinguished guests from New York City—Myra Tanner Weiss and Murry Weiss, veteran figures in the history of American Trotskyism." The "historic" meeting was described as "a giant step forward that might well lead to revolutionary regroupment."

Murry Weiss: Then and Now

The Weiss grouping did indeed play a real role in the struggle for Trotskyism in this country. When in 1953 the James P. Cannon leadership of the then-revolutionary SWP undertook to resist the Pabloist degeneration of the Fourth International, reflected within the American section by the Pablo-backed Cochran/Clarke faction, Cannon's principal bloc partner was none other than Murry Weiss. Together these Trotskyist leaders combated Pabloist revisionism, characterized by the liquidationist assumption that the "objective dynamic" of the "unfolding world revolution" would compel the mass reformist parties—Stalinist and social-democratic—to outline a revolutionary course, thereby obviating the need for the building of Trotskyist vanguard parties except as pressure groups on (and, when possible, within) the reformist organizations to hasten the presumably irresistible pressure toward revolution. A leading figure among the American Pabloists was SWP New York organizer Mike Bartell, who is none other than Milt Zaslow.

But by 1963 when the SWP—in the grip of its headlong plunge toward reformism—reunited with its former European Pabloist opponents to form the USec, the Weissites had themselves degenerated and stood to the right of the SWP majority. Murry Weiss had drifted into inactivity, and while Myra Tanner Weiss, as head of a dissident tendency within the increasingly bureaucratic SWP, blocked around party democracy with the left oppositionists who later became the Spartacist tendency, our comrades and the Comrades Weiss were moving in flatly counterposed directions.

The latter—and their party—had by 1963 simply become centrists. The Weisses now maintain (as does the SWP) that the 1953 split between the SWP-backed International Committee and the European Pabloists—in which Murry Weiss himself had played such a prominent role—was an error. This is logical from their point of view. The *Freedom Socialist*'s account of the "historic" meeting at "good old Freeway Hall" in Seattle last July includes lengthy remarks by Murry Weiss which capture how completely he has embraced the revisionism he once fought:

> "Stalinism caused enormous damage to the world revolutionary process by its deal with imperialism and its betrayal of revolutions, he explained, but it was unable to stop the development of world revolution....
>
> "'Communist parties can be transformed and can follow through with their own momentum'...."
>
> —*Freedom Socialist*, Spring 1977

At the Los Angeles meeting which founded the CRSP in July, Weiss's unashamed enthusiasm for the "revolutionary" potential of Stalinism was so fulsome that the archetypical Pabloist Zaslow was forced to discover some "orthodox" rhetoric:

> "Communist parties, Zaslow said, while capable under exceptional circumstances of leading peasant armies or guerrilla forces to military victory, have never led the *proletariat* to power anywhere, cannot be pressured into it, and are inherently incapable of doing so. He contended that the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] provided no revolutionary leadership, restrained and derailed the masses into reformist channels, and helped restabilize Portuguese capitalism....
>
> "Murry Weiss argued that it was necessary to keep open the possibility that the PCP could become transformed into a revolutionary instrument in the course of events....
>
> "Both sides agreed that the struggle itself would determine the answer to the question...."
>
> *Freedom Socialist*, Summer 1977

The Weisses have been an expression of Pabloist liquidationism since the 1960's. But for the SWP itself, the centrist verbiage which prompted the USec 1963 "reunification"—on the basis of convergence around petty-bourgeois guerrillaist cheerleading—was only a transient posture; by late 1965 the party was locked on a reformist course and saw its "main chance" as a political bloc with that section of the capitalist political establishment which opposed the losing war in Vietnam as not in U.S. imperialism's best interests. (At that time the SWP had little to offer the bourgeoisie in the way of a plebeian base to sell out—a deficiency which it is today attempting to remedy through its "turn" toward the trade unions.) Hence the much-vaunted "reunification" had by 1969 created a two-headed monster: the USec centrists and SWP reformists were locked in a bitter faction fight which has lately been cooled down. And as the SWP fled from any residues of Trotskyism toward social democracy, it passed through the Weisses' centrist political terrain and left them behind.

The last straw for the disaffected Weisses was the SWP's wretched anti-communist line on Portugal, where the SWP saluted the CIA-funded Socialists and excused the burning of PCP offices as expressions of the workers' craving for "democracy." The Weisses' document was super-Pabloism, saluting the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and Stalinist head Cunhal as the spearhead of the progressive forces:

> "One may not know from so far who these revolutionists in the MFA are and what their evolution has been. And one cannot anticipate therefore what they will do next. But one can react to what they have done—that is, hail their revolutionary acts. One is reminded with what joy we witnessed Castro's victorious fight against Batista.... In destroying Batista, Castro had begun a process that necessarily impelled him to socialism—*if* he remained a revolutionary. And he did "

An anti-imperialist pronouncement in which Cunhal proclaimed capitalism destroyed in Portugal was hailed in no uncertain terms:

> "Bravo! These are great words. They breathe clarity and revolutionary independence from reformism and people's front Stalinism. If only [the SWP's] Comrade Foley could understand them!"
>
> —"A Letter From Two Former Members of the SWP," [SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 3 in 1975, November 1975

The same internal bulletin reprints a letter to the Weisses from IMT spokesman Pierre Frank which gives a good taste of the maneuverist power-games which pass for "internationalism" in the USec:

> "I hope that your intervention, though you are no more formally members of the SWP, will have some good repercussions in it, and that it will help the interventions of the United Secretariat...."

It is no wonder that the American IMTers, having been sporadically utilized as a little crowbar against the SWP, have finally reacted in bitterness and desperation to the latest move (dissolution of factions), which leaves them without any leverage.

The formation of the CRSP is a last-ditch attempt to hammer on the gates of the USec, which has proclaimed itself anxious for "fusions" with every kind of current including forces outside ostensible Trotskyism (state-caps, Mao-oids, etc.) while slamming the door in apparently decisive fashion on the homeless American IMTers. These orphans seem to have recognized at last that the only "principle" with which the USec has no argument is success; the IMT will give no quarter to its decomposing supporters, no matter how slavishly they follow their mentors' dictates, but may feel forced to deal—even if only under the table—with a "bold new revolutionary" formation, if only the CRSP can manage to drag somebody or other under the umbrella.

The "Weiss Crispies"

But the CRSP, animated by assorted aging centrists like Milt Zaslow, Clara Fraser and the Comrades Weiss, is already finding the going pretty rough as it attempts to regenerate an American IMT Despite grandiose promises about the appeal of "non-sectarian Trotskyism," the CRSP is finding its hoped-for associates in Baltimore and Denver holding themselves aloof from the new lash-up. The Denver bunch—derived loosely from Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, a rabid Stalinoid sect which left the SWP hailing the Russian army's suppression of the Hungarian revolution in 1956—was seen as a sort of American repository of the "new mass vanguard" by some of the former leaders of the IT. The Baltimore clot has been in the Zaslowite IMT orbit for some years. Thus the CRSP may find itself restricted to the three cities (Los Angeles, Seattle, New York) where the veteran initiators have had their separate home bases for years.

Most indicative of the CRSP's severe difficulties is the apparent inability of the Weisses to win more than a half-dozen or so hard supporters to the CRSP out of the Marxist Education Collective (MEC) and its School for Marxist Education where the Weisses have been "respected teachers" for some time. By submerging their ostensibly Trotskyist convictions in the MEC's "non-sectarian" New Leftism, the Weisses certainly expected to win a goodly number of new forces to their orbit. But this periphery is balking at coming into the CRSP "regroupment."

The Weisses' main antogonist in the MEC is Arthur Felberbaum, a cynical ex-SWPer whose high-handed bureaucratic style may be his opponents' best credential for recruitment out of the MEC, where—ritualistic Pollyannaish professions of "unity in struggle" notwithstanding—heated charges of conspiracy and suppression drown out the ostensibly political debates.

Felberbaum's earlier policy toward the "Weiss Crispies" had been one of disingenuous obstructionism. Invited to attend the Los Angeles meeting which launched the CRSP in July, he wrote to Zaslow on July 21 that "we see the conference in Los Angeles as an important step in the process we are participating in to regroup the revolutionary Marxist left." But he objected to the organizers' professions of solidarity with the IMT:

> "The fact that the International Majority Tendency of the Fourth International feels that the Socialist Workers Party is the inheritor of the Trotskyist movement in the United States and does this in spite of its principled disagreements with that party in which it took a stand in Portugal on the 'other side of the barricades'—does this fact not bring into question at least two of the occasions for the regroupment discussion?"

This convoluted query shields Felberbaum's real motivations. He has used every kind of tactic to ensure that the "School" is not identified with ostensible Trotskyism and intends to preserve the MEC as a hodge-podge of "independent" radicals to be manipulated only by Felberbaum and not by the IMT. His pitch that open identification with any disciplined political current will isolate the MEC from "broader" layers of radicals is exactly the kind of approach that the USec has followed for years, as it twisted itself around every hump and bulge of the "mass movement."

The Weisses had placed considerable hope in their ability to outmaneuver Felberbaum within the amorphous MEC. When the CRSP launched its ambitious "Proposal for a United Socialist Slate of Candidates in the 1978 New York State Elections," it was obviously banking on active support from the MEC, which ought to have found such a proposal for "unity" right up its alley. A September 14 letter by Myra Weiss to her collaborators reported on efforts to build support for the CRSP in the MEC and boasted that "I think we can easily win our election proposal."

But instead of allowing the "Crispies" to capitalize on the "non-sectarian" rhetoric which the MEC has bandied about for years, Felberbaum struck back. The election proposal was not endorsed and most recently, "Weiss Crispie" candidate members of the MEC had their applications for full membership "tabled." The Weisses' present tactic appears to be an MEC "Women's Caucus" which—given the MEC's rampant polyvanguardism and consequent proclamations of the right of the oppressed to organize separately—cannot be so easily combated by the Felderbaum clique.

Morbid Prognosis

These reverses are symptomatic of the unenviable situation of the CRSP, which must carve out a niche for itself between the reformist SWP and the Trotskyist Spartacist League in a period when the wretched protoplasm of American centrism has become decidedly necrotic. The initiating elements of the lash-up have political differences among them, but for this opportunist crew programmatic heterogeneity is probably less important an obstacle to collaboration than the years of isolated activity and semi-activity which have made them rather quirky even as embodiments of the all-over-the-map IMT "line."

Zaslow, Fraser, Weiss, the badly scarred remnants of the IT—these are the forces which expect to construct a party out of at most a few dozen supporters, politically tailing the cynical IMT honchos who have made it quite clear that only crocodile tears will be shed for their American fans. In Seattle, Murry Weiss addressed the FSP in optimistic tones:

> "The American working class is the most powerful in the world, he stressed, capable of any feat, yet is has no political organization of its own. 'But *that*,' he said, 'can happen in two weeks'!"

Sound easy? It isn't. But it would appear that the "Crispies" are trying to make that projection a reality. Hatred of the SWP reformists and distrust of the IMT manipulators is all well and good, but neither a coherent program nor a real organization can be generated out of them by the soggy "Crispies" and their stillborn "regroupment" venture. ■

Stearns...

(continued from page 12)

picket lines were not intended to include actual scabbing miners. He noted that "...commencing on October 12, 1977, the plaintiff has started crossing the picket line with miners and threatens to increase the number of miners entering the compound daily. It was never the intention of this court to require the state police to be a perpetual escort service for the plaintiff."

Nevertheless, when the testimony was concluded, the prosecution waived its summation and Johnson proceeded immediately to sentencing without any deliberation whatsoever.

This is not the miners' first taste of capitalist "justice" from the bench of J.B. Johnson. In late May the judge fined the union $4,050 for nine counts of contempt. He also ordered the UMWA to post a $100,000 penal bond for *future* damages to the company as a condition for any continued picketing. The same judge has continually restricted the number of workers allowed to picket. While the strikers were denied any right to defend themselves against the heavy gunfire which for months poured from the Storm guards' bunkers, the trigger-happy gun thugs were merely instructed to *reduce* the size of their arsenal.

The miners will appeal Johnson's latest decision, which also stipulates that no more than one union organizer at a time can be present at the picket site, but until a hearing is set, eleven coal miners will remain behind bars. The court order which legally prevents meetings or mass picketing even on the strikers' property adjacent to the mine is also under appeal. However, violation of any law during the next year can result in six months in jail for any of the 68 strikers currently free on bond. In addition to this legal barrage, 31 militants must face felony charges stemming from an incident in April when miners allegedly stripped three Storm guards of their guns (and their pants) during a night-time ride around the county in a striker's pick-up.

Finally, 39 women who support the Stearns organizing drive will eventually appear in court to answer charges stemming from their solidarity during the October 17 fight with the police. The cops stormed onto a union supporter's property with drawn guns and proceeded to threaten, hit and arrest the militant women. One 62-year-old woman was dragged 50 yards by her hair to a squad car, a pregnant woman was kicked in the stomach and a protesting youth was struck in the mouth with a billy club, yet the women were charged with criminal mischief, destruction of state property and threatening police officers' lives before they were released.

"They Ain't Gonna Scab That Mine!"

Despite the combined efforts of the company, cops and courts, the miners' morale remains high. *Workers Vanguard* and Partisan Defense Committee representatives spoke with many strikers in their local hall last week. Many of them limped or bore stitches, but all were proud of their resistance to the cops the previous week.

When the police charged, the miners said, so many blows were rained on the cops' helmets that it sounded like gunfire. The police were driven back in their first charge and had to attack again before the workers' ranks gave way. One striker, frustrated that his club had no effect on the heavily padded cops, threw it aside and flattened his opponent with his fist. Another worker climbed into a tree as the cops assembled before charging and literally leaped into the fight when the swinging started.

Retired coal miners and strikers' wives were equally determined that "they ain't gonna scab that mine." One old timer swore that retirees would take the place of jailed militants and proposed that someone take the scabs "down to the river and baptize them."

The well-known solidarity in the coal fields is revealed even in minor events. The soft drink company which supplies the local hall's vending machine recently fired a miner for missing work at his temporary job while in jail after the mass arrest. "We don't want scab pop in this county," organizer Jay Kolenc fumed, and a short time later the machine was wheeled away.

The next morning the hall was packed as union lawyers described the 79 defendants' legal situation. Later, the Stearns Women's Club met and agreed on additions to their list of boycotted merchants. The manager of one diner, for example, was told he could serve miners or troopers but not both. After a nearby gas station owner told a miner's wife that the cops "should have killed the sons of bitches," his station was added to the list. Women's Club members stated that they too were anxious to take their places on the picket lines and swore they weren't intimidated by anonymous threatening phone calls received while their husbands picketed. At the same meeting, a solidarity letter was read from the widow of a miner killed at Blue Diamond's Scotia pit, where 26 lives were lost underground in March 1976. (In September, the company attempted to suppress a federal report on this disaster.)

Safety is a key issue in this struggle, and the strikers insist on a union safety committee with the power to stop production. Kolenc told *WV* that the memory of Scotia has contributed much to the resolve of the Stearns miners who felt they were working inside a time bomb. In 1975, when the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company owned Justus, there were 98 federal safety violations. In 1976 Gordon Bonnyman took over the mine, which has rich seams but is laden with explosive methane gas. Under the ownership of Blue Diamond, whose slogan is "higher production, lower costs," there were 101 safety violations in the six working months before the strike. The May issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* reported that the frequency rate for disabling injuries at the Justus mine was 72 percent above the national average.

Community support for the strike has been impressive. On October 21 union organizers arranged a videotape showing of the recent confrontations between strikers and police. Although the viewing was intended primarily for the membership, several hundred McCreary County supporters turned out. Another showing was planned for October 25 at the county high school, and over 600 people attended despite miserable weather. The crowd cheered as a trooper was seen holding his head and staggering from the fight, and they clapped as their neighbors (the strikers) appeared on the screen.

Performers from the region led traditional miners' ballads including a new song about Stearns by Florence Reece, composer of "Which Side Are You On?" Bill Worthington, a black veteran of "bloody Harlan" in the 1930's who also fought the Eastover Power Company in 1974, was cheered by the audience. Worthington, who was featured prominently in the film "Harlan County, USA," has picketed at Stearns and told *WV* that spirits here are as high as those during the 13-month Brookside strike. Nearly 200 copies of *Workers Vanguard* with recent coverage of the Stearns strike were quickly bought up by the union supporters.

Bring Out the UMWA!

There has been no scabbing at the Justus pit since October 14, but one union spokesman expects Blue Diamond to try again soon. State police continue to guard the mine, and private police act as round-the-clock bodyguards for the scabs. Johnson's strike-breaking orders point to the imminent danger of wholesale scabherding. With 11 leaders already in jail, a nod from the bench could remove the rest of the strikers from any activity. Reinforcements are urgently needed!

The Stearns strike more and more resembles the struggle for union recognition at Brookside. Following court-imposed limitations on strikers' right to picket, the Brookside Women's Club played a militant role in keeping scabs out despite the mobilized Kentucky state police. As *WV* has continually pointed out, the strike was won and the mine organized when Miller finally was forced to call all U.S. coal miners out of the pits in a show of union solidarity.

The militants at Stearns have taken virtually every conceivable step locally to win their strike, but organizing this mine and hundreds of other non-union operations in the U.S. and Canada is a task for the entire UMWA. Union president Arnold Miller appeared briefly in Whitley City October 31 and spoke with the jailed strikers. It is mass picketing and a nationwide UMWA solidarity walkout, however, not stealthy visits by the union's "leader," which are required to defeat Blue Diamond.

The subservience before capitalist law, which has characterized the union's legalistic defense of the Stearns militants, typifies all wings of the UMWA International leadership. Miller & Co. have broken three massive wildcats in as many years, including a strike in July 1976 which was fought specifically against government interference in union-management disputes.

The UMWA's national contract with the BCOA expires December 6, but coal stockpiles are currently good for close to 100 days (*Business Week*, 24 October). Thus with management negotiators openly talking of breaking the power of the union, preparations for a bitter struggle must begin *now*! An immediate industry-wide strike called in solidarity with Stearns and other organizing drives would win union contracts in these pits and could mark the beginning of a militant fight against all coal operators. Miller's reverence for the bosses' law stands as the greatest danger to a successful struggle in December and is a travesty of the traditions proudly upheld in Stearns, Kentucky. ■

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Canadian Nickel Miners...

(continued from page 5)

tion Inco has sought to maintain profitability by shifting many of its operations to low-wage neo-colonial countries like Indonesia and Guatemala. In addition, some of its mine sites in the Sudbury area are already severely depleted. Because of all these factors, the proportion of the world's nickel supply mined in the Sudbury area has declined from 95 to 40 percent over the past ten years. Even before the newly-announced layoffs, Inco's Sudbury-area workforce had been reduced gradually from 18,000 to 14,000 over the past several years.

Like the American steel industry, the Canadian nickel industry is being crushed by foreign competition and reduced market demand. And just as the USWA union bureaucrats south of the border are clamouring for protectionist legislation to stop foreign steel imports and "save American jobs," so their Canadian cohorts and the NDP tops are decrying the export of "Canadian jobs" and calling on the government to protect Canadian industry.

Spartacist Canada

Stephen Lewis, head of Ontario NDP.

But the protectionism and nationalism pushed by the USWA bureaucracy are utterly reactionary: they can only hurt foreign *workers*. Protectionism divides the international proletariat in the face of the assaults of the capitalist class, fans reactionary chauvinism and escalates international trade rivalries, which in turn lay the basis for inter-imperialist war.

Militants must reject this poisonous nationalist program—and the do-nothing strategy of the USWA bureaucracy, which bends in supplication before the bosses and their government, rather than waging a militant struggle to stop the layoffs. Today, while massive layoffs and plant closures are sweeping the U.S. steel industry, the Sadlowski wing of the bureaucracy is doing absolutely nothing to mobilize the ranks. Similarly here in Canada, Sadlowski-style "rebel" Patterson told *Spartacist Canada* that to talk of a strike against the layoffs would be irresponsible—after all the company *already* has an eight-month nickel stockpile and is trying to *cut back* on production. But as an "alternative" he presents a five-point program of ultra-minimalist reforms and *no* industrial action.

The USWA bureaucracy is fond of talking about the union's role in linking miners and steelworkers together in a single international union ("one industry—one union"). This link between the mines and basic steel must be used today in a militant joint struggle to save the tens of thousands of jobs which are being slashed by the profit-hungry mine and steel barons.

Faced with massive company stockpiling of taconite ore, 20,000 USWA iron miners in Michigan and Minnesota have been on strike since the beginning of August. Just as an extension of this strike into basic steel—the

industry that uses the mined ore is essential to ensure victory, so must a strike against layoffs in Canadian mines be extended to the steel production industries. A combined struggle of the mining and basic steel sections of USWA, including occupations of production facilities facing mass layoffs or closure, is necessary to reverse the layoffs and beat the companies' attacks.

Militant Sudbury miners must fight for the union to organize occupations of Inco and Falconbridge production facilities, and must tie these occupations to a call for an industry-wide strike in basic steel throughout the U.S. and Canada, and for hot-cargoing of stockpiled goods by transportation unions. Such a strike with occupations should demand a thirty-hour workweek at forty hours' pay to save jobs, the opening of the company's books for union inspection and the expropriation of the mines without compensation.

Clearly the hidebound bureaucrats of the Steelworkers' union have no intention of leading such a struggle—including the reputed "militants" of the Sadlowski-Patterson ilk. The struggle to win jobs for mine and steel workers and defeat the companies' assaults must be linked to the fight to replace the labor fakers with a new class-struggle union leadership. Such a leadership would not rely on the reformist parliamentarians of the NDP, but would build a new workers party to lead the working class to power. Only a workers government can expropriate the entire capitalist class, create a planned economy and bring the scourges of unemployment and inflation to an end once and for all. ■

C. Leroy

Ethiopian youth train with wooden rifles.

Newsweek

Castro with Mengistu in Addis Ababa last March.

Marcy and Mengistu...

(continued from page 3)

Somalia's Barre (who once proclaimed that the first task of his "socialist" government would be to create a proletariat in this largely nomadic society) lent an ear to the siren songs of reactionary fellow Muslim regimes, principally Saudi Arabia and the Sudan. Last summer, seeing the Ethiopian army in a vulnerable position—pressed by the Eritreans in the north, the American spigot turned off and Russian arms not yet delivered in sufficient quantity—Barre struck out to seize the Ogaden, long claimed by the Mogadishu regime as Western Somalia.

There is a legitimate national question in the Ogaden, whose two million or so inhabitants are a homogeneous part of the Somali people, sharing a common language, religion and culture and living on the same primitive economic level. This situation is the product of the imperialist carve-up of Africa in the late nineteenth century. Despite the independence and unification of British and Italian Somaliland, about half of the Somali people still lives in the barren Ogaden, the northeastern third of Kenya and the tiny territory of Djibouti (nominally independent since June but with 4,000 French troops still in place).

Marxists support the democratic right of the Somali people in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti to reunite with Somalia. However, in the recent fighting (in which the efficient Russian-trained Somali army has effectively taken the Ogaden) this issue is subordinated to the reality of a war over territory between two equally reactionary capitalist states. Between Somali irredentism and Ethiopian national oppression proletarian communists must take a position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides, calling for the overthrow of both nationalist military cliques by the working masses. But since the USSR is now leaning toward Mengistu, the Marcyites denounce the war as an imperialist plot, implicitly backing Ethiopia in this squalid border war.

Marcy's long march from Trotskyism to a gyrating, idiosyncratic Stalinoid personality cult of his own has been marked by successive infatuations with various degenerated and deformed workers states—first Russia, then China, North Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba, even Albania, and now back to the Kremlin again. He has delivered hosannas to whichever bourgeois nationalist movements and "revolutionary governments" were popular at the time on the U.S. left. But even for this cynical publicity agent for "Third World" Stalinism and nationalism, the embrace of bloody Mengistu represents a new low. It should give WWP/YAWF militants pause to realize that those who would march with banners of "Che" in the streets of Addis Ababa are shot like dogs by the murderous junta which is praised in their newspaper. ■

Cambodia...

(continued from page 7)

hroken on racks and torn to pieces, while their followers were slaughtered wholesale.

The tremendous repression and seemingly irrational depopulation of Phnom Penh and the Cambodian towns is also an extreme reflection of the consequences of the Stalinist attempt to build "socialism in one country." It is not simply a question of the bizarre lengths to which a penurious, isolated Asian peasant country will go in "self-reliance." Stalinist policy in Soviet Russia as well required the imposition of a brutal bureaucratic police apparatus to seek to isolate the relatively backward country from the powerful disintegrating pressures of the world market. Marxists since Marx himself, and the Trotskyists today, have held that socialism—the abolition of class society through overcoming the socially necessary division of labor as a result of material abundance—*cannot* occur in a single country, and that even the dictatorship of the proletariat will be endangered if the revolution is not spread internationally. As Marx wrote in *The German Ideology*:

> "...this development of productive forces...is an absolutely necessary practical premise because without it *want* is merely made general, and with *destitution* the struggle for necessities and all the old crap would necessarily be reproduced; and furthermore, because only with this universal development of productive forces is a *universal* intercourse between men established.... Without this, (1) communism could only exist as a local event; (2) the *forces* of intercourse themselves could not have developed as *universal*, hence intolerable powers...; and (3) each extension of intercourse would abolish local communism." [emphasis in original]

If this was true of western European countries in the nineteenth century and Russia in the twentieth, how much more destructive power does the world market have on "Democratic Kampuchea" which faces the attraction of Japanese cars, motor bikes and pocket radios just across the Thai border. Precisely because of the tremendous power of the capitalist market—not simply imperialist spies, although these could presumably be bought cheaply—the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy must tighten its grip even further by building up an even more terrifying repressive apparatus.

For Workers Political Revolution in Indochina!

In world history, the innumerable peasant rebellions against landlords and autocratic regimes came to naught, for the peasantry was not a progressive class with a clear class interest around which it could mold a new society based on a higher level of productive forces. Usually they were defeated by the superior technology and organization of the rulers before they overran the capitals; but in those few cases where they were successful, the peasants proved incapable of ruling. The wave of enthusiasm for peasant guerrilla warfare during the 1960's notwithstanding, the peasantry has not changed fundamentally as a class. To be capable of coherent political action in modern times it has required the imposition of military/bureaucratic control from the outside, in the form of a Stalinist apparatus.

And even then, Stalinist-led peasant-based guerrilla armies took power in Indochina only under exceptional historic circumstances, in which U.S. imperialism was unable to continue the exhausting war and the native capitalist class was extremely weak, corrupt and disorganized. If in spite of their best efforts to preserve the integuments of capitalism through forming coalition governments, the Stalinists were finally forced to take power, the resulting regimes—not only in Cambodia, but also in Vietnam (north and south) and China—remain *bureaucratically deformed* workers states. Their narrow nationalism and economic backwardness cannot be overcome by a rigidly imposed Operation Bootstrap, but only a workers political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucrats and extend the revolution internationally.

Lenin occasionally wrote in the early 1920's of a "non-capitalist road of development" for the most backward countries of the East. He and the Communist International always stressed, however, that the key was the tie to the victorious Soviet state. Today this argument is totally distorted by the Kremlin bureaucrats to maintain that Egypt, Ethiopia or even India can develop along "non-capitalist" lines so long as they trade with the USSR. What Lenin and the early Comintern were referring to was something quite different, namely the case of Soviet Central Asia and Mongolia—peasant and nomadic societies that were absorbed in toto into the Russian economy.

Something like this is today occurring with Laos, which has become a satellite of the economically and culturally far more advanced Vietnamese deformed workers state. Because of the long-standing subordination of the Laotian Stalinists to the Viet Minh and its successors, the degree of friction between the two state bureaucracies is evidently minimal. This, however, is a historical exception. In the Cambodian case, immediately following the victory of the Khmer Rouge, border incidents began multiplying not only with the Thais but also with the Vietnamese. (There are reportedly more Cambodian refugees in Vietnam than in Thailand.) While the Khmer Stalinist regime is certainly marked by extreme xenophobia, its clashes with the Vietnamese are fundamentally no different from the Russian-Chinese border dispute or the festering Albanian-Yugoslav tension.

It is no use counseling the Cambodian people to follow the relatively sensible example of the Laotians, for in any case it could not overcome the strong national animosities between Khmers and Vietnamese. (If it were absorbed under Hanoi's tutelage in a bureaucratically imposed Indochinese federation, Cambodia would doubtless suffer the same sorts of discrimination experienced by the non-Russian nationalities in the Stalinized USSR.) The long history of Vietnamese Stalinist treachery of their one-time Cambodian comrades—beginning with the sellout of the Khmer Rouge in the 1954 Geneva Accords—is convincing proof that real economic integration and a truly democratic soviet federation of Indochina can only come through revolutionary action by the proletariat, above all in Vietnam, to overthrow its bureaucratic oppressors. And for this task the creation of an Indochinese Trotskyist vanguard party is the indispensable condition. ■

Workers Vanguard

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WORKERS VANGUARD

WV Photo

Stearns miners meet after brutal cop attack.

McCreary County Record

Overturned truck blocks scabs at struck Justus mine.

Bring Out the UMWA!

Company Judge Throws the Book at Stearns Miners

Report from the Kentucky Coalfields

McCreary County Record

Miners who defended picket line are taken to court on charges of violating restraining order.

STEARNS, Kentucky—The Stearns coal miners' strike is in grave danger. On October 26 Circuit Judge J.B Johnson, Jr. sentenced eleven of the most active militants in the bitter 15-month strike to six months in jail. No provision for bail or bond was made, and the miners were led from the courthouse in Williamsburg straight to confinement. At the same trial Johnson leveled concurrent six-month suspended sentences and $1,000 "good behavior" bonds on 68 others who are striking the hazardous Justus Mine and demanding a United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract from the Blue Diamond Coal Company.

Johnson's vindictive verdict is the court's answer to the mass picketing at the mine site on October 12 and 17. On the 12th, the Blue Diamond Coal Co. brought the first scabs into the mine. By quitting time, close to 100 strikers had assembled in protest as bosses and scabs exited from the compound. When the police escorts returned with reinforcements, all seven remaining pickets were arrested for violation of Johnson's restraining order which limits the pickets to six. Nine other miners were later identified and arrested on the same charge. Additional scabs were brought in during the next two days, but on October 17 almost the entire 153-man striking workforce turned out, blocked the road with an overturned truck and refused police orders to disperse.

Well over 100 riot-equipped state cops were dispatched—some by helicopter—to break up the demonstration. Refusing to stand aside for scabs, the miners fought a ten-minute battle, meeting the stick-swinging cops with hastily fashioned clubs of their own. Although the miners were eventually subdued as individual militants were overcome and then shackled face down in the dirt, several cops were injured in the brawl. "They knew they were in a fight," one miner told a *WV* reporter in the Whitley City local hall. "They didn't have grounds to brag about nothing," another stated.

Most of the strikers' injuries were sustained *after* the fight, when the miners were already handcuffed. The wife of one militant recalled that the cops covered puddles of workers' blood with soil to hide the evidence of their revenge from cameramen and photographers at the scene.

Bosses' Justice in the Courts

The October 26 "trial" was nothing but a formality of government strikebreaking. Thirty-five armed cops appeared in the courtroom with about two dozen more outside. Although union lawyers were hoping for a postponement in order to prepare an adequate defense, Johnson ordered the trial to proceed despite the fact that the commonwealth attorney could not attend. Instead the judge appointed Blue Diamond lawyers as state prosecutors, and they happily obliged. Moreover, the attorneys provided by the UMWA International were not permitted to argue the defense since UMWA District 19 is not formally a party to the case, so the miners were forced to hire a private attorney to defend them!

The defendants pleaded "not guilty" on the grounds that Blue Diamond itself had broken the restraining order by bringing scabs into the mine. Johnson himself acknowledged this violation on October 13 when he stated that his May 19 instructions for state troopers to escort company supervisors and Storm Security Service gun thugs past the

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 181 11 November 1977

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

Sixtieth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

Oust the Stalinist Bureaucracy!

Extend the Gains of October!

The 1917 October Revolution was the shaping event of our century. The seizure of state power 60 years ago by the revolutionary Russian proletariat, led by its Bolshevik vanguard, was a monumental advance toward world socialism. Even today—decades after the usurpation of political power in the USSR by the Stalinist bureaucratic caste whose counterrevolutionary betrayals block the international extension of the revolution and jeopardize this historic gain—all purported communists must seek to clothe themselves in the revolutionary mantle of October 1917.

Today the pro-Moscow Stalinists commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution with nauseating appeals for "peaceful coexistence"; Maoists wave red flags while demonstrating for NATO as the bulwark against "Soviet social-imperialism"; centrists salute Lenin while ignoring his life-long struggle for an international proletarian vanguard as the road to new Octobers; and the now-reformist SWP sloughs off defense of the USSR as an impediment to its social-democratic appetites. Only the international Spartacist tendency—the legitimate political continuators of Lenin's Bolsheviks and of Trotsky's Fourth International—stands solidly on the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism and counterrevolution, combined with the struggle for political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers states to establish the proletarian democracy of soviet rule.

Today, as Jimmy Carter beats the drums for an anti-Soviet mobilization in the name of "human rights," this program is as valid as it was 40 years ago. One of its most powerful presentations is the speech, reprinted below, by James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, to the New York branch of the Socialist Workers Party on 15 October 1939. Cannon's speech was originally reprinted in the February 1940 New International; *we are republishing it from his book,* The Struggle for a Proletarian Party, *which originally appeared in 1943.*

by James P. Cannon

The Russian question is with us once again, as it has been at every critical turning point of the international labor movement since November 7, 1917. And there is nothing strange in that. The Russian question is no literary exercise to be taken up or cast aside according to the mood of the moment. The Russian question has been and remains the question of the revolution. The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all, took the question of the workers' revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality.

It was said once of a book—I think it was Whitman's "Leaves of Grass"—"who touches this book, touches a man." In the same sense it can also be said, "Who touches the Russian question, touches a revolution." Therefore, be serious about it. Don't play with it.

The October revolution put socialism on the order of the day throughout the world. It revived and shaped and developed the revolutionary labor movement of the world out of the

continued on page 2

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution...

(continued from page 1)

bloody chaos of the war. The Russian revolution showed in practice, by example, how the workers' revolution is to be made. It revealed in life the role of the party. It showed in life what kind of a party the workers must have. By its victory, and its reorganization of the social system, the Russian revolution has proved for all time the superiority of nationalized property and planned economy over capitalist private property, and planless competition and anarchy in production.

A Sharp Dividing Line

The question of the Russian revolution and the Soviet state which is its creation has drawn a sharp dividing line through the labor movement of all countries for 22 years. The attitude taken toward the Soviet Union throughout all these years has been the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades and degrees of waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressure of the bourgeois world the Mensheviks, Social Democrats, Anarchists and Syndicalists, Centrists, Stalinists.

The main source of division in our own ranks for the past ten years, since the Fourth Internationalist tendency took organized form on the international field, has been the Russian question. Our tendency, being a genuine, that is, orthodox, Marxist tendency from A to Z, has always proceeded on the Russian question from theoretical premises to political conclusions for action. Of course, it is only when political conclusions are drawn out to the end that differences on the Russian question reach an unbearable acuteness and permit no ambiguity or compromise.

Lenin speaking in Red Square, 1919.

Conclusions on the Russian question lead directly to positions on such issues as war and revolution, defense and defeatism. Such issues, by their very nature, admit no unclarity, no compromise, because it is a matter of taking sides! One must be on one side or another in war and revolution.

The Importance of Theory

But if the lines are drawn only when political conclusions diverge, that does not at all signify that we are indifferent to theoretical premises. He is a very poor Marxist – better say, no Marxist at all – who takes a careless or tolerant attitude toward theoretical premises. The political conclusions of Marxists proceed from theoretical analyses and are constantly checked and regulated by them. That is the only way to assure a firm and consistent policy.

To be sure, we do not decline cooperation with people who agree with our political conclusions from different premises. For example, the Bolsheviks were not deterred by the fact that the left S.R.s were inconsistent. As Trotsky remarked in this connection, "If we wait till everything is right in everybody's head there will never be any successful revolutions in this world" (or words to that effect). Just the same, for our part we want everything right in our own heads. We have no reason whatever to slur over theoretical formulas, which are expressed in "terminology." As Trotsky says, in theoretical matters "we must keep our house clean."

Our position on the Russian question is programmatic. In brief, The theoretical analysis – a degenerated Workers' State. The political conclusion – unconditional defense against external attack of imperialists or internal attempts at capitalist restoration.

Defensism and Defeatism

Defensism and defeatism are two principled, that is, irreconcilable positions. They are not determined by arbitrary choice but by class interests.

No party in the world ever succeeded in harboring these two antipathetic tendencies for any great length of time. The contradiction is too great. Division all over the world ultimately took place along this line. Defensists at home were defeatists on Russia. Defensists on Russia were defeatists at home.

The degeneration of the Soviet state under Stalin has been analyzed at every step by the Bolshevik-Leninists and only by them. A precise attitude has been taken at every stage. The guiding lines of the revolutionary Marxist approach to the question have been:

See the reality and see it whole at every stage; never surrender any position before it is lost; the worst of all capitulators is the one who capitulates before the decisive battle.

The International Left Opposition which originated in 1923 as an opposition in the Russian party (the original nucleus of the Fourth International) has always taken a precise attitude on the Russian question. In the first stages of the degeneration of which the Stalinist bureaucracy was the banner bearer the opposition considered it possible to rectify matters by methods of reform through the change of regime in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Later, when it became clearer that the Communist Party of Lenin had been irremediably destroyed, and after it became manifest that the reactionary bureaucracy could be removed only by civil war, the Fourth International, standing as before on its analysis of the Soviet Union as a workers' state, came out for a political revolution.

All the time throughout this entire period of 16 years the Bolshevik-Leninists have stoutly maintained, in the face of all slander and persecution, that they were the firmest defenders of the workers' state and that in the hour of danger they would be in the front ranks of its defense. We always said the moment of danger will find the Fourth Internationalists at their posts defending the conquests of the great revolution without ceasing for a moment our struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Now that the hour of danger is at hand – now that the long-awaited war is actually knocking at the door – it would

Pathfinder

The "Russian Question" remains an acid test for Leninists. The context for the speech of James P. Cannon, left, was set by the imminent World War II. In particular, following the September 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact, a sanctimonious social-chauvinist clamor arose for a holy war by the imperialist "democracies" against Stalinism. This pressure found a response even within the ranks of the American Trotskyists, as petty-bourgeois elements cast around for a new "theory" of the USSR's class nature to justify abandoning the Trotskyist program.

The ferment over the "Russian Question" was to lead to a deep split in the party. The forces around Max Shachtman indignantly denied that their abandonment of Soviet defensism signaled their decisive break from Bolshevism, but Trotsky and Cannon understood that the Shachtmanites were heading toward capitulation to their "own" bourgeoisie. The Shachtmanites were masters of obfuscating left rhetoric—even indulging in reasonable criticisms of the SWP from time to time—but their break from defensism found its culmination in reconciliation with imperialist American social democracy.

be very strange if the Fourth International should renege on its oft-repeated pledge.

"Conservalism" on Ihe Russian Queslion

Throughout all this long period of Soviet degeneration since the death of Lenin, the Fourth Internationalists, analyzing the new phenomenon of a degenerating workers' state at every turn, striving to comprehend its complications and contradictions, to recognize and defend all the progressive features of the contradictory processes and to reject the reactionary during all this long time we have been beset at every new turn of events by the impatient demands of "radicals" to simplify the question. Thrown off balance by the crimes and betrayals of Stalin, they lost sight of the new system of economy which Stalin had not destroyed and could not destroy.

We always firmly rejected these premature announcements that everything was lost and that we must begin all over again. At each stage of development, at each new revelation of Stalinist infamy and treachery, some group or other broke away from the Fourth International because of its "conservatism" on the Russian question. It would be interesting, if we had the time, to call the roll of these groupings which one after another left our ranks to pursue an ostensibly more "revolutionary" policy on the Russian question. Did they develop an activity more militant, more revolutionary, than ours? Did they succeed in creating a new movement and in attracting newly awakened workers and those breaking from Stalinism? In no case.

If we were to call the roll of these ultra-radical groups it would present a devastating picture indeed. Those who did not fall into complete political passivity became reconciled in one form or another to bourgeois democracy. The experiences of the past should teach us all a salutary caution, and even, if you please "conservatism," in approaching any proposal to revise the program of the Fourth International on the Russian question. While all the innovators fell by the wayside, the Fourth International alone retained its programmatic firmness. It grew and developed and remained the only genuine revolutionary current in the labor movement of the world. Without a firm position on the Russian question our movement also would inevitably have shared the fate of the others.

The mighty power of the October revolution is shown by the vitality of its conquests. The nationalized property and the planned economy stood up under all the difficulties and pressures of the capitalist encirclement and all the blows of a reactionary bureaucracy at home. In the Soviet Union, despite the monstrous mismanagement of the bureaucracy, we saw a tremendous development of the productive forces—and in a backward country at that—while capitalist economy declined. Conclusion: Nationalized and planned economy, made possible by a revolution that overthrew the capitalists and landlords, is infinitely superior, more progressive. It shows the way forward. Don't give it up before it is lost! Cling to it and defend it!

The Class Forces

On the Russian question there are only two really independent forces in the world. Two forces who think about the question independently because they base themselves, their thoughts, their analyses and their conclusions, on fundamental class considerations. Those two independent forces are:

(1) The conscious vanguard of the world bourgeoisie, the statesmen of both democratic and fascist imperialism.

(2) The conscious vanguard of the world proletariat.

Between them it is not simply a case of two opinions on the Russian question, but rather of two camps. All those who in the past rejected the conclusions of the Fourth International and broke with our movement on that account, have almost invariably fallen into the service of the imperialists, through Stalinism, social and liberal democracy, or passivity, a form of service.

The standpoint of the world bourgeoisie is a class standpoint. They proceed, as we do, from fundamental class considerations. They want to maintain world capitalism. This determines their fundamental antagonism to the U.S.S.R. They appreciate the reactionary work of Stalin, but consider it incomplete, insofar as he has not restored capitalist private property.

Their fundamental attitude determines an inevitable attempt at the start of the war, or during it, to attack Russia, overthrow the nationalized economy, restore a capitalist regime, smash the foreign trade monopoly, open up the Soviet Union as a market and field of investments, transform Russia into a great colony, and thereby alleviate the crisis of world capitalism.

The standpoint of the Fourth International is based on the same fundamental class considerations. Only we draw opposite conclusions, from an opposite class standpoint.

Purely sentimental motivations, speculation without fundamental class premises, so-called "fresh ideas" with no programmatic base—all this is out of place in a party of Marxists. We want to advance the world revolution of the proletariat. This determines our attitude and approach to the Russian question. True, we want to see reality, but we are not disinterested observers and commentators. We do not examine the Russian revolution and what remains of its great conquests as though it were a bug under a glass. *We have an interest! We take part in the fight!* At each stage in the development of the Soviet Union, its advances and its degeneration, we seek the basis for revolutionary action. We want to advance the world revolution, overthrow capitalism, establish socialism. The Soviet Union is an important and decisive question on this line.

Our standpoint on the Russian question is written into our program. It is not a new question for us. It is 22 years old. We have followed its evolution, both progressive and retrogressive, at every stage. We have discussed it and taken our position anew at every stage of its progressive development and its degeneration. And, what is most important, we have always *acted* on our conclusions.

The Decisive Criterion

The Soviet Union emerged from the October revolution as a workers' state. As a result of the backwardness and poverty of the country and the delay of the world revolution, a conservative bureaucracy emerged and triumphed, destroyed the party and bureaucratized the economy. However, this same bureaucracy still operates on the basis of the nationalized property established by the revolution. That is the decisive criterion for our evaluation of the question.

If we see the Soviet Union for what it really is, a gigantic labor organization which has conquered one-sixth of the earth's surface, we will not be so ready to abandon it because of our hatred of the crimes and abominations of the bureaucracy. Do we turn our backs on a trade union because it falls into the control of bureaucrats and traitors? Ultra-leftists have frequently made this error, but always with bad results, sometimes with reactionary consequences.

We recall the case of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union here in New York. The bureaucrats of this union were about as vile a gang of labor lieutenants of the capitalist class as could be found. In the struggle against the left-wing in the middle twenties they conspired with the bosses and the A.F.L. fakers. They expelled the left-wing locals and used hired thugs to fight them and to break their strikes. The difference between them and Stalin was only a matter of opportunity and power. Driven to revolt against the crimes of these bureaucrats the left-wing, under the influence of the Communist Party in the days of its Third Period frenzy, labelled the union—not merely its treacherous bureaucracy—as a "company union."

But this same "company union," under the pressure of the workers in its ranks and the increasing intensity of the class struggle, was forced to call a strike to defend itself against the "imperialist" attack of the bosses. Workers who had kept their heads, supported ("defended") the strike against the bosses. But the Stalinists, trapped by their own hastily-improvised theory, having already denounced the union as a company union, renounced support ("defense") of the strike. They denounced it as a "fake" strike. Thus their ill-considered radicalism led them to a reactionary position. They were denounced, and rightly, throughout the needle trades market as strike breakers. To this day they suffer the discredit of this reactionary action.

To defend the Soviet Union as a gigantic labor organization against the attacks of its class enemies does not mean to defend each and every action of its bureaucracy or each and every action of the Red Army which is an instrument of the bureaucracy. To impute such a "totalitarian" concept of defense to the Fourth International is absurd. Nobody here will deny defense of a bona fide trade union, no matter how reactionary its bureaucracy. But that does not prevent us from discriminating between actions of the bureaucracy which involve a defense of the union against the bosses and other actions which are aimed against the workers.

The United Mine Workers of America is a great labor organization which we all support. But it is headed by a thoroughgoing scoundrel and agent of the master class who also differs from Stalin only in the degrees of power and opportunity. In my own personal experience some years ago, I took part

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Lenin's General Staff of 1917

STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALONE REMAINS

The Central Committee of The Bolshevik Party in 1917

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Supreme Court Says Homosexuals Can't Teach

The Supreme Court last month declared open season on homosexuals in refusing to hear the cases of two teachers, James Gaylord of Washington state and John Gish of New Jersey. These men were fired from their jobs on one, and only one, charge: homosexuality. Thus "the highest court in the land" gives the green light to every local Anita Bryant bigot to hound homosexuals out of the classrooms and their jobs. Make no mistake about it, this victimization of "social deviants" is part of an ominous and wide-ranging assault on democratic rights.

Fresh from a series of reactionary decisions attacking busing, housing desegregation, unemployment benefits for striking workers and abortions for the poor, the Supreme Court has again proved a reliable ally of the racist mobs in the streets and fundamentalist crusaders for social conformity and conservatism. Having trampled on the democratic rights of blacks and other racial minorities, women and workers, now under the hypocritical banner of "community standards" the courts have targeted homosexuals as scapegoats. This opens up the possibility of any teacher being victimized as "deviant" or "immoral." It is urgent that the labor movement, and teachers unions in particular, be mobilized against these frame-ups in order to block the mounting reactionary trend.

Government Out of the Bedroom!

Local school boards and the state have no business snooping about in anyone's private sex life, the personal relations of consenting individuals. A dangerous precedent has been set in these two cases whereby the job of any teacher can be taken away by bigots in alliance with the courts, using the open-ended criteria of what is deemed good and bad influence on children. It is not hard to see communists being fired on the same grounds, and a long experience of court-ordered repression of teachers strikes (most recently in the bitter Franklin, Massachusetts strike) suggests that the very idea of unionism might be considered offensive to "community standards" by hardline school boards and anti-labor judges.

If there is any doubt about the leeway which the courts have granted to reactionary witchhunters, just consider the cases of James Gaylord and John Gish. Gaylord was fired from Tacoma's Wilson High School in 1972. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Washington, he had an exemplary record during his 13 years as a social studies teacher. His tenure and record, however, were ignored once a vice principal, acting on expressed suspicions of one of Gaylord's former students, confronted the teacher over whether or not he was a homosexual. *Never charged with any misconduct*, Gaylord was fired for "immorality" when he admitted his homosexuality.

Ultimately the dismissal was upheld on the argument that he must have committed illegal acts; after all, he hadn't denied it. As Gaylord explained the frame-up to a *WV* reporter: "I was not dismissed for conduct; I was never accused of any misconduct. I was never asked about my sexual conduct. As a matter of fact, it was not the school district that first advanced this line of argument about conduct. This was something the trial court judge came up with more than three years after I was fired."

Since Gaylord was dismissed the state of Washington has legalized all sexual activity between consenting adults in private. Such laws, hailed as a bill of rights for homosexuals by the bourgeois media, provide little protection, however, as long as "immoral" can be substituted for "illegal" in a courtroom.

John Gish, who has never acknowledged being a homosexual, was removed from the classroom and ordered to undergo a psychiatric examination by the Paramus Board of Education after he became president of the New Jersey Gay Activist Alliance in 1972. In refusing, Gish has rightly contended that this violated his rights of privacy, liberty, freedom of expression and equal protection under the law.

The Supreme Court, however, had already made its position perfectly clear, saying the right of privacy does not apply to homosexuals, thus laying the legal basis for victimization of Gaylord and Gish. The Court ruled in March 1976 in upholding Virginia's anti-sodomy statutes, making homosexual acts illegal. The Court brazenly declared that the constitutional right to privacy applied only to "marriage, home or family life. It is enough for upholding the legislation to establish that the conduct is likely to end in a contribution to moral delinquency."

Ironically, it is still to the bourgeois courts and legislatures that various reformists and liberals, including gay rights activists, foolishly look for salvation, even as the courts systematically reverse the token gains of the 1960's.

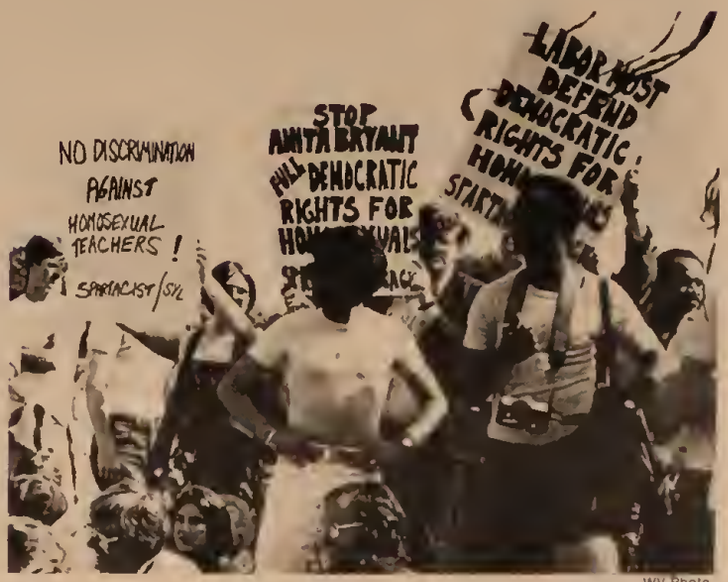
The Witchhunt Is On

The Supreme Court's refusal to hear the Gaylord and Gish cases fuels the fires of anti-homosexual hysteria ignited by Anita Bryant's obscene campaign to rescind the Dade County, Florida ordinance prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals.

California now has its own version of Anita Byant in state senator John Briggs, who is running for governor on his sponsorship of an initiative (referendum) that would enable school boards to fire homosexual teachers at will. Briggs was a participant in Bryant's Dade County campaign. He explained, "What I'm after is to remove those homosexual teachers who, through word, thought or deed want to be a public homosexual, to entice young impressionable children into their lifestyle" (*Los Angeles Times*, 4 August).

Supporters of this initiative are working to collect the 312,404 signatures necessary to put the measure on the ballot in the June 1978 elections, when California voters would be given the "opportunity," as Briggs told an L.A. news conference, "to tell homosexuals that we are tired of your aggressive movement into our society, to have us accept you are normal people, because you are not normal people."

Social issues touching on questions of sex and the family are so emotionally loaded that ignorance and irrationality can be easily manipulated by demagogues to produce a witchhunt atmosphere. Thus Briggs, like Bryant, can seriously make the appeal of an utter idiot: "Homosexual families, to my knowledge, do not breed children, and the only way they can get children is they have to recruit our children. I can't think of a better setting [for recruitment] than a classroom."



WV Photo

Anti-Anita Bryant demonstration in New York City last June.

Across the board this wave of reaction is presented as a crusade for children. "Save Our Children" was Anita Bryant's battle cry. Attacks on freedom of the press are launched in the name of ridding society of "kiddie porn." Anti-busing racists screamed about the "innocent little children" supposedly inconvenienced by bus rides. And the ultimate "innocent"—the fetus—is protected by right-to-lifers who dismiss as irrelevant the mental anguish, physical danger and even death of women seeking abortions.

Behind this hypocritical concern for children is nothing but the attempt to enshrine family-centered bourgeois morality, rooting out all "deviants" and challenges. Hailing the family as the "natural unit" of society, the reactionary obscurantists would also legislate procreation as the "natural" (i.e., the only permissible) purpose of sex if they could get away with it. The terrible reality is that under capitalism children are daily battered to a pulp in families where parents are frustrated beyond reason. The oppression of women and children in the nuclear family will continue until socialist society has created the material basis for its replacement.

Yet the Stalinists sing the praises of the "proletarian family," and thus fall in line with the reactionary bigotry which is the natural by-product of the backward social attitudes fostered by capitalist society. The Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which marched side-by-side with the anti-busing racists in Boston, now take up the logic of the viciously anti-homosexual, anti-labor Briggs campaign:

> "To deny such rights as housing or jobs is persecution and is no more correct than denying alcoholics housing or jobs. Of course there are limits. Parents should have the right to remove notorious homosexuals from any and all jobs working with children, just as they would rather not have some juice-head guiding their children either."
>
> *Southern California Worker*, July-August 1977

Labor Must Defend Victimized Teachers

It is not accidental that the reactionaries have gone after Gaylord and Gish. Teachers are an important target for those who would enforce reactionary bourgeois morality. But the fact that a large percentage of teachers is now organized in unions would give them some social power—if they were not hamstrung by the labor bureaucrats.

The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is formally committed to defend its members victimized for homosexuality. The Tacoma AFT affiliate mounted a legal defense of Gaylord, gave him a job and did everything short of what was really necessary to force his reinstatement. The labor movement, mobilized on the grounds that an attack on one is an attack on all, could have smashed this victimization. But the paper opposition of the AFT and the National Education Association to the persecution of homosexual teachers has not stopped the firings or put an end to the anxiety under which homosexuals are forced to work.

In fact, the AFT hasn't devoted nearly as much energy to defending Gaylord and Gish and to defeating the Briggs referendum as it does to supporting the racist pro-Bakke campaign to roll back the paltry educational opportunities opened up to blacks by special admissions programs. The AFT's narrow

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Workers Vanguard

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Czech Bureaucracy Jails Charter 77 Leaders

Dissidents Appeal to Carter's Anti-Soviet "Human Rights" Crusade

Luce/Newsweek

Carter and flunkies Young, Brzezinski at U.N.

On October 18 a Prague court found four Czechoslovaks guilty of charges of "subversion against the state." Sentences of three-and-one-half and three years' imprisonment each were handed out to former theater director Ota Ornest and journalist Jiri Lederer on charges of maintaining "conspiratorial links" with foreign diplomats and agents of France and Italy. Receiving sentences of 17 and 14 months respectively, although suspended for three years, were writer and director Frantisek Pavlicek and playwright Vaclav Havel. Pavlicek was deemed to have "slandered the state" in articles published abroad, while Havel was found guilty of trying to smuggle out of the country the banned memoirs of a former minister of the government of liberal Stalinist Alexander Dubcek.

The trial of the four, all prominent supporters of Dubcek during the 1968 "Prague Spring," was the biggest political trial held in Czechoslovakia in the last five years. Clearly it was one more attempt by the Husak regime, installed in power by Russian bayonets following the Warsaw Pact invasion of August 1968, to crack down on the Charter 77 group. Lederer, Pavlicek and Havel were all signatories of its original manifesto, and Havel had been designated as one of three official spokesmen for the Charter 77 group.

Cambio 16

Belgrade conference in session.

The charter was issued on January 1 of this year. Signed by some 257 Czechoslovaks, it presented the plight of thousands of supporters of the former Dubcek government, and contrasted the absence of elementary democratic rights with the formal guarantees for such rights contained in the constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the 1975 Helsinki treaty:

> "By its symbolic name, Charter 77 stresses that it has been established on the threshold of what has been declared the year of political prisoners, in the course of which a meeting in Belgrade is to review the progress—or lack of it—achieved since the Helsinki conference."
> —*New York Times*, 27 January 1977

In essence, therefore, Charter 77 is an implicit but open appeal to the imperialist signatories of the Helsinki accords to pressure Husak and his Soviet mentors to live up to the "human rights" provisions of that treaty. The strategy of the Czechoslovak chartists in this regard is no different from that of the Soviet pro-imperialist dissidents represented by physicists Sakharov and Orlov.

The reaction of the Husak regime was abrupt and harsh. Here was no narrow stratum of disaffected intelligentsia such as compose the dissidents in the USSR. The list of signatories of Charter 77 was studded with former members of the Dubcek central committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CP) and former ministers of the government toppled by the Warsaw Pact invasion. Also among the signers were the widow and son of Rudolf Slansky, the former CP secretary who was hanged in 1952 during Stalin's anti-"Titoist" purge.

The Charter 77 manifesto was immediately and hysterically denounced by government authorities as "written on the command of anti-communist and Zionist centers and then published by the most reactionary mass media in the West" (*Guardian* [London], 8 January 1977). The Communist Party paper *Rude Pravo* warned, "Those who lie on the rails to stop the train of history" must expect to get their legs cut off. A few days later the same mouthpiece for the bureaucracy blustered:

> "A few piqued, ineffectual wrecks and self-appointees, but in fact agents of imperialism without a mite of honor and conscience, are spitting plans that have not and cannot have any mission but the preparation of counterrevolution.... The people who wanted to smuggle counterrevolution into our homes have already received their just deserts.... They must be aware that any new attempts will founder in embryo. The year 1968 will not be repeated. After the debacle suffered by reaction in our country in 1948 and again 20 years later, these Don Quixotes want to sow the seeds of a new counterrevolutionary adventure and throw our socialist society into chaos and uncertainty."
> —quoted in *New York Times*, 13 January 1977

Oer Spiegel

Havel

Along with the propaganda barrage came the persecution. Leading members of Charter 77 were harassed, mauled and threatened by the police, dragged in for long interrogations and often deprived of their jobs. Sensing a golden opportunity, the new Democratic administration in Washington used Charter 77 and the repression directed against it to kick off its phony "human rights" campaign. The very first act of Carter's State Department was to fire off a letter charging Czechoslovakia with violation of the Helsinki agreement—precisely as the Charter 77 framers had hoped.

Meanwhile, in the face of Husak's persecution the Charter 77 movement evoked widespread support among dissidents in East Europe and the USSR. It should be recalled that many of the current generation of Soviet dissidents first became active out of revulsion over the 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. Further, like their Prague counterparts, a large fraction of the dissidents in the rest of the Soviet bloc share or peddle illusions in the good will of the "democratic" imperialist bourgeoisies. For the "Eurocommunists" of the French, Italian and Spanish CP's, solidarity with Charter 77 was a chance to prove to their own bourgeoisies their "independence" from Moscow—i.e., their reliability as bloc partners in future popular-front governments.

After its initial hysteria, the Husak government has carefully modulated its persecution of the Charter 77ers, clearly hoping to slide through the Belgrade conference with minimal trouble. So far they have succeeded. The Czechoslovak economy badly needs Western credits for the import of new technologies from the capitalists, and Husak's Soviet mentors don't want unnecessary obstacles to reaching a new arms limitation agreement with U.S. imperialism. And after the collapse of U.S.-USSR arms control talks in Moscow last spring, Carter has toned down his anti-Soviet propaganda sallies—although far from abandoning this cornerstone of his "moral" foreign policy, despite the fervent hopes of the dreamers in the Kremlin.

Whereas late last winter Czechoslovak newspapers were insisting that the Charter 77 appeal was illegal and unconstitutional, the claim now is that the movement is at "the limit of limits of legality." Thus the prosecutor of Ornest, Lederer, Pavlicek and Havel requested "light sentences" while insisting that the trial had to do with subversion and not Charter 77. In the meantime the persecution of the chartists continues. As of September over 100 signers of the manifesto had lost their jobs. Two, Vladimir Lastuvka and Ales Machacek, have been charged with subversion for having periodicals and books published by Czechs living in the West.

As far as the trial of Havel et al. in Prague goes, it was held in a tiny courtroom packed with plainclothesmen. Newsmen, including reporters from the French Communist Party's *L'Humanité* and the Italian Communist Party's *L'Unità*, were barred from the proceedings. Prominent chartists came home the evening before the trial to find their homes ransacked by security cops and themselves hauled off for "interrogations." These trials were clearly a juridical farce and reflect above all else the fear of the Czechoslovak Stalinists that they will lose their stranglehold on the proletariat. While we do not defend the politics of the Ornests, Lederers, Pavliceks and Havels, we must demand that they be released immediately and that all charges against them be withdrawn.

The issue of the trial was raised at the Belgrade conference by representatives of the U.S., Britain, France and the Netherlands. But in fact the Belgrade conference has been if anything a boring marathon of diplomatic doubletalkers. In terms of the perspectives of Charter 77 and the various pro-imperialist dissidents it has so far been a monumental failure and one likely to throw them into future disarray.

The people who framed Charter 77

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Red soldiers marching in Moscow, 1917.

Stalin Murdered the Revolutionaries of October

Trotskyists at Vorkuta

Left Oppositionists in exile colony (ca. 1928) demonstrate on anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution.

On the sixtieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, both the Stalinist bureaucrats and the Western imperialists have highlighted the question of Soviet bloc dissidents. For Jimmy Carter they are a godsend to his campaign of moral rearmament of U.S. imperialism, for in their vast majority the current crop of dissidents look to the West for their salvation. All are united in demanding that Washington use economic sanctions (capitalist blackmail) to force concessions from the Soviet degenerated workers state. Bourgeois commentators echo the theme of Solzhenitsyn's Gulag, *that all the deformations and bureaucratic terror in the USSR today have their source in Lenin.*

For the Kremlin, the implicit or direct call by the dissidents for a return to capitalism is an invaluable gift, enabling the bureaucracy to pose as defenders of the October Revolution and the tremendous gains it brought Soviet workers. When Solzhenitsyn longs for the days of the tsarist knout, Bukovsky jokes about exchanging Brezhnev for Pinochet, Amalrik chides the West for being "soft" on the "monsters of Marxism" and Sakharov expresses indifference toward the struggle of the Indochinese workers and peasants against the American war machine, it is the Stalinists who benefit, for such sentiments are deeply repugnant to the proletariat.

Thus both the Pentagon and the Kremlin have an interest in portraying all opposition to Stalinist rule as counter-revolutionary. It is not true. Stalin's Gulag was not built to incarcerate capitalist-restorationists but communist oppositionists, *chief among them those who led the October Revolution. The "gravedigger of the revolution" murdered virtually the entire surviving Bolshevik central committee of 1917 during his bloody purges of the late 1930's. The numbers of Soviet Left Oppositionists who were cut down by the Stalinist executioners are counted in the tens and hundreds of thousands.*

In the prison camps, the Trotskyists were the most resolute defenders of the prisoners' rights. This produced innumerable cases of individual and collective heroism which won the admiration of even those fellow prisoners who did not share their revolutionary Marxist convictions, as well as of many ex-Stalinists and loyal bureaucrats caught in the web of Kremlin terror. This tremendous respect was caught by former Soviet intelligence officer Leopold Trepper in his memoir The Great Game. *To the question, "Who did protest at that time?" against Stalin's blood purges, he answers:*

> *"The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor.... By the time of the great purges, they could only shout their rebellion in the freezing wastelands where they had been dragged in order to be exterminated. In the camps, their conduct was admirable. But their voices were lost in the tundra.*
>
> *"Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."*

But the Trotskyists' voices were not lost in the tundra and their fight has not been in vain. They alone fought for a program which can win the allegiance of millions of class-conscious Soviet workers. They, and those who continue their struggle today, are the true heirs of October, not the complacent bureaucrats who luxuriate in their privileges while eternally seeking a deal with the imperialists. We print below a moving eyewitness account of the Bolshevik-Leninists at the notorious Vorkuta labor camp, which bears vivid testimony to the unshakable commitment to principles of these Trotskyist Left Oppositionists.

Here were real heroes of the struggle of the Soviet people against Stalinist bureaucratic domination! These Leninist cadres had been hardened by the experience of three revolutions. Trotskyist revolutionaries of today draw strength from their example. In the words of Kote Tsintsadze, an "Old Bolshevik" from 1903 on who was one of the first Left Oppositionists to die in Stalin's Gulag:

> *"...many of our comrades and friends have been forced to end their lives in prison or somewhere in deportation. Yet in the final analysis this will be an enrichment of revolutionary history: a new generation will learn the lesson. The Bolshevik youth, learning from the struggle of the Bolshevik Opposition against the opportunist wing of the party, will understand on whose side the truth lies...."*

(The following account, signed only "M.B.," first appeared in the October 1961 issue of the Russian Menshevik emigré journal Sotsialisticheskiy Vestnik. *This translation was taken from* Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition *published by Monad Press in 1974.)*

During the middle and at the end of the 1930s, the Trotskyists formed a quite disparate group at Vorkuta; one part of them kept its old name of "Bolshevik-Leninists." There were almost 500 at the mine, close to 1,000 at the camp of Ukhta-Pechora, and certainly several thousands altogether around the Pechora district.

The Orthodox Trotskyists were determined to remain faithful to the end to their platform and their leaders. In 1927, following the resolutions of the fifteenth congress of the party, they were excluded from the Communist Party and, at the same time, arrested. From then on, even though they were in prison, they continued to consider themselves Communists; as for Stalin and his supporters, "the apparatus men," they were characterized as renegades from communism.

Among these "Trotskyists" were also found people who had never formally belonged to the CP and did not join the Left Opposition, but who tied their own fate with it to the very end—even when the struggle of the Opposition was most acute.

In addition to these genuine Trotskyists, there were in the camps of Vorkuta and elsewhere more than 100,000 prisoners who, members of the party and the youth, had adhered to the Trotskyist Opposition and then at different times and for diverse reasons (of which the principal were, evidently, repressions, unemployment, persecutions, exclusion from schools and university facilities, etc.) were forced to "recant their errors" and withdraw from

the Opposition.

The Orthodox Trotskyists arrived at the mine during the summer of 1936 and lived in a compact mass in two large harracks. They categorically refused to work in the pits; they worked only on the surface, and for only eight hours, not the ten or twelve required by the regulations, as the other prisoners were forced to do. They did so on their own authority, in an organized manner, openly flouting the camp regulations. In the main they had already served nearly ten years in deportation.

In the beginning, they were sent into political isolators and then afterwards exiled to Solovka; finally, they arrived at Vorkuta. The Trotskyists formed the only group of political prisoners who openly criticized the Stalinist "general line" and offered organized resistance to the jailers.... Their leaders were Socrates Gevorkian, Vladimir Ivanov, Melnais, V. V. Kossior and Trotsky's ex-secretary, Poznansky....

In the autumn of 1936, soon after the frame-up trials against the leaders of the Opposition, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and the others, the entire group of "Orthodox" Trotskyists at the mine got together to confer with one another.

Opening the meeting, Gevorkian addressed those present: "Comrades! Before beginning our meeting, I ask you to honor the memory of our comrades, guides, and leaders who have died as martyrs at the hands of the Stalinist traitors to the revolution."

The entire assembly stood up. Then, in a brief and very trenchant speech, Gevorkian explained that it was necessary to examine and resolve the key problem: what should be done and how should they conduct themselves from now on.

"It is now evident that the group of Stalinist adventurers have completed their counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in our country. All the progressive conquests of our revolution are in mortal danger. Not twilight shadows, but those of deep black night envelop our country. No Cavaignac spilled as much working class blood as has Stalin. Physically annihilating all the opposition groups within the party, he aims at total personal dictatorship. The party and the whole people are subjected to surveillance and to summary justice by the police apparatus. The predictions and the direst fears of our Opposition are fully confirmed. The nation slides irresistibly into the Thermidorian swamp. This is the triumph of the centrist petty-bourgeois forces, of which Stalin is the interpreter, the spokesman, and the apostle.

"No compromise is possible with the Stalinist traitors and hangmen of the revolution. Remaining proletarian revolutionaries to the very end, we should not entertain any illusion about the fate awaiting us. But before destroying us, Stalin will try to humiliate us as much as he can. By throwing political prisoners in with common criminals, he strives to scatter us among the criminals and to incite them against us. We are left with only one means of struggle in this unequal battle: the hunger strike. With a group of comrades, we have already drawn up a list of our demands of which many of you are already informed. Therefore, I now propose to you that we discuss them together and make a decision."

The meeting lasted only a short time; the question of the hunger strike and of concrete demands had already been debated for some months by the Trotskyists. Some Trotskyist groups in other camps (Usa station, Chib-Yu, Kochmes, etc.) had also been discussing the matter and had sent their agreement to support the demands and to participate in the hunger strike. These demands were ratified unanimously by those present. They stipulated:

1. Ahrogation of the illegal decision of the NKVD, concerning the transfer of all Trotskyists from administrative camps to concentration camps. Affairs relating to political opposition to the regime must not be judged by special NKVD tribunals, but in public juridical assemblies.

2. The work day in the camp must not exceed eight hours.

3. The food quota of the prisoners should not depend on their norm of output. A cash bonus, not the food ration, should be used as a production incentive.

4. Separation, at work as well as in the barracks, of political prisoners and common criminals.

5. The old, the ill, and women political prisoners should be moved from the polar camps to camps where the climatic conditions were more favorable.

It was recommended, at the time of the meeting, that the sick, the invalids, and the old should not participate in the hunger strike; however, all those in question energetically rejected this proposal.

The meeting did not decide the day on which the hunger strike should begin; a five-member directorate, headed by Gevorkian, was delegated to inform the other Trotskyist groups spread over the immense territory containing the camps of Ukhta-Pechora.

Three weeks later, October 27, 1936, the massive hunger strike of the political prisoners began, a strike without precedent and a model under Soviet camp conditions. In the morning, at reveille, in almost every barrack, prisoners announced themselves on strike. The barracks occupied by the Trotskyists participated 100 percent in the movement. Even the orderlies struck. Close to 1,000 prisoners, of whom half worked in the mine, participated in this tragedy, which lasted more than four months.

The first two days, the strikers stayed in their usual places. Then the camp administration busied itself in isolating them from the rest of the prisoners, concerned lest the latter followed their example. In the tundra, forty kilometers from the mine, on the banks of the Syr-Yaga River, there were primitive half-demolished barracks, which previously had been used during the preliminary boring of the mines. In great haste, these barracks were put into makeshift condition; a call was sent out to the inhabitants of the region, who, with their teams of reindeer, transported the hunger strikers there, where they soon numbered about six hundred. The others were brought together not far from Chib-Yu.

After having isolated the strikers, the GPU took measures to prevent the movement from spreading in the country and from becoming known outside the frontiers. The prisoners were deprived of the right of corresponding with their families; the salaried employees of the camp lost their holidays and their right to leave. Attempts were made to incite the other prisoners against the strikers. At the mine there were food reserves beyond what was required to sustain those who worked in the pits; the camp administration contended that it had to use up its large reserves of fat and sugar, intended for the underground workers, for artificial feeding of the Trotskyists.

At the end of the first month of the strike, one of the participants died of exhaustion; two others died during the third month. The same month, two strikers, non-Orthodox Trotskyists, voluntarily gave up striking. Finally, just a few days before the end of the strike, still another striker died.

Having begun the end of October 1936, the hunger strike lasted 132 days, ending in March 1937. It culminated with the complete victory of the strikers who received a radiogram from the headquarters of the NKVD, drawn up in these words: "Inform the hunger strikers held in the Vorkuta mines that all their demands will be satisfied."

The Trotskyists were then taken back to the mine, received food reserved for the sick and, after a period of time, they went back to work, but only above ground; certain of them worked in the office of the director of the mine, in the capacity of paid workers, bookkeepers, economists, etc. Their work day did not exceed eight hours; their food ration was not based on their production norm.

But little by little the other prisoners' interest in the strikers began to diminish. Everyone's interest was now focused on the new trial at Moscow, which was being broadcast by radio; besides, new prisoners began arriving at the end of June. Their stories described mass arrests, outrages, executions without trial behind the walls of the NKVD, and this all over the country. At the beginning, no one wanted to believe this, particularly since the new arrivals spoke unwillingly and rather enigmatically. But little by little, the bonds between them became tighter and the conversations franker. Without letup, new prisoners arrived from Russia; old friends and acquaintances discovered each other: it no longer was possible not to believe the stories.

In spite of these obvious facts, a certain number of prisoners waited with impatience for the autumn of 1937 and the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution; they hoped, on this occasion as in 1927, that the government would declare a large-scale amnesty, particularly since a little while earlier the very promising "Stalinist Constitution" had been adopted. But the autumn brought bitter disillusions.

Map showing suspected forced labor camp sites (dots) in the Soviet Union produced by the AFL during cold war period.

The harsh regime of the camps grew abruptly worse. The sergeants and their assistants in maintaining order—common criminals—having received new orders from the camp director, armed themselves with clubs and pitilessly beat the prisoners. The guards, the watchmen close to the barracks, tormented the prisoners. To amuse themselves during the night they fired on those who went to the toilets. Or else, giving the order "*On your bellies*," they forced the prisoners to stretch out, naked, for hours on the snow. Soon there were massive arrests. Almost every night, GPU agents appeared in the barracks, called out certain names and led away those called.

Certain Trotskyists, including Vladimir Evanov, Kossior, and Trotsky's son, Sergei Sedov, a modest and likeable youth, who had imprudently refused to follow his parents into exile in 1928, were taken in a special convoy to Moscow. We can only believe that Stalin was not satisfied simply to hurl them into the tundra; his sadistic nature thirsted not only for blood; he wished first to immeasurably humiliate them and torture them, coercing them into false self-accusations....

Toward the end of the autumn, about 1,200 prisoners found themselves in the old brick field; at least half of these were Trotskyists. They were all lodged in four barracks; their food ration was 400 grams of bread a day and not every day.

The barracks were surrounded by a barbed wire fence. Nearly a hundred freshly recruited guards, supplied with automatic arms, watched the prisoners day and night.

The prisoners arrested at the mine, at Usa and in other nearby camps were taken to an old brickyard. Those

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For the REBIRTH of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!
—SPARTACIST

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution...

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in a strike of the Kansas miners which was directed against the enforcement of a reactionary labor law, known as the Kansas Industrial Court Law, a law forbidding strikes. This was a thoroughly progressive action on the part of the Kansas miners and their president, Alex Howat. Howat and the other local officials were thrown into jail. While they were in jail, John L. Lewis, as president of the national organization, sent his agents into the Kansas fields to sign an agreement with the bosses over the head of the officers of the Kansas district. He supplied strike breakers and thugs and money to break the strike while the legitimate officers of the union lay in jail for a good cause. Every militant worker in the country denounced this treacherous strike-breaking action of Lewis. But did we therefore renounce support of the national union of mine workers? Yes, some impatient revolutionaries did, and thereby completely disoriented themselves in the labor movement. The United Mine Workers retained its character as a labor organization and only last Spring came into conflict with the coal operators on a national scale. I think you all recall that in this contest our press gave "unconditional defense" to the miners' union despite the fact that strikebreaker Lewis remained its president.

The Longshoremen's Union of the Pacific Coast is a horse hide organization of workers, headed by a Stalinist of an especially unattractive type, a pocket edition of Stalin named Bridges. This same Bridges led a squad of misguided longshoremen through a picket line of the Sailors' Union in a direct attempt to break up this organization. I think all of you recall that our press scathingly denounced this contemptible action of Bridges. But if the Longshoremen's Union, headed by Bridges, which is at this moment conducting negotiations with the bosses, is compelled to resort to strike action, what stand shall we take? Any ordinary class-conscious worker, let alone an educated Marxist, will be on the picket line with the Longshoremen's Union or "defending" it by some other means.

Why is it so difficult for some of our friends, including some of those who are very well educated in the formal sense, to understand the Russian question? I am very much afraid it is because they do not think of it in terms of struggle. It is strikingly evident that the workers, especially the more experienced workers who have taken part in trade unions, strikes, etc., understand the Russian question much better than the more educated scholastics. From their experiences in the struggle they know what is meant when the Soviet Union is compared to a trade union that has fallen into bad hands. And everyone who has been through a couple of strikes which underwent crises and came to the brink of disaster, finally to emerge victorious, understands what is meant when one says: *No position must be surrendered until it is irrevocably lost.*

I, personally, have seen the fate of more than one strike determined by the will or lack of will of the leadership to struggle at a critical moment. All our trade union successes in Minneapolis stem back directly to a fateful week in 1934 when the leaders refused to call off the strike, which to all appearances was hopelessly defeated, and persuaded the strike committee to hold out a while longer. In that intervening time a break occurred in the ranks of the bosses; this in turn paved the way for a compromise settlement and eventually victorious advance of the whole union.

How strange it is that some people analyze the weakness and defects in a workers' organization so closely that they do not always take into account the weakness in the camp of the enemy, which may easily more than counterbalance.

In my own agitation among strikers at dark moments of a strike I have frequently resorted to the analogy of two men engaged in a physical fight. When one gets tired and apparently at the end of his resources he should never forget that the other fellow is maybe just as tired or even more so. In that case the one who holds out will prevail. Looked at in this way a worn-out strike can sometimes be carried through to a compromise or a victory by the resolute will of its leadership. We have seen this happen more than once. Why should we deny the Soviet Union, which is not yet exhausted, the same rights?

The Danger of a False Position

We have had many discussions on the Russian question in the past. It has been the central and decisive question for us, as for every political tendency in the labor movement. That, I repeat, is because it is nothing less than the question of the revolution at various stages of its progressive development or degeneration. We are, in fact, the party of the Russian revolution. We have been the people, and the only people, who have had the Russian revolution in their program and in their blood. That is also the main reason why the Fourth International is the only revolutionary tendency in the whole world. A false position on the Russian question would have destroyed our movement as it destroyed all others.

Two years ago we once again conducted an extensive discussion on the Russian question. The almost unanimous conclusion of the party was written into the program of our first convention:

(1) The Soviet Union, on the basis of its nationalized property and planned economy, the fruit of the revolution, remains a workers' state, though in a degenerated form.

(2) As such, we stand, as before, for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

(3) The best defense—the only thing that can save the Soviet Union in the end by solving its contradictions—is the international revolution of the proletariat.

(4) In order to regenerate the workers' state we stand for the overthrow of the bureaucracy by a political revolution.

But, it may be said, "Defense of the Soviet Union, and Russia is a Workers' State—those two phrases don't answer everything." They are not simply phrases. One is a theoretical analysis; the other is a political conclusion for action.

The Meaning of Unconditional Defense

Our motion calls for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. What does that mean? It simply means that we defend the Soviet Union and its nationalized property against external attacks of imperialist armies or against internal attempts at capitalist restoration, without putting as a prior condition the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Any other kind of defense negates the whole position under present circumstances. Some people speak nowadays of giving "conditional" defense to the Soviet Union. If you stop to think about it we are for conditional defense of the United States. It is so stated in the program of the Fourth International. In the event of war we will absolutely defend the country on only one small "condition": that we first overthrow the government of the capitalists and replace it with a government of the workers.

Does unconditional defense of the Soviet Union mean supporting every act of the Red Army? No, that is absurd. Did we support the Moscow Trials and the actions of Stalin's G.P.U. in these trials? Did we support the purges, the wholesale murders of the forces in Spain which were directed against the workers? If I recall correctly, we unconditionally defended those workers who fought on the other side of the barricades in Barcelona. That did not prevent us from supporting the military struggle against Franco and maintaining our position in defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

It is now demanded that we take a big step forward and support the idea of an armed struggle against Stalin in the newly occupied territories of old Poland. Is this really something new? For three years the Fourth International has advocated in its program the armed overthrow of Stalin inside the Soviet Union itself. The Fourth International has generally acknowledged the necessity for an armed struggle to set up an independent Soviet Ukraine. How can there be any question of having a different policy in the newly occupied territories? If the revolution against Stalin is really ready there, the Fourth International will certainly support it and endeavor to lead it. There are no two opinions possible in our ranks on this question. But what shall we do if Hitler (or Chamberlain) attacks the Sovietized Ukraine before Stalin has been overthrown? This is the question that needs an unambiguous answer. Shall we defend the Soviet Union, and with it now and for the same reasons, the nationalized property of the newly annexed territories? We say, yes!

That position was incorporated into the program of the foundation congress of the Fourth International, held in the summer of 1938. Remember, that was after the Moscow Trials and the crushing of the Spanish revolution. It was after the murderous purge of the whole generation of Bolsheviks, after the People's Front, the entry into the League of Nations, the Stalin-Laval pact (and betrayal of the French workers). We took our position on the basis of the economic structure of the country, the fruit of the revolution. The great gains are not to be surrendered before they are really lost. That is the fighting program of the Fourth International.

The Stalin-Hitler Pact

The Stalin-Hitler pact does not change anything fundamentally. If Stalin were allied with the United States, and comrades should deny defense of the Soviet Union out of fear of becoming involved in the defense of Stalin's American ally, such comrades would be wrong, but their position would be understandable as a subjective reaction prompted by revolutionary sentiments. The "defeatism" which broke out in our French section following the Stalin-Laval pact was undoubtedly so motivated and, consequently, had to be refuted with the utmost tolerance and patience. But an epidemic of "defeatism" in the democratic camp would be simply shameful. There is no pressure on us in America to defend the Soviet Union. All the pressure is for a democratic holy war against the Soviet Union. Let us keep this in mind. The main enemy is still in our own country.

What has happened since our last discussion? Has there been some fundamental change in Soviet economy? No, nothing of that kind is maintained. Nothing happened except that Stalin signed the pact with Hitler! For us that gave no reason whatever to change our analysis of Soviet economy and our attitude toward it. The aim of all our previous theoretical work, concentrated in our program, was precisely to prepare us for war and revolution. Now we have the war; and revolution is next in order. If we have to stop now to find a new program it is a very bad sign.

Just consider: There are people who could witness all the crimes and betray-

Homosexuals...

(continued from page 4)

business unionism is especially treacherous given the catalytic role teachers unions could play in implementing busing and school desegregation. They could also contribute greatly to throwing back the mounting attacks on homosexuals. A victory for the Briggs campaign would be a sharp defeat for teachers and the labor movement generally. This attack on the "public homosexual" is a clear attempt to drive homosexuals "into the closet," creating an atmosphere of intimidation for all teachers. The unions must use every weapon at their disposal to defend their members and smash the Briggs witchhunt.

The neanderthal reactionaries who would witchhunt homosexual teachers use the same emotional rhetoric about innocent little children as those who have argued to make (or keep) teachers strikes illegal. Public employees have historically been singled out as the first targets for anti-strike legislation. School boards and legislative bodies feel free to violate their democratic rights and invade their privacy at will—prescribing and proscribing their personal activities, imposing anti-communist loyalty oaths, banning political activity by government employees. Teachers are supposed to be models of conformity, upholders of the status quo, impressing their young charges with the tenets of bourgeois ideology and with apologies for capitalism. As communists we do not place a value on any form of consensual sexual activity, and therefore we are not interested in "protecting" children from the influence of homosexuals.

The labor movement in particular has a vital and immediate interest in the defense of these victims of legally sanctified bourgeois bigotry. The dismissals of Gaylord and Gish open the door to an intensified onslaught not only against the jobs of other homosexual teachers, but also against any teachers whose activites are deemed to violate "community standards." Union militants are always a prime target. What is required is vigorous action by the labor movement to put a stop to employer and state snooping into the activities and beliefs of teachers and all workers. Democratic rights are indivisible; those who turn their backs on the persecution of "sexual deviants" are only making way for a vicious onslaught of social reaction. Reinstate Gaylord and Gish! Defeat the reactionary Briggs campaign! ■

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Speakers. JAMES BARCZYK, Chairman, Trenton Defense Committee and Member, UAW Local 372

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Member, UAW Local 600

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als of Stalin, which we understood better than anybody else, and denounced before anybody else and more effectively—they could witness all this and still stand for the defense of the Soviet Union. But they could not tolerate the alliance with fascist Germany instead of imperialist England or France!

The Invasion of Poland

Of course, there has been a great hullaballoo about the Soviet invasion of Polish Ukraine. But that is simply one of the consequences of the war and the alliance with Hitler's Germany. The contention that we should change our analysis of the social character of the Soviet state and our attitude toward its defense because the Red Army violated the Polish border is even more absurd than to base such changes on the Hitler pact. The Polish invasion is only an incident in a war, and in wars borders are always violated (If all the armies stayed at home there could be no war.) The inviolability of borders—all of which were established by war—is interesting to democratic pacifists and to nobody else.

Hearing all the democratic clamor we had to ask ourselves many times: Don't they know that Western Ukraine and White Russia never rightfully belonged to Poland? Don't they know that this territory was forcibly taken from the Soviet Union by Pilsudski with French aid in 1920?

To be sure, this did not justify Stalin's invasion of the territory in collaboration with Hitler. We never supported that and we never supported the fraudulent claim that Stalin was bringing "liberation" to the peoples of the Polish Ukraine. At the same time we did not propose to yield an inch to the "democratic" incitement against the Soviet Union on the basis of the Polish events. The democratic war mongers were shrieking at top of their voices all over town. We must not be unduly impressed by this democratic clamor. Your National Committee was not in the least impressed.

In order to penetrate a little deeper into this question and trace it to its roots, let us take another hypothetical example. Not a fantastic one, but a very logical one. Suppose Stalin had made a pact with the imperialist democracies against Hitler while Rumania had allied itself with Hitler. Suppose, as would most probably have happened in that case, the Red Army had struck at Rumania, Hitler's ally, instead of Poland, the ally of the democracies, and had seized Bessarabia, which also once belonged to Russia. Would the democratic war mongers in that case have howled about "Red Imperialism"? Not on your life!

I am very glad that our National Committee maintained its independence from bourgeois democratic pressure on the Polish invasion. The question was put to us very excitedly, point-blank, like a pistol at the temple: "Are you for or against the invasion of Poland?" But revolutionary Marxists don't answer in a "yes" or "no" manner which can lump them together with other people who pursue opposite aims. Being for or against something is not enough in the class struggle. It is necessary to explain *from what standpoint* one is for or against. Are you for or against racketeering gangsters in the trade unions? –the philistines sometimes ask. We don't jump to attention, like a private soldier who has met an officer on the street, and answer, "against!" We first inquire: who asks this question and from what standpoint? And what weight does this question have in relation to other questions? We have our own standpoint and we are careful not to get our answers mixed up with those of class enemies and pacifist muddleheads.

Some people—especially affected bosses— are against racketeering gangsters in the trade unions because they extort graft from the bosses. That side of the question doesn't interest us very much. Some people—especially pacifist preachers—are against the gangsters because they commit violence. But we are not against violence at all times and under all circumstances. We, for our part, taking our time and formulating our viewpoint precisely, say: We are against union gangsterism because it injures the union in its fight against the bosses. That is our reason. It proceeds from our special class standpoint on the union question.

So with Poland: We don't support the course of Stalin in general. His crime is not one incident here or there but his *whole* policy. He demoralizes the workers' movement and discredits the Soviet Union. That is what we are against. He betrays the revolution by his whole course. Every incident for us fits into that framework; it is considered from that point of view and taken in its true proportions.

The Invasion of Finland

Those who take the Polish invasion—an incident in a great chain of events—as the basis for a fundamental change in our program show a lack of proportion. That is the kindest thing that can be said for them. They are destined to remain in a permanent lather throughout the war. They are already four laps behind schedule: There is also Latvia, and Estonia, and Lithuania, and now Finland.

We can expect another clamor of demands that we say, point-blank, and in one word, whether we are "for" or "against" the pressure on poor little bourgeois-democratic Finland. Our answer—wait a minute. Keep your shirt on. There is no lack of protests in behalf of the bourgeois swine who rule Finland. The *New Leader* has protested. Charles Yale Harrison has written a tearful column about it. The renegade Lore has wept about it in the *New York Post*. The President of the United States has protested. Finland is pretty well covered with moral support. So bourgeois Finland can wait a minute till we explain our attitude without bothering about the "for" or "against" ultimatum.

I personally feel very deeply about Finland, and this is by no means confined to the present dispute between Stalin and the Finnish Prime Minister. When I think of Finland, I think of the thousands of martyred dead, the proletarian heroes who perished under the white terror of Mannerheim. I would, if I could, call them back from their graves. Failing that, I would organize a proletarian army of Finnish workers to avenge them, and drive their murderers into the Baltic Sea. I would send the Red Army of the regenerated Soviet Union to help them at the decisive moment.

We don't support Stalin's invasion only because he doesn't come for revolutionary purposes. He doesn't come at the call of Finnish workers whose confidence he has forfeited. That is the only reason we are against it. The "borders" have nothing to do with it. "Defense" in war also means attack. Do you think we will respect frontiers when we make our revolution? If an enemy army lands troops at Quebec, for example, do you think we will wait placidly at the Canadian border for their attack? No, if we are genuine revolutionists and not pacifist muddleheads we will cross the border and meet them at the point of landing. And if our defense requires the seizure of Quebec, we will seize it as the Red Army of Lenin seized Georgia and tried to take Warsaw.

Foreseen in Program of Fourth International

Some may think the war and the alliance with Hitler change everything we have previously considered; that it, at least, requires a reconsideration of the whole question of the Soviet Union, if not a complete change in our program. To this we can answer:

War was contemplated by our program. The fundamental theses on "War and the Fourth International," adopted in 1934, say:

> "Every big war, irrespective of its initial moves, must pose squarely the question of military intervention against the U.S.S.R. in order to transfuse fresh blood into the sclerotic veins of capitalism....
>
> "*Defense of the Soviet Union* from the blows of the capitalist enemies, irrespective of the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict, is the elementary and imperative duty of every honest labor organization."

Alliances were contemplated. The theses say:

> "In the existing situation an alliance of the U.S.S.R. with an imperialist state or with one imperialist combination against another, in case of war, cannot at all be considered as excluded. Under the pressure of circumstances a temporary alliance of this kind may become an iron necessity, without ceasing, however, because of it, to be of the greatest danger both to the U.S.S.R. and to the world revolution.
>
> "The international proletariat will not decline to defend the U.S.S.R. even if the latter should find itself forced into a military alliance with some imperialists against others. But in this case, even more than in any other, the international proletariat must safeguard its complete political independence from Soviet diplomacy and thereby also from the bureaucracy of the Third International."

A stand on defense was taken in the light of this perspective.

A slogan of defense acquires a concrete meaning precisely in the event of war. A strange time to drop it! That would mean a rejection of all our theoretical preparation for the war. That would mean starting all over again. From what fundamental basis? Nobody knows.

There has been much talk of "independence" on the Russian question. That is good! A revolutionist who is not independent is not worth his salt. But it is necessary to specify: Independent of whom? What is needed by our party at every turn is class independence, independence of the Stalinists, and, above all, independence of the bourgeoisie. Our program assures such independence under all circumstances. It shall not be changed! ■

Vorkuta...

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arrested in more distant camps—at Pechora, Izhma, Kozhma, Chib-Yu, etc.—were kept near Chib-Yu.

The whole winter of 1937-38 some prisoners, encamped in barracks at the brickyard, starved and waited for a decision regarding their fate. Finally, in March, three NKVD officers, with Kashketin at their head, arrived by plane at Vorkuta, coming from Moscow. They came to the brickyard to interrogate the prisoners. Thirty to forty were called each day, superficially questioned five to ten minutes each, rudely insulted, forced to listen to vile name-calling and obscenities. Some were greeted with punches in the face; Lt. Kashketin himself several times beat up one of them, the Old Bolshevik Virap Virapov, a former member of the Central Committee of Armenia.

At the end of March, a list of twenty-five was announced, among them Gevorkian, Virapov, Slavin, etc.... To each was delivered a kilo of bread and orders to prepare himself for a new convoy. After fond farewells to their friends, they left the barracks, and the convoy departed. Fifteen or twenty minutes later, not far away, about half a kilometer, on the steep bank of the little river Verkhnyaya Vorkuta (Upper Vorkuta), an abrupt volley resounded, followed by isolated and disorderly shots; then all grew quiet again. Soon, the convoy's escort passed back near the barracks. And it was clear to all in what sort of convoy the prisoners had been sent.

Two days later, there was a new call, this time of forty names. Once more there was a ration of bread. Some, out of exhaustion, could no longer move; they were promised a ride in a cart. Holding their breath, the prisoners remaining in the barracks heard the grating of the snow under the feet of the departing convoy. For a long time there was no sound; but all, on the watch, still listened. Nearly an hour passed in this way. Then, again, shots resounded in the tundra; this time they came from much further away, in the direction of the narrow railway which passed three kilometers from the brickyard. The second "convoy" definitely convinced those remaining behind that they had been irremediably condemned.

The executions in the tundra lasted the whole month of April and part of May. Usually one day out of two, or one day out of three, thirty to forty prisoners were called. It is characteristic to note that each time, some common criminals, repeaters, were included. In order to terrorize the prisoners, the GPU, from time to time, made publicly known by means of local radio, the list of those shot. Usually broadcasts began as follows: "For counterrevolutionary agitation, sabotage, brigandage in the camps, refusal to work, attempts to escape, the following have been shot..." followed by a list of names of some political prisoners mixed with a group of common criminals.

One time, a group of nearly a hundred, composed mainly of Trotskyists, was led away to be shot. As they marched away, the condemned sang the "Internationale," joined by the voices of hundreds of prisoners remaining in camp.

At the beginning of May, a group of women were shot. Among them were the Ukranian Communist, Chumskaya, the wife of I.N. Smirnov, a Bolshevik since 1898 and ex-peoples' commissar; (Olga, the daughter of Smirnov, a young girl, apolitical, passionately fond of music, had been shot a year before in Moscow); the wives of Kossior, of Melnais, etc.... one of these women had to walk on crutches. At the time of execution of a male prisoner, his imprisoned wife was automatically liable to capital punishment; and when it was a question of well-known members of the Opposition, this applied equally to any of his children over the age of twelve.

In May, when hardly a hundred prisoners remained, the executions were interrupted. Two weeks passed quietly; then all the prisoners were led in a convoy to the mine. There it was learned that Yezhov had been dismissed, and that his place had been taken by Beria....

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Comrade Blanco:

Free All Political Prisoners? What About Hubert Matos?

Hugo Blanco speaking at forum in Boston. WV Photo

The following leaflet was distributed by the New York Spartacist League at a forum given by Peruvian socialist militant Hugo Blanco on 5 November 1977.

Tonight, as throughout his American tour, Hugo Blanco will be speaking under the banner of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). That banner states: "Free All Latin American Political Prisoners." This has been the position of USLA since it was formed in 1966 by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The slogan is a hallmark of "class-neutral" civil libertarianism as exemplified by Amnesty International. It is generally coupled with demands such as "stop totalitarianism on both sides of the Iron Curtain"—a slogan which denies the fundamental class difference between the degenerated and deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc and right-wing military dictatorships such as Chile. For Marxists—and anyone who bases himself on class criteria—not all political prisoners are the same. Since the Cuban deformed workers state is, if not the "first free territory of America," at least the only country where capitalist rule has been overthrown in this hemisphere; and since Blanco and the SWP claim to defend Cuba against *yanqui* imperialism, the question arises: do Blanco and USLA call for the freedom of "Latin American political prisoners" such as Cuban counterrevolutionary Hubert Matos?

For the past 18 years, Matos has been imprisoned in Cuba on clearly "political" grounds. Following the June 1959 expropriation of the very largest *latifundios* on the island, a right-wing opposition crystallized among military leaders of Castro's heterogeneous July 26 Movement. Matos, then military chief of Camagüey province, was to be the rallying point for the plotters—many of whom, like Manuel Rey, were to show up 18 months later at the Bay of Pigs in the company of former Batista torturers. It was for his role in this counterrevolutionary conspiracy that Matos was arrested.

Today the release of Matos is the calling card of every anti-communist "concerned democrat"—concerned, that is, with the restitution of Mafia-dominated capitalist rule on the island 90 miles from the Florida shore. The *New York Times* and Chilean butcher Pinochet have both championed his cause. For Marxists, advocating the "freedom" of this clearly political prisoner is as unthinkable as calling for the release of the sole remaining political prisoner in Berlin's Spandau prison, Rudolph Hess!

The question of demanding freedom for Matos (or, for example, fascists in Francoist jails and Georgian fascists locked up in the USSR) is central in determining the defense policies of those who claim to stand on the side of the working class. However, built on the SWP's reformist program of appeasing American liberals, USLA consciously rejects the class axis which has guided the defense work of revolutionary organizations in this country since the time of the International Labor Defense. The demand for the freeing of all political prisoners in Latin America or elsewhere is of a piece with such "consistently democratic" reformism as the SWP's advocacy of "free speech" for murderous fascist scum.

In contrast, the Spartacist League (SL) and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) demand "Free all prisoners of right-wing repression." Unlike USLA and the SWP, the PDC—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the SL—has consistently drawn the class line in its defense activities. At the time of the Chilean coup, we unhesitatingly demonstrated in defense of imprisoned leaders of the MIR while other organizations (including USLA) were solidarizing only with the treacherous Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders who had led the workers organizations into the popular-front debacle. We also publicized the plight of a number of naval seamen and even high-level officers who were arrested (while Allende was still in power) for their refusal to go along with plans for the bloody September 11 coup. The PDC organized campaigns (from which the SWP and USLA criminally abstained) to rescue Chilean trade-union leader Mario Muñoz from the clutches of the Videla junta in Argentina and to aid blinded Chilean militant socialist and trade unionist Fernando Marcos in his battle to regain his eyesight. In the 1960's when the SWP was basking in the popularity of the Cuban Revolution (labeling Castro an "unconscious Marxist"), it was the SL which fulfilled its revolutionary duties by defending Cuban supporters of Trotskyism who were languishing in the prisons of the *fidelista* Stalinists.

The American and European left must vigorously protest the murder of thousands of leftists and unionists, the torture of tens of thousands and the jailing of hundreds of thousands under the blood-stained military dictatorships which stretch across almost all of Latin America. But genuine solidarity with the victims of Pinochet, Videla, Stroessner and Co.—unlike the moralistic gesture of boycotting everything Chilean which Blanco is so fond of—must take as its point of departure the only force which can eradicate once and for all the brutality of militarist bonapartist rule, the working class.

So, Comrade Blanco, we pose the question: Free *all* political prisoners? What about Hubert Matos? ■

Butcher Shah...

(continued from page 12)

and daughters of prisoners in front of them.

By no means all of the inhabitants of the SAVAK's torture chambers began as oppositionists. Thousands of artists, teachers and writers who were suspected of being critical of Iranian society have been "interrogated." Sometimes they are charged with not having been sufficiently laudatory of the monarch and his "White Revolution." An Iranian poet and professor writes: "Almost all the prominent writers and poets of the country have suffered incarceration and torture at the hands of SAVAK agents in recent years.... In Iran one cannot stage Hamlet, Richard III or Macbeth because no Iranian should see the death of a prince or a king on the stage" (Reza Baraheni, *Crowned Cannibals* [1977]).

The Shah has long sought to pose, with the aid of U.S. publicity agents, as a social reformer. But the hundreds of thousands of imprisoned and tortured oppositionists, and the Pahlevi dynasty's combination of banana republic-style corruption and grandiloquent posturing as heirs to the ancient Persian empire (the present Shah's father took power in a palace coup in the 1920's), make a mockery of Carter's "human rights" crusade. This grotesque torture regime is strategically vital for the primary aim of the U.S. policy: isolating and pressuring the USSR. Iran is not only Western imperialism's policeman of the Persian Gulf, where its troops and jets sustain the tottering sultanate of Oman, but a major component (together with Turkey and Pakistan) of the string of U.S. allies along the southern frontier of the Soviet Union.

Maoists and Nationalists in Crisis

Ever since the 1953 CIA-engineered coup which reinstalled the Shah on his throne, the Iranian student movement has hurled itself against the bloody regime. In the mid-1960's the Confederation of Iranian Students (CIS) broke with the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh (Masses) Party, criticizing the Soviet trade deals with Iran and the Kremlin's resultant refusal to politically attack the Shah. But, tragically, many of these militants who then turned to Maoism have since hardened into fanatical defenders of the Sino-Iranian alliance.

Beginning in 1971, Peking began its treacherous course of supporting the Shah as a bulwark against "Soviet social-imperialism," as the pages of *Peking Review* spewed forth Mao's full support to Iranian "defense" policies (directed against the USSR). In late 1973, Peking abruptly ended all Chinese aid to the Peoples Front for the Liberation of Oman, which was fighting a guerrilla war against the sultan and his Iranian, British and Jordanian backers. This accumulation of betrayals by the Mao-Stalinists shattered the CIS and its American affiliate, the ISA.

The issue came to a head at the sixteenth conference of the CIS, held in January 1975 in Europe, when hard-line Maoists put forward a resolution stating that one of the most important tasks of the confederation was "to expose the reactionary policies of the Soviet Union." This was defeated by a majority grouped under the name of the "National Front," which included some critical Maoists, others with politics parallel to the U.S. Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and various guerrillaists with less defined politics. A motion was passed proposing to "direct the main blow against U.S. imperialism, the number one enemy of the peoples of the world, while exposing the anti-revolutionary policies of the Soviet Union whenever necessary."

Within the United States, the ISA splintered into a half-dozen factions, particularly under the impact of the purge of the "Gang of Four" in Peking. While the largest grouping is sympathetic to the RCP, and shares its ostrich-like agnosticism on the events of the last year in China, a group on the West Coast calling itself the Union of Iranian Students has split, condemning China's foreign policy outright as "reactionary" and backing Albania. Simultaneously there has been a split in one of the groups which presented a hard pro-Peking front, the Toufahn group. A slavishly pro-Hua tendency recently expelled by the group revealed that Toufahn sent a confidential letter of protest to China after the visit of the Shah's notoriously bloodthirsty sister in 1971, and is now allegedly also backing the Gang of Four. As for the expelled group, it raves about American "appeasement" of the USSR and advocates striking "the main blow at the Munich policy"!

Despite their differences, what unites all the splinters of the ISA and CIS is a shared commitment to the strategy of "two-stage" revolution to overthrow the monarchy and install a revival of the 1951-53 "National Front" government

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Smash Administration Anti-Red Ban!

Armed Cops Throw SYL Leader Off Chicago Campus

CHICAGO—On October 27 Spartacus Youth League (SYL) spokesman Sandor John was thrown off the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus (UICC) by armed policemen. The university administration announced that he was "permanently barred" and would be arrested for criminal trespass if he ever set foot on UICC property again. As John was "escorted" off the grounds, one of the cops warned: "If we get any more complaints from these people [the university administration] about you being in the building or on campus, you will be locked up."

When he was nabbed by university authorities the SYL spokesman was engaged in a conversation in an area of the campus traditionally used by political groups. Approaching from behind, UICC administrator Willie McKay fingered John as a "non-student" to the campus cops he had brought along to do the dirty work. The accusation of being a "non-student" is a complete fraud at this sprawling commuter campus frequented by many who are not enrolled for classes.

Further, the building is open to the general public and John has regularly carried on political work of the SYL—an officially recognized UICC student organization—on campus. The charge of "outside agitator" is one of the oldest ploys in the book of redbaiting. The administration action against Sandor John and the Spartacus Youth League is an outrageous violation of democratic rights and a crude attempt to intimidate all left-wing groups on campus. If this anti-red ban is not broken, UICC authorities will be emboldened in their McCarthyite purge of "undesirables."

Recognizing the threat posed by the "permanent bar," a number of campus organizations and individuals attended a meeting on November 3 initiated by the SYL. Representatives of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the UICC student government, as well as students from the Union for Mexican-Chicano Students and the Circle Women's Liberation Union (CWLU) attended the meeting, which formed an ad hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment. The purpose of the Committee is to mobilize protest around the slogans: End the administration's harassment of the left and campus organizations! Stop the administration's anti-communist "ban" on Sandor John! While the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade left the meeting without comment, the united-front Committee has been endorsed by the SYL, YSA, the student government, Janis Gutfreund of the CWLU and left-wing professor Julia LeSage. More endorsements are being gathered along with signatures to a protest petition.

The meeting "adjourned" to an administration meeting, where the students confronted assembled bureaucrats and underlings with the Committee demands. Administrator Stanford Delaney excused himself from responding, saying that it would take too long to explain the university's position. But the administration's position is quite clear: they want "reds" off campus. As the most active left group on campus, especially in defense of busing, the SYL has become the first target of an escalating witchhunt. The ad hoc Committee is equally clear in its purpose: it intends to mobilize the necessary support to crack the administration's anti-communist ban. A public meeting has been called for November 10 by the Committee to Stop Administration Harassment.

Smash the anti-red ban at Circle Campus! Cops off campus, not the left! ■

Dissidents Appeal...

(continued from page 5)

with its indirect appeal to the world's foremost imperialists are none other than some of the leaders of the liberal wing of the Czechoslovak Communist Party who came to the fore during 1968. At that time Dubcek and his cohorts claimed to be creating "socialism with a human face"...in one country.

Actually, the main aim of the Dubcekites was to "reform" the Czechoslovak economy so badly mismanaged by the Novotny bureaucracy. In particular the Dubcek regime wanted to increase the role of market forces in the economy inherited from the Stalin era, to shut down outmoded plants, to import new technology and to speed up the workforce. Novotny was consequently able to keep some support in the factories for a period by pointing out the intent of Dubcek's economic planners.

The successful struggle against the Novotny wing of the bureaucracy of necessity required that the Dubcekites dismantle or neutralize the secret police. Thus the "Prague Spring" presented the novel situation of liberal Stalinist reformers bent on speeding up the Czechoslovak working class, but without the police force to impose their aims. This situation was explosive, and it was the spectacle of Stalinists without cops which impelled the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact allies to stage the August 1968 invasion. Brezhnev and Ulbricht had no intention of letting the blossoms of the "Prague Spring" bear the harvest of a "Budapest October."

The brutal Russian-bloc intervention succeeded in cutting short the otherwise inevitable conflicts between the Dubcek bureaucracy and the Czechoslovak proletariat. It also succeeded, however, in conserving the utopian illusions of many in the Dubcek camp that, save for the Kremlin invasion, the bureaucracy could have been peaceably reformed into a social-democratic paradise. The limits of liberal Stalinism so evident in Tito's Yugoslavia were unable to manifest themselves because of that intervention.

The tragedy is that these illusions are catered to in the name of Trotskyism by the opportunist United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel & Co. Both the American SWP and the former International Majority Tendency have shamelessly tailed after and apologized for the former bureaucrats of Charter 77, not only excusing their appeals to U.S. imperialism to "guarantee human rights" but also catering to their illusions that Stalinism can be reformed.

Genuine Trotskyists take as their starting point two intertwined aims: to defend unconditionally the historic gains already embodied in the deformed workers states and to renew and extend the Russian October through revolutionary action of the proletariat: political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies in the Sino-Soviet states and socialist revolution to overthrow capitalist imperialism elsewhere. Those who instead look to the "democratic" imperialists are traitors to the socialist future.

The extreme touchiness which the Stalinists manifest whenever the question of the most elementary democratic rights is posed is a direct reflection of these usurpers' role as a parasitic bureaucratic caste that has politically expropriated the proletariat. Exactly because the Stalinists are a caste and not a class, and one which maintains it is carrying out the socialist rule of the proletariat while it is in fact trampling any and all proletarian democracy underfoot, the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states are highly unstable, requiring the Stalinists to deploy massive police forces.

For this reason we raise the banner of proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers and restore soviet democracy. To accomplish this it is necessary to construct Trotskyist parties in the USSR and the deformed workers states. The experiences of Berlin 1953, Hungary 1956, Poland 1956 and 1970, and Czechoslovakia 1968 clearly confirm this as an iron imperative. The crisis of revolutionary leadership extends to the East. It will not be eliminated by tailing muddleheaded Stalinist bureaucrats who dream of "socialism with a human face" in one country and grovel before the liberal imperialists. Only the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International will assemble the revolutionary cadres able to sweep Stalinism from the face of the planet. ■

Volker Kramer

Russian troops outside of Prague radio station in August 1968.

of the "anti-imperialist" landlord Mossadegh. With the possible exception of the hard-Maoists, they support the petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrilla organizations, the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayeen [Self-Sacrificing] Guerrillas (OIPFG) and the Organization of Majahedeen [Combatants] of the People of Iran (OMPI). Although the OIPFG was founded by young would-be Marxist intellectuals, while the OMPI only declared itself to be "Marxist-Leninist" in 1975 (it had previously styled itself "Islamic-Marxist"), they are both engaged in a fruitless search for the "progressive," "anti-imperialist" petty-bourgeoisie and "national bourgeoisie."

But the utterly corrupt, servile Iranian comprador bourgeoisie is incapable of leading a democratic revolution in the age of imperialism. Mossadegh, while partially expropriating the oil industry, did not carry out land reform or arm the masses, thus paving the way for his own overthrow. The working class alone can lead the struggle of the oppressed, granting land to the peasantry, recognizing the national rights of oppressed nationalities (Azerbaijanis, Kurds) and breaking with imperialism, by establishing its own class rule.

The road forward for Iranian would-be revolutionaries is the road of Trotskyism, not the pseudo-Trotskyism of the Socialist Workers Party and its satellite, the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). Because of its bourgeois civil-libertarian orientation, CAIFI refuses to defend the Iranian guerrilla fighters from the Shah's repression, and it shares the Stalino-Menshevik two-stage theories of the rest of the Iranian left. The international Spartacist tendency, in contrast, stands for the Marxist revolutionary perspective of permanent revolution, for workers rule in Iran as the only means of achieving the democratic and anti-imperialist demands of the Iranian toilers.

Hands off Iranian militants—Free all victims of the Shah's white terror! No U.S. arms to the Shah! Down with the bloody Pahlevis. For a workers and peasants government in Iran! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

20 Iranian Students Savagely Beaten, Arrested by Chicago Cops

Avenge Victims of Butcher Shah!

In a massive display of official brutality, some 300 Chicago cops attacked a group of 40 Iranian students and their supporters at the YMCA Central Community College on October 28. Evening TV newscasts caught the cops in frenzied action, dragging the demonstrators by the hair, kicking them in the face and head, or poking billy clubs in students' stomachs and groins while others struck and kicked the same victim. Twenty demonstrators, all but three of them Iranian, were arrested, and were reportedly beaten again after they reached the police station. Thirteen of the Iranians were injured, and four protesters were hospitalized, one of them for a week after the incident.

Charges "ranging from mob action to interfering with police" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 29 October) have been levied against those arrested in this blatant cop riot. The mere arrest of these students raises an immediate threat of deportation. If deported, they face certain imprisonment, likely torture and in many cases death in the Shah's dungeons. The left and labor movement must demand that all charges be dropped, and all victimization of the Iranian militants be stopped now! There must be no deportations. We demand political asylum for all left opponents of the butcher Shah!

Chicago, of course, is a city where the police daily terrorize the black and Spanish-speaking population with impunity. But the degree of viciousness and the large number of students arrested on October 28 has a specific political message. The demonstration was called by two wings of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) to protest increasing harassment by the YMCA College administration and the upcoming November 15-16 visit by the Shah to Washington, D.C. The ISA has held a series of forums and demonstrations around the city, including a demonstration of more than a hundred on November 5 to mobilize as many people as possible for a demonstration in the capital.

The arrests of the ISA demonstrators in Chicago is merely the beginning of a wave of victimization of Iranian students around the royal visit. The Chicago Red Squad, in particular, has a long and well-documented history of spying on Iranian students and has also been linked, along with the FBI, to the SAVAK (Persian acronym for Iranian State Security Organization). In Chicago, students organizing for the Washington demonstration and sympathizers who intend to accompany them have received anonymous threatening phone calls during the past few weeks.

WV Photo

UPI

Right: Iranian students demonstrating in Washington earlier this year. Below: Shah receiving officials at his palace.

SAVAK agents are undoubtedly busily preparing for the Shah's visit. Following the September 1976 Washington, D.C. bomb assassination of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier—in which all leads point to the bloody hand of Pinochet's DINA—the Iranian autocrat brazenly boasted that his agents are active in the U.S., infiltrating organizations opposed to his murderous regime. SAVAK activities go far beyond spying. Last year the CBS television program Sixty Minutes documented that assassination squads had been dispatched to the United States and Europe to liquidate opponents of the Shah's reign of terror.

In conjunction with harassment of Iranian student militants, the Shah, infuriated by ISA-organized demonstrations which greeted his wife when she visited the U.S. earlier this year, has an additional tactic. His plan is to distract media attention from the protest demonstrations by attempting to insure that there will be supporters of the Shah demonstrating in Washington as well. According to the ISA, the SAVAK is offering an all-expense-paid "holiday weekend," including air fare, hotel lodging, meals and $100 in cash to Iranians in the U.S. for participation in this "welcome the Shah" project. The financial arrangements vary from city to city, and in some cases people willing to go to Washington are offered a flat $600.

Carter's "Human Rights" Equals Shah's White Terror

The Washington visit by Shah Reza Pahlevi underscores American imperialism's role in propping up its Iranian client state, ranging from cop and FBI repression of Iranian militants in the U.S. to its sale of billions of dollars worth of sophisticated weaponry to the Shah's army. According to Senate estimates, the number of American military advisors and intelligence-related personnel in Iran will reach 60,000 by 1980. It is not accidental that Carter has appointed William Sullivan—who, as ambassador to Laos, oversaw both the secret U.S. air war and the CIA's organizing of anti-communist mercenary armies of Laotian and Meo tribesmen—as the new ambassador to Tehran.

The scale of repression in Iran is truly staggering. Amnesty International reports that the Shah's jails entomb as many as 100,000 political prisoners, with more than 300,000 locked up at one time or another in the 19-year existence of the SAVAK. This would be the equivalent of roughly *2 million* political prisoners in the U.S. More than 600 official executions have taken place in Iran since 1971, making it the international capital of legal murder. In addition countless more die at the hands of secret police torturers.

SAVAK "interrogators" employ all the traditional forms of torture, such as ripping out toenails and fingernails, breaking bones, beatings and rape. But in addition they have made some unique contributions of their own, rivaling in this respect the murderous military regime in Brazil. In one torture a heavy weight is hung from the testicles of a prisoner, almost instantly maiming him; another procedure involves burning holes in the victim's face with a red-hot iron rod, while a third technique burns a victim on a device resembling a bed frame. When all the varieties of physical torture have been exhausted, they supplement it with psychological torture, such as taking a prisoner before a firing squad as if to execute him. One particularly vicious weapon employed by the secret police of this "urbane" monarch is to torture and rape the wives

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 182 18 November 1977

Spanish CP Leader Crosses Picket Line at Yale

Carrillo Scabs for "Human Rights"

"Eurocommunist" Santiago Carrillo escorted by Yale cops through strikers' picket lines. WV Photo

NEW HAVEN –"He's a fink, he's a rat, he's a faker. He's a phony representative of the working class." These angry words from Vincent Sirabella, business agent of striking Local 35 of the Federation of University Employees (AFL-CIO) at Yale University, were not aimed at a right-wing American labor-hater or a pro-capitalist Meanyite union bureaucrat, but at Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE). On November 14 Carrillo began a ten-day trip to the U.S. by crossing the picket lines of Local 35—on strike for the last seven weeks—to accept an invitation from the university's Chubb Fellows and the Yale Political Union to speak on the political situation in Spain.

By crossing a picket line and thereby scorning the most fundamental principles of working-class solidarity, Carrillo has added to his long list of Stalinist credentials the title of scab. There could be no more graphic demonstration that the PCE leader's "Eurocommunist" talk

continued on page 4

Blood and Tear Gas at the White House

Militant Protesters Explode Carter-Shah Gala

WASHINGTON, November 15—A line of blood was drawn through Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign today by vicious attacks and repression against the most militant left-wing demonstration here since the height of the antiwar movement. On one side was the U.S. president, his "welcome guest" (the Shah of Iran), the Shah's SAVAK secret police and his paid supporters, waving American flags and chanting "We love our king"—all protected by the FBI, CIA, Secret Service and Washington, D.C. cops. On the other side were more than 5,000 outraged demonstrators, mainly Iranian students, chanting "Down with the Shah" and holding placards which read: "Carter's Human Rights Means Support the Fascist Shah in Iran."

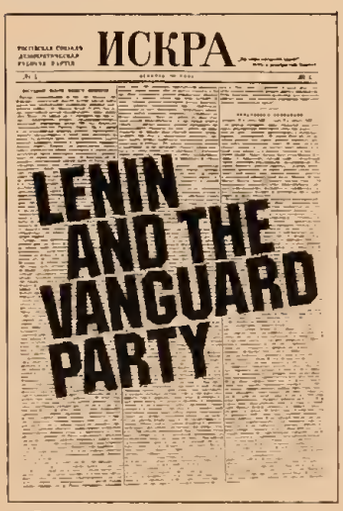
As we go to press, UPI reports that 92 civilians and 17 cops were injured when the D.C. cops, using tear gas and riot equipment, brutally attacked the demonstration, arresting 12 anti-Shah protesters. The cops had made the capital an open city for the murderous SAVAK, watching them drag off isolated Iranians for "arrest." The Iranian Students Association (ISA) march organizers told *WV* that some of their members were "missing" and that ISA organizers have been barred from visiting their wounded comrades in the hospital.

It was reported that many SAVAK agents were brought to the area in white vans marked "property of the U.S. Navy." There were reportedly continuous assaults on the periphery of the anti-Shah demonstration. Four carloads of SAVAK thugs patrolled the perimeter with clubs and cameras. Cops stood by as provocateurs—many of whom admitted being paid handsomely by the SAVAK—using mounted police as cover hurled sticks at the anti-Shah demonstrators. But when the latter defended themselves against these provocations, the cops protected the "human rights" of the butcher Shah by cracking skulls and arresting the protesters.

The lives of the arrested opponents of the Shah are in danger. A police record in the U.S. can mean deportation and death by torture in Iran. Anyone familiar with the vengeful methods of this torture regime knows full well what the Shah has in mind for those who gave him the most hostile Washington reception of any head of state in recent memory. While Jimmy Carter apologizes to this "chic" torturer for the embarrassment and makes jokes about Washington "air pollution" (tear gas) to this "leader," the workers movement must rush to the defense of the arrested Iranian militants.

Drop the charges—No deportations! Smash the SAVAK—Down with the butcher Shah!

PART 5



The Struggle Against the Boycotters

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The Israeli Working Class and Zionist Terror

Interview with Israel Shahak

Israel Shahak

WV Photo

The following interview with Israel Shahak was conducted in Detroit on October 21 during a visit to the U.S. by this dedicated but non-Marxist anti-Zionist. The interview occurred before the entry of the Democratic Movement for Change into the Likud government, which gave Begin a large majority in the Knesset (parliament). This, in turn, enabled him to enact the sweeping austerity measures which produced the unanticipated explosion of working-class anger early this month. While Shahak's remarks precede these events, the exchange between WV *and the eminent fighter for civil liberties in Israel on the class-struggle potential of the Hebrew-speaking workers retains its broader significance. Of particular interest also are his incisive observations—from the standpoint of one outside the U.S. political terrain—on the real import of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign.*

WV: Begin's position is that Jordan is part of Greater Israel, right?

SHAHAK: Well, the land but not the people. The land is part of Greater Israel but the people are Jordanians, and therefore you can send them to Jordan. This is something that is very important. Let me elaborate on this because he really cheats in many of these things. You see, first of all he says he will not annex the land because it's already his and the people will be given the right to *ask* for Israeli citizenship. Those are his exact words. This trick already worked in Jerusalem, where many people applied for Israeli citizenship just to get a passport and in order not to get deported. Almost none of them received Israeli citizenship, because a non-Jew and also a man who is not a son of an Israeli citizen can apply for citizenship; but every official by the simple word "no" can deny him citizenship, and even the wife of an Israeli citizen who is married abroad cannot receive Israeli citizenship.

Begin doesn't want what I call honest annexation—meaning that he would annex both the people and the land. He already took the land but he made the people settlers or Jordanians.

WV: Well, we have a projection, that he intends to get rid of the people, that is that he intends to use the settlements as instruments of terror. Do you feel that that's correct?

SHAHAK: I have a similar position, I must say. The settlements *are* instruments of terror. The settlements are instruments of what I call "Sowetoization" or ghettoization to divide the people into areas in which there will be no more than about 100,000 people. This is exactly the policy of South Africa with regard to Soweto. Soweto is a place that was built where the blacks would feel every day of their lives that they are foreigners. And I have said many times that the policy of the present government, which is of course a combination of Zionists, is to make Palestinians foreigners in their homeland. There will be ghettos where they will stay at night, and during the day they will work in the Israeli economy under conditions of servitude which have been often described.

WV: Historically one of the bases for the Israeli working class to in any way be won away from the chauvinism of Zionism is its opposition to the policy of integrating Palestinian labor into the Israeli economy at a wage level far below the average for the Israeli worker. They see that as a threat to their own wage level. Is there any opposition within the Israeli working class to these policies?

SHAHAK: There is not, and I will explain this on two levels. On the first level, there is now in Israel a consciousness that is being built—which also affects the workers that striking workers are PLO terrorists. When workers strike in any plant whatsoever, immediately the radio and television call them terrorists and PLO and Arabs and so on. Since you have a concentrated wave of such brainwashing, the workers themselves feel it. This is shown by the reduction of the workers' solidarity to the lowest level that I have ever seen in Israel.

There is a much more important aspect to this. By now Palestinians from conquered territory have taken over whole trades of the Israeli economy: housing construction, most agricultural labor, street cleaning, of course, garbage removal, dishwashing in the restaurants, and so on. Where have the Jews who did this before 1967 gone? I will tell you: to the production of weapons. Israel has now become a major producer of weapons for export, and of course the Israeli army also needs a lot of weapons. According to the Imperial Institute for Strategic Studies in London, and according to the European press, Israel is the chief supplier of weapons to five Latin American countries: Chile, Ecuador, Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico. It is not the leading but still an important supplier of arms to Nicaragua, Haiti, the Dominican Republic. [It is also] an important supplier of weapons to Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand after the counterrevolution. Police equipment (walkie-talkies, etc.) to South Africa. Submachine guns to Rhodesia: the Rhodesian submachine gun is called "RUZI" which is the acronym for "Rhodesian UZI."

What does this mean socially in Israel? A lot of jobs were created, and the Israeli army has changed its nature. In 1967, and even to a great extent up to 1973, it was an army based on draftees and reservists. Even six or seven years ago drivers or cooks or clerks used to be people who are civilians who are reservists. All of this has changed. The Israeli army is so short of manpower that they advertise in the press and offer bonuses for those who will sign up for three years, a higher bonus for five years, and so on. Like in Prussia 200 years ago.

WV: Or the U.S. today.

SHAHAK: Yes. The same thing happens with border guards in the occupied territories, who are professionals. An enormous number of security jobs—army, police, and so on—have been created on the one hand, and production of weapons on the other hand. The Jewish working class was sucked up into those jobs, which are of course much "nicer" than building houses, and Palestinians from the occupied territories were brought in for those jobs. By now a great part of the Jewish working class in Israel is in the position of, say, poor whites in South Africa. I don't despair of poor whites in South Africa either, but to win them over we first have to know what they are. Then perhaps we will find a way of winning them over.

WV: Well, we've always made a distinction between a settler colonial people who went to create their own self-sufficient agricultural economy, as the South African Boers in fact originally did; and a settler colonial people who go over to exploit the indigenous population. I think you would contend that this distinction is being blurred. You would say that, as in South Africa in the 1920's, today what is happening to the Israeli working class is that it is becoming increasingly a superexploitative privileged caste.

SHAHAK: Exactly. With one distinction: that this is not a local phenomenon. Israel with its working class, if it is producing weapons, has a global role. I agree with you completely in what you say. After all, I read *Workers Vanguard* every week, with a great amount of agreement, as you know. But it is now changing very rapidly, especially from 1974 to 1977, and in my opinion this is a preparation of Israeli Jewish society for a new role, that of the ruler of much bigger areas in the Middle East. Especially important is how the army is being changed from a volunteer force to professionals, which for me is very conclusive. South Africa, after all, doesn't think about war in the near future—with armies, not guerrilla forces—but Israel does. I think that Israel is being prepared to rule big areas in the Middle East in a much more direct manner than it has been doing up to now. I am speaking essentially about Jordan and to a great extent about Syria.

First of all it needs to be said that there is no doubt that Begin's Israel intends to conquer Jordan and to keep it. You know what the [Zionist] Revisionist position on Jordan is: they still sing the hymn, "The Jordan River has two banks, one is ours and so is the other." There are also very strong strategic grounds for conquering Jordan. It would make a truly Greater Israel, with only two fronts, north and south. The desert to the east doesn't count. They are not worrying any more now about the subjugation of a large number of Arabs.

WV: But at the same time that this is happening—unlike in South Africa, which compacted itself in a period of capitalist expansion—in fact the Israeli economy has been in a deep crisis since the last war and there has been enormous slashing in terms of various social welfare programs, an enormous rise in the cost of living. This seems incompatible with the creation of some kind of white privileged Rhodesia, where everyone has a swimming pool. That doesn't seem to be the fate of the Israeli working class right now.

Micha Bar-Am/New York Times

Palestinians from the Gaza Strip wait for trucks that take them to work in Israel.

SHAHAK: Not now because they do not have enough slaves. All that you said was slashed is true. You could add the enormous foreign debt. But you also have to add to this that Israel didn't carry out and didn't attempt to carry out—even under Begin—any of the normal capitalistic remedies for economic crisis. And, in fact, in Israel there is no unemployment—neither for Jews nor for Palestinians, neither in Israel nor in conquered territory. It means, in my opinion, that they are playing economic roulette for big stakes. Otherwise, being what they are, they would have employed the normal capitalist remedies, which they have not. After all Begin is not so stupid as to go blindfolded into bankruptcy. Rabin had a government with stupid men, mainly quarreling among themselves. But not Begin. If you had economic problems and inflation under Rabin, under Begin it is worse. Begin is printing *more* money than Rabin; he has 60 percent inflation instead of 38 percent. Why is he doing it?

I can add something else: that Begin can probably buy peace by restoring some conquered territories, let's say, to Jordan. I am not thinking about the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Convicted Killer Cops at Large in Houston

There is a gang of convicted killers on the loose. They are Houston cops, and their crime is so unspeakably brutal that the capitalist state's legal cover-up cannot silence the demand for justice that has arisen from the city's Chicano neighborhoods. The furor has focused national attention on a police force notorious for infiltration by the Ku Klux Klan and for its routine brutalization of black and Mexican American minorities.

As a result of the outcry, the federal government brought four of the killer cops to court October 28 where they pleaded "not guilty" to charges of "violating the civil rights" of Joe Campos Torres. Two of the murderers had already been convicted by an all-white Huntsville, Texas jury on October 7. The charge, however, was that of "negligent homicide," a misdemeanor. For this the cops were sentenced to one year and fined—at first report $1 apiece, and subsequently $2,000. The jury then suspended both fines and sentences and placed the cops on probation.

Militant

Houston cop wearing klan hood covers badge as he leaves patrol car.

Just how cheap is the life of a Chicano in capitalist America? A one dollar misdemeanor? A "violation of civil rights"? The cold-blooded murder of Joe Campos Torres was far more sinister than that. Even in this racist society where police terror has become a way of death and fear for ghetto residents, this killing is startling in its bare facts.

According to eyewitness testimony, six cops beat and kicked Torres, a 27-year-old Chicano, in the early morning hours last May 6. Then they brought him to the police station, but he was so badly beaten that the desk sergeant suggested they take him to a hospital. Instead the cops tossed him off a 30-foot pier into Buffalo Bayou, one of the policemen reportedly saying, "Let's see if this wetback can swim" (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 November).

The beating and even murder of Mexican Americans by the cops is not an unusual occurrence in the Southwest. Racism and chauvinist hysteria whipped up against "illegal aliens" have made this sort of brutality the rule. Even the mayor of Houston, Fred Hofheinz, says, "Our police department is white supremacist." He adds that the Torres killing "indicates to me that this kind of thing—perhaps throwing [Mr. Torres] in the bayou—is the practice rather than the exception."

What is unusual is that one of the cops who participated in the murder broke the code of "protective silence" and turned himself and the others in. An attorney involved in the case reportedly said of the rookie cop, "If that kid hadn't cracked, nobody would ever have thought twice about it." But he did "crack," and once that happened it was difficult to handle this "incident" in the same old way.

This is Carter's America with all its hypocritical talk about "human rights." While police benevolent associations, district attorneys and law-and-order state legislators cry out for the mandatory death penalty for convicted killers of cops, they offer the cops a $2,000 hunting license on the ghetto poor. There are 52 prisoners on death row in Texas prisons, mainly black and Chicano. The state will legally execute them in the electric chair while trigger-happy police step up their own "executions" on the streets. At the Torres murder trial one of the killer cops explained to the all-white jury the need to "educate" Chicanos with "street justice"!

The federal court trial for "violations of civil rights" will not put a stop to the traffic ticket "punishment" which is the *maximum* that has been meted out to the few cops who are caught. (Most get off scot-free). It can only be imagined what the State of Texas would do to six Chicanos convicted of beating and drowning a Houston policeman! The kill-crazy cops will never get what they richly deserve from the courts of the bourgeois state, whose paid enforcers they are.

The family of Joe Campos Torres, and other families of the numerous other recent victims of these bloodthirsty, blue-uniformed menaces, should serve as the jury. That kind of justice, however, awaits the day when victorious proletarian revolution destroys the hideous marketplace of racist, capitalist "justice" where the lives of the poor and oppressed are bought for a pittance and contemptuously thrown away. Get this gang of killer cops off the streets! Jail the murderers of Torres now! ■

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LOS ANGELES

WV Photo

Demonstration in July outside hearings on Medicare funding for abortions at the Boston State House.

Labor Must Act

Oppose Abortion Fund Cut-Off in Massachusetts!

BOSTON—Taking their cue from this summer's near-total cutoff of federal funds for abortions, state legislatures across the country have passed similar measures that would prevent state money from being used to finance abortions for poor women and public employees. Frustrated by a gubernatorial veto of such a bill, the Massachusetts legislature opted for a particularly slimy legal maneuver, attaching an anti-abortion rider to a supplementary budget bill that includes $17.5 million in scheduled pay raises for state employees.

The legislators' attempt to use the public sector unions as a pawn in their reactionary crusade has rankled state workers, and 3,000 of them rallied at the state house in Boston on November 1. The demonstration, organized by the Massachusetts Alliance of state workers unions, included contingents from SEIU Locals 509 and 285 and nearly 50 AFSCME locals, as well as supporters from the Massachusetts Teachers Association and other public employees unions. Spontaneous chants of "strike, strike!" reflected the anger of the rank and file.

The timid Alliance bureaucrats, however, dissipated this militant spirit into futile lobbying expeditions and, worse yet, completely ducked the key issue of abortion rights. Despite the fact that the Doyle-Flynn anti-abortion rider would take away contractual medical coverage of abortion costs for state employees (as well as state Medicaid funds for the poor), the Alliance flyer says that: "State workers are not concerned with any amendments to the bill." Alliance chairman Tom Sharkey emphasized this cowardly position when he told reporters that he wanted Governor Michael Dukakis to "veto any issue he thinks is distasteful to him" and sign the remainder of the bill.

In the wake of the frenzied anti-busing mobilization that has put large sections of Boston "off-limits" for blacks, abortion has become a new target for reaction. In Massachusetts, as in Washington, the driving force in the anti-abortion campaign is none other than the Democratic Party, the party of black liberals, bourgeois feminists and labor reformists. On June 20 the Supreme Court opened the door by ruling that states were not constitutionally required to fund abortions for poor women. By month's end, the Court had vacated a district court's order restraining enforcement of last year's Hyde amendment cutting off federal funds for abortions except when a woman's life is endangered; Carter has openly solidarized with this vicious attack on democratic rights of women ("as you know, there are many things in life that are not fair"); and both the House and Senate had passed new versions of the Hyde amendment. While Senatorial liberals like Kennedy, Church, Muskie and Humphrey left their mark in provisions allowing federally funded abortions in cases of rape or incest or when "medically necessary," their collusion with the ultra-reactionary "right-to-lifers" was exposed by their votes against a motion that would have lifted all restrictions on the use of Medicaid funds to pay for poor women's abortions.

The mammoth political power of the Catholic Church in Massachuetts has largely shaped the contours of the local fight over abortion rights. All four Massachusetts bishops have "urged" their parish priests to sermonize against abortion. One pro-abortion senator was denounced as "a murderer" from the pulpit in her own parish. Thousands of dollars are funneled weekly into the anti-abortion war chest from the collection plate.

The current debate typically finds the notoriously corrupt Massachusetts legislature (whose former Senate majority leader was convicted of extortion this spring) sounding like a catechism class. One of the co-sponsors of both the original bill and the budget rider, State Representative Charles Doyle (an opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment), recently told an interviewer:

> "I feel I'm doing God's work on abortion. I would happily die to save the lives of the unborn children. That would be a perfect act of charity. A person who commits a perfect act of charity is assured of going to heaven."
> —*Boston Globe*, 21 September

Doyle's cohort is fellow Democrat Raymond Flynn of South Boston, a

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Victory to Yale Campus Workers Strike!

The thousands of Yale and Harvard alumni who attended "The Game" last week in New Haven crossed a picket line in order to participate in their cherished annual event. For since September 29, 1,400 cafeteria and service workers in Local 35 of the Federation of University Employees at Yale have been on strike for higher wages and for job security. Now the Yale University workers strike is again in the news as Spanish Communist Party leader Santiago Carrillo crossed picket lines this week to spend several days on campus as a "Chubb Fellow."

To the generally affluent alumni the picket lines were perhaps a minor irritant on Saturday. As the varsity coach put it, "It would be a shame if [the strike] did anything to affect a traditional game like this" (*Harvard Crimson*, 11 November). But to the members of Local 35, the issues behind the strike are vital. Behind the university's intransigence lies the intention to destroy their union.

The last offer by Yale to Local 35 was made on September 22, before the strike began. This proposal called for a supposed 12 to 22 percent wage increase over three years. But hidden behind these numbers, which Yale has well publicized, was a large amount of gimmickry. Of the entire Local only 34 workers were to receive the 22 percent increase, while 1,000 were to receive less than 16 percent. Furthermore the calculated increases were based on July 1 wages. Subtracting a July 9 cost-of-living increase, the actual proposed wage offer averages out to a 15-cent-per-hour increase per worker over three years (*Village Voice*, 14 November). When the union rejected this sham offer, the university broke off negotiations. No talks have been held since the beginning of the strike.

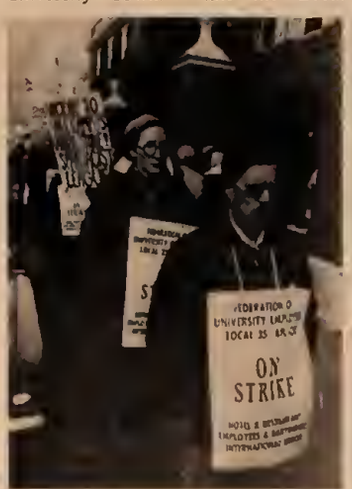
For a number of years Yale has sought to fill workers' jobs with students, and since 1971 400 full-time blue-collar workers have been replaced by part-time student help. At present 300 of these student-workers are in the union (and on strike). But while they are paid at union scale, these part-timers do not receive such "fringe" benefits as medical care and pensions. By hiring students Yale can chip away at such vital union contract gains and, ultimately, as the student component of the workforce grows, the viability of Local 35 as a union diminishes.

Also feeding Yale's tough union-busting stance is old-fashioned academic politics. Anna Gray, the university provost, is acting president while a replacement is found for Kingman Brewster, Carter's new ambassador to Great Britain. The consensus on the campus is that Gray aspires to the presidency and knows well that breaking the union would score points with well-heeled Yale alumni.

These alumni have been rather disenchanted with the university's "liberal" reputation, acquired during the Brewster and William Sloan Coffin era in the days when the campus reverberated with demonstrations against the Vietnam war and in support of the Black Panther Party. A recent $400 million fund-raising effort has faltered, and Brewster has publicly, albeit semi-seriously, attributed this to himself. Gray would no doubt like to prove herself a better fund-raiser.

Finally, the university feels it can survive a long strike better than its workers, who must subsist on weekly strike benefits of $30 each. As Donald Stevens, the chief negotiator for Yale, smugly put it, "Yale isn't a business, we are not losing income; we're just losing services. We're ready to sit out a long strike."

There is more than a little truth behind Steven's obscene arrogance, for campus workers do not have the social weight of an industrial proletariat. To be successful a campus workers strike must utilize militant tactics and mobilize widespread support to shut the university down. While the Local



WV Photo

Pickets of the Federation of University Employees at Yale University.

leadership is in an excellent position to enlist such support (union business agent Vincent Sirabella is also head of the New Haven Central Labor Council) it has consistently led the union in precisely the opposite direction. Thus the 1971 and 1974 strikes were called to coincide with the students' summer vacation. And although the current strike does occur at the beginning of the school year, it has been run half-heartedly since the very beginning.

Thus the union leadership was prepared to accept Yale's outrageous offer for the first year of the three-year contract, and it was only the administration's refusal to go for this deal which forced the Local out on the streets. During the strike the university has been allowed to function as usual. While upper-classmen's dining halls are closed, the largest dining hall, the Yale Commons, remains open. Classes have not been disrupted.

Several recent developments point to the growing anger within the union ranks as the strike drags on. A group of Ivy League freshman vigilantes had formed a "Break-the-Strike Unit" which made a point of swaggering ostentatiously across picket lines at the Commons. Last week one of these punks received 25 stitches for his efforts. Moreover the Sirabella leadership, no doubt in response to the ranks' growing restiveness, has announced plans to picket all but one of Yale's major power plants—something that should have been done weeks ago. If such pickets are really set up, the level of struggle could intensify sharply, as happened in 1971 when workers and students attempted

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Carrillo...

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ol "human rights" is simply pandering to the imperialist hourgeoisie. This was Carrillo's hig chance to court Jimmy Carter and gain respectability at home. He wasn't about to hlow it by respecting the strike of some "unimportant" group ol workers.

Approximately 70 supporters of the predominantly black and Spanish-speaking Local picketed the Master's House of Yale's Timothy Dwight College where Carrillo stayed as the guest of the struck university. Initially hoping to avoid the strikers he snuck in during the night and held a press conference in an adjacent building today. Boos, jeers and cries of "scab" accompanied reporters and dignitaries who crossed the line, ushered in by University police. To their credit, an NBC television crew refused to cross.

Following Carrillo's meeting with reporters, in which he said that capitalism is "neither an evil nor a good," but rather a step in the natural evolution of social systems, he brazenly emerged from behind the ivy-covered walls and an iron fence, smirking amidst his police escort. Apparently enjoying the notoriety of strikebreaking at one of the most elite institutions in the U.S., Carrillo sauntered into the street and was instantly surrounded by incensed, shouting workers. The cops ushered him into another courtyard of the struck university, and he appeared on the next hlock moments later, where furious strikers again greeted him. Carrillo finally disappeared into the Beinecke Library where tunnels assured him of a stealthy escape.

Reportedly, Carrillo claimed that he was picketed because of his Communist Party membership, but Sirabella vehemently denied this. "It hasn't anything to do with communism at all," he said. "We're picketing him because he's a laker, one who supposedly pretends to he a leader of workers. He spit in our faces this morning by crossing the picket line. That's the issue." Despite the pickets' anger, no anti-communist remarks were heard during the protest. And as the Stalinist traitor sought to flee the piekets, a Spartacist League (SL) supporter on the line shouted after him, "Real communists don't scab!"

In an effort to defend Carrillo, journalists from the liheral Madrid *Diario 16* and the Spanish New Agency asked Sirabella if the University Employees was an anti-communist union. Although he is a business unionist who once ran as a Democrat for mayor of New Haven, Sirahella pointed to the hroad political support the strike has received. "We welcome anybody to help us. There are all kinds of people on the picket line. American Communists were here this morning as well as other groups. We welcome their support of our picket line."

Indeed, on the lines with the 50 or more strikers were several Trotskyists from the SL, carrying the signs in Spanish and English proclaiming "Trabajadores de la Universidad Yale en huelga—¡No pasen!" ("Yale Campus Workers on Strike—Don't Cross!") and "Carrillo—Dirigente obrero vendido, esquirol en huelga de Yale" ("Labor Faker Carrillo Scabs on Yale Strike"). In addition, a dozen members of the Student Strike Support Committee and also four shamefaced members of the U.S. Communist Party (CP) marched in protest against Carrillo's scab speaking engagement.

Rank-and-file workers were equally disgusted with the PCE leader's action. A black woman told *WV*, "I don't think that anyone that's for the working people ever should cross picket lines." A cafeteria cook wearing a "Go to hell, Yale" hutton described the miserable wages paid by the university and angrily echoed the same sentiments. When Carrillo sent a representative out to ask Sirabella in to meet with him, the Local 35 official retorted that at least ten people had informed him that Yale was struck. "If Santiago Carrillo wants to sit in bed with the Yale capitalists and those who are trying to crush the workers, that's his decision." The union had cabled the PCE in Madrid ten days ago asking that their picket lines be honored, but the response was Carrillo's scabbing.

By crossing the Yale workers' picket lines, Carrillo joins former New York City mayor John Lindsay, mayor Kenneth Gihson of Newark and Puerto Rican governor Richard Cooper, all of whom have crossed the lines during this strike. When Cooper crossed the lines at the Harvard-Yale football game last Saturday, his flustered chauffeur

WV Photo

SL sign says: "Labor Faker Carrillo Scabs on Yale Strike."

crashed into a lamppost after the governor was doused with beer and spit on by angry strike supporters. The tradition of respecting picket lines is still strong enough, however, that even Zionist leader Golda Meir and American Democrats such as U.S. senator McGovern, labor secretary Marshall and Chicago mayor Bilandic have felt compelled to refuse to come to Yale in order to maintain their counterfeit "friends of labor" credentials. But not Santiago Carrillo. Sirabella likened the PCE leader to German Social Democratic Party leader Willy Brandt who scabbed on Local 35's strike in 1974.

At the press conference Carrillo remarked in response to a question about his scabbing: "That a Communist

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like myself can speak in the United States means ..that human rights are really being extended and that the most diverse voices can be heard." In addition to draping himself with the banner of Jimmy Carter's fundamentally anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign, Carrillo tried to exude sympathy for the strikers: "I want to say that I feel solidarity with the demands of the workers who are on strike here." But still he crossed the picket lines.

Trying to justify this treachery, the PCE leader tried to hait the strikers as anti-communists. "In Spain," he said, "the feeling is that the American labor movement is more to the right than the Spanish right," adding that U.S. unions did not oppose the Vietnam war. By writing off American workers as "to the right" of the Francoist butchers and identifying them with the pro-imperialist union tops, Carrillo simply gives ammunition to the Meanyite labor bureaucracy. No doubt the AFL-CIO will soon hypocritically denounce all leftists as would-be strikebreakers in Carrillo's image.

The U.S. Communist Party was more than a little embarrassed by Carrillo's scabbing. The two CP supporters on the picket line carried signs reading, "We support Yale strikers. Don't cross their picket lines." They were signed "Communist Party of Connecticut" in nearly invisible ballpoint ink. The Kremlin-loyal CPUSA sought to distance itself from "Eurocommunist" scab Carrillo but used the same classless language of "human rights," indicating their fundamental identity. A CP press release stated:

> "Yale is dragging its feet at the expense of the human rights of the workers at the university.... We in the Communist Party of the United States view our task as helping unions, not breaking unions...."

Local Communist Party spokesman Joelle Fishman also said that CPUSA general secretary Gus Hall telegrammed Carrillo last week "informing him that a strike is in progress at Yale." She also claimed that any member of the CPUSA who scabbed would be chucked out of the party.

This is so much hot air. During World War II when Stalin called on the Western CPs to subordinate everything to the "anti-fascist war," the American Stalinists supported the CIO no-strike pledge. CPUSA leader William Z. Foster actually toured the coalfields in 1943 and 1944 recruiting scabs to break the strikes called by maverick Mine Workers leader John L. Lewis. As for the PCE, its record of scabbing was despicable even before it took up "Eurocommunism." In May 1937 the Spanish Stalinists engineered the provocations which led to the bloody suppression of Barcelona workers by Republican troops.

As Carrillo continues his scabbing for "human rights," he only proves that all varieties of reformism—whether social-democratic, Moscow-line Stalinist or "Eurocommunist" ultimately serve the bourgeoisie. The workers at Yale will not soon forget this strikebreaking treachery, and it should be publicized internationally as well to scandalize these "Communist" flunkies for Jimmy Carter and Spanish king Juan Carlos. ■

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Stop the Scabs!

For Mass Picketing in Oakland Teachers Strike!

OAKLAND, November 15—The strike by over 3,000 teachers, librarians, nurses and counselors at the Oakland Unified School District is about to enter its third week. This teachers' strike, the first in Oakland's history, was voted at a mass meeting held on November 2, at which teachers rejected a school board offer of a 6 percent wage increase for the first year of a proposed two-year contract.

Since 1973 salary increases for Oakland teachers have totaled only 11.5 percent. The Oakland Education Association (OEA), which represents the majority of the striking teachers, entered the strike calling for a 15 percent wage hike for the current year. Among other demands of the strikers are the maintenance of Blue Cross coverage, establishment of a grievance procedure, extension of preparation periods, reduction of class size and more equipment materials and teaching supplies.

Although the November 2 strike vote was close (1,162 to 782), reflecting the initial anti-strike stance of the United Teachers of Oakland/American Federation of Teachers (UTO/AFT) Local 771, which also represents some of the teachers, the walkout has so far been solid. From the outset, however, the Oakland city government has been determined to break the strike and has tried to keep the schools open with scab "substitute teachers." By offering $100 for the first day of scabbing and $80 a day thereafter, the union-busting school board has managed to mass a force of over 1,600 scabs.

Meanwhile the board quickly settled with over 1,100 secretaries and clerks of the Oakland School Employees Association, granting them a 6.7 percent wage increase and promising to tie their wage increase to that won by the teachers if the teachers win a higher increase. The services of these workers now scabbing on the strike are vital to the school administrators, not only because they handle the recruiting and assigning of scab teachers but also because they tabulate the daily attendance figures used to determine state funding of the schools. If the schools were completely closed the city would lose all state funds—several hundred thousand dollars daily—and be under enormous pressure to settle the strike.

The other problem with the city government's anti-strike offensive has been a nauseating anti-union propaganda barrage. The population of Oakland is largely proletarian and in its majority black and Chicano. Two-thirds of the students in the Oakland Unified School District are black. The city school system is the worst in the state of California and one of the worse in the nation. Yet the capitalists and their government responsible for these conditions suddenly have begun to worry about the plight of "children being denied their education."

WV Photo

Oakland teachers picket at Castlemont High School, November 4.

A particularly despicable anti-strike role has been played by liberal black "community leaders." Alphonso Galloway, executive director of the Oakland NAACP, Larry Joyner of the Oakland Citizens' Committee for Urban Renewal and various ministers are trying to set up "neighborhood watchers" to report "violence or vandalism" by strikers. Claiming concern that "the district's many minority children would be the ones who suffer most from a strike since they are generally the farthest behind," they have sided with the very people responsible for making the Oakland schools the hell holes that they are.

Ruth Love, the arrogant anti-union superintendent of the Oakland Unified School District, has become the darling of black community "leaders" and the Hearst-dominated Oakland media. She has ambitions of becoming chief of the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington, D.C. Love clearly hopes that anti-union racist Jimmy Carter will be impressed with the strikebreaking austerity campaign she is waging against the Oakland teachers (41 percent of whom are themselves non-white) and students.

Lionel Wilson, the first black mayor of Oakland, has played a similarly slimy role, demanding that the teachers return to work while the disputed issues are submitted to "fact finding." Wilson's loyal ally, the pro-Democratic Party Black Panther Party, also opposes the strike.

An interesting sidelight to the strike is an instance of scabbing on the part of the "Fight Don't Starve Committee" led by Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML, formerly the October League). The Committee actually held a meeting November 5 in Havenscourt Junior High School, a struck school. Confronted by Spartacist League (SL) supporters who urged them to hold their meeting elsewhere, "Fight Don't Starve" members cynically excused their scabbing. "This is what's wrong with education in Oakland today—these teachers going out on strike," said one committee member. A CPMLer opined, "This meeting has nothing to do with the strike. The building is not on strike, the teachers are...it's not a factory."

Fortunately, the pro-scabbing mentality of the CPML is not widespread. The strike enjoys broad support among parents, many of them union members, and their children. Despite the massive number of scab "substitutes" attendance hovers at the 50 percent mark.

The city is desperately trying to maintain that the schools are running normally. However, conditions in the schools are far from "normal." Describing the situation at a junior high school on the first day of the strike, a striker told *WV*, "The principal stupidly tried to conduct classes without enough scabs. When he opened the classrooms, pro-strike students ransacked a few of them. In a panic the principal ordered the scabs to herd the students who had not already left school into the cafeteria. They then proceeded to lock the students in the cafeteria and snack bar!" Resenting being treated like criminals, hundreds of students broke out of confinement and joined the other students outside. Soon the Oakland cops arrived. They told the students to go back inside, that there was a slight problem. All the doors were locked and the principal dared not open them.

Scabbing on the strike can and must be stopped. Mass picketing at scab-infested schools backed by pro-strike parents and students along with solidarity by the Bay Area labor movement would quickly bring the school board to its knees. However, the OEA leadership has kept the strikers busy blowing off steam with almost daily rallies and occasional marches through downtown Oakland.

Bureaucratic infighting between the OEA and UTO/AFT is also crippling the strike. The UTO, having last May lost a representation election by a 55 to 45 percent margin, does not want to be frozen out by the OEA winning a three-year contract with the school district. At the strike vote meeting, UTO attempted to avert a strike by putting forward a "fact-finding" motion as provided under the anti-teacher no-strike Rodda Act. Since then UTO, which is affiliated to the Alameda County Central Labor Council, has dragged its feet on getting that body to support the strike, pointing out that strike sanction could only be

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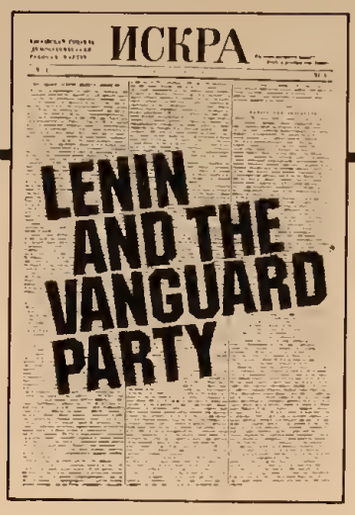
WV Photo

Maoist CPML holds meeting at school building struck by Oakland teachers.

The Struggle Against the Boycotters



PART FIVE

To understand the principle of the communist vanguard party, it is necessary to recognize the evolution of Lenin from a revolutionary social democrat to the founding leader of the Communist International. Various revisionists, notably the British workerist-reformist Tony Cliff, have attempted to deny or obfuscate the principle of the democratic-centralist vanguard party by pointing to those element of classic social democracy retained by the pre-1914 Bolsheviks and conditioned by the particularities of the Russian situation. This series seeks to trace the development of Lenin's position on the party question. The first part (WV No. 173, 16 September) focused on the Kautskyan doctrine of the "party of the whole class" and its relevance to early Russian social democracy. Part 2 (WV No. 175, 30 September) covered the 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik split and its aftermath. Part 3 (WV No. 177, 14 October) dealt with the 1905 Revolution. Part 4 (WV No. 176, 21 October) dealt with democratic centralism and "freedom of criticism."

The Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP), held in London in May 1907, was almost evenly divided between the Bolsheviks with 89 delegate votes and the Mensheviks with 88. At the Fourth Congress a year earlier three associated parties –the Jewish Bund, Latvian Social Democrats and Luxemburg/Jogiches' Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL) –had been incorporated into the RSDRP on a semi-federated basis. At the Fifth Congress the Bund had 54 delegate votes, the Latvian Social Democrats 26 and the SDKPiL 45.

In the course of a year's sharp factional struggle against the Mensheviks' liberal tailism and pro-Constitutional Democrat (Kadet) policy, the Bolsheviks had overcome their minority position within the Russian social-democratic movement. However, now the factional leadership of the RSDRP depended upon the three "national" social-democratic parties. The Bund consistently supported the Mensheviks. The Lettish Social Democrats generally supported the Bolsheviks, but sometimes mediated between the two hostile Russian groups. It was through the support of Rosa Luxemburg's SDKPiL that Lenin attained a majority at the Fifth Congress and in the leading bodies of the RSDRP for the next five years. The Lenin-Luxemburg bloc of 1906-11 is significant not only in its actual historic effect, but also because it reveals the relationship between *evolving* Leninism and this most consistent and important representative of pre-1914 revolutionary social democracy.

The decisive issue at the Fifth Congress was the attitude toward bourgeois liberalism, and specifically electoral support to the Kadet Party. With the support of the Letts and Poles (and also the left-wing Trotsky/Parvus group among the Mensheviks), the Bolshevik line carried; the congress condemned the Kadets:

> "The parties of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie, headed by the Constitutional Democratic Party [Kadets], have now definitely turned aside from the revolution and endeavor to halt it through a deal with the counter-revolution...."
>
> Robert H. McNeal, ed., *Decisions and Resolutions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1974)

Another resolution instructed the RSDRP Duma fraction to oppose "the treacherous policy of bourgeois liberalism which, under the slogan 'Safeguard the Duma,' in fact sacrifices the popular interests to the Black Hundreds" (*ibid.*). A few months after the congress, a party conference decided to run independent RSDRP candidates in the upcoming Duma elections and to support no other parties.

While the Lettish and Polish Social Democrats supported the general Bolshevik line at the Fifth Congress, they also moderated Lenin's fight against the Mensheviks. They voted against Lenin's motion to condemn the Menshevik majority of the outgoing Central Committee. The defection of the Latvian Social Democrats and the SDKPiL also accounted for Lenin's only serious defeat at the 1907 RSDRP congress. The congress voted overwhelmingly to oppose the Bolsheviks' "fighting operations" for "seizing funds" of the tsarist government.

During this period the Mensheviks' attack on the Leninists centered on these armed expropriations. Their near-hysterical reaction to the Bolsheviks' expropriations flowed from its shocking impact on bourgeois liberal respectability. Also the expropriations gave the Bolsheviks a financial superiority over the Mensheviks. In condemning the Bolsheviks' expropriation of government funds, the Mensheviks were convinced that they had unimpeachable social-democratic orthodoxy on their side.

The Bolsheviks, however, did not face the normal situation in which such robbery would immediately trigger the repressive apparatus of an overwhelmingly powerful and centralized state. Neither did they risk the condemnation of workers who might think they were mere criminals in political garb. Nor did the Bolsheviks maintain these expropriations as a "strategy" to be carried out over an extended period with the likely result of degeneration into lumpen criminal activity.

Lenin believed that there was a continuing revolutionary situation, in which the mass of workers and peasants were actively hostile to tsarist legality. The Bolsheviks' expropriations were concentrated in the Caucasus, where armed peasant and nationalist bands regularly challenged tsarist authorities. Lenin regarded the expropriations as one of several guerrilla tactics in the course of a revolutionary civil war. The Bolshevik-Menshevik dispute over armed expropriations was thus inextricably bound up with their fundamental difference over the political and military vanguard role of the proletarian party in the revolution to overthrow the autocracy.

Lenin's position on armed expropriations was presented in a resolution for the Fourth Congress held in April 1906. He continued to uphold this position through 1907:

> "Whereas:
> (1) scarcely anywhere in Russia since the December uprising has there been a complete cessation of hostilities, which the revolutionary people are now conducting in the form of sporadic guerrilla attacks upon the enemy.... We are of the opinion, and propose that the Congress should agree....
> (4) that fighting operations are also permissible for the purpose of seizing funds belonging to the enemy, i.e., the autocratic government, to meet the needs of insurrection, particular care being taken that the interests of the people are infringed as little as possible...."
>
> "A Tactical Platform for the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P." (March 1906)

Tsarist Reaction and the Ultra-Left Bolsheviks

Shortly after the Fifth RSDRP Congress, in June 1907 the reactionary tsarist minister Stolypin executed a coup against the Duma. The Duma was dissolved and a new (Third) Duma proclaimed on the basis of a far less democratic electoral system. In addition, the social-democratic deputies were arrested and charged with fomenting mutiny in the armed forces.

Stolypin's coup marked the definitive end of the 1905 revolutionary period. The victory of tsarist reaction opened up a new, and in one sense final, phase in the Bolshevik-Menshevik conflict, over the need to reestablish the underground as the party's basic organizational structure. The onset of reaction also produced a very sharp division within the Bolshevik camp between Leninism and ultra-leftism, a factional struggle which had to be resolved before the historically far more significant conflict with Menshevism could be fought to a finish.

The conflict between Lenin and the ultra-left Bolsheviks centered on participation in the reactionary tsarist parliamentary body. Behind this difference lay Lenin's recognition that a reactionary period had set in, requiring a tactical retrenchment by the revolutionary party. The first battle occurred at a July 1907 RSDRP conference to determine policy for the upcoming Duma elections. Lenin still believed that Russia was passing through a general revolutionary period but regarded boycotting the elections as tactically unjustifiable:

> "Whereas,
> (1) active boycott, as the experience of the Russian revolution has shown, is correct tactics on the part of the Social-Democrats only under conditions of a sweeping, universal, and rapid upswing of the revolution, developing into an armed uprising, and only in connection with the ideological aims of the struggle against constitutional illusions arising from the convocation of the first representative assembly by the old regime;
> (2) in the absence of these conditions correct tactics on the part of the revolutionary Social-Democrats calls for participation in the elections, as was the case with the Second Duma, even if

Lenin playing chess with Bogdanov (right) in Capri. Europa Munich

all the conditions of a revolutionary period are present."

"Draft Resolution on Participation in the Elections to the Third Duma" (July 1907)

In presenting this resolution Lenin found himself a minority of one among the nine Bolshevik delegates to the conference. The resolution passed with the votes of the Mensheviks, Bundists and Lettish and Polish Social Democrats; all the Bolsheviks except Lenin voted against.

The Bolshevik boycotters were, to be sure, greatly overrepresented at this particular party gathering. Lenin had significant support for his position among the Bolshevik cadre and ranks and was quickly able to gain more. However, the ultra-left faction of 1907-09 was the most significant challenge to Lenin's leadership of the Bolshevik organization that he ever faced. The ultra-left leaders—Bogdanov (who had been Lenin's chief lieutenant), Lunacharsky, Lyadov, Alexinsky, Krasin—were very prominent Bolsheviks. As likely as not a majority of the Bolshevik ranks supported boycotting the tsarist Duma in this period. Only Lenin's great personal authority prevented the development of an ultra-left faction strong enough to oust him and his supporters from the official Bolshevik center or to engineer a major split.

Lenin was aided in this faction struggle by the heterogeneity of the ultra-left tendency. A not very important tactical question divided the ultra-left Bolsheviks into two distinct groupings, the Otzovists ("Recallists") and the Ultimatists. The Otzovists demanded the immediate, unconditional recall of the RSDRP Duma fraction. The Ultimatists demanded that the Duma fraction be presented with an ultimatum to make inflammatory speeches, which would provoke the tsarist authorities into expelling them from the Duma or worse. In practice, both policies would have had the same effect, and Lenin denied that there was a significant division among his ultra-left opponents.

Lenin's position on the ultra-left faction was presented in resolution form at a June 1909 conference of the expanded editorial board meeting of *Proletary*, a de facto plenum of the Bolshevik central leadership. At this conference Bogdanov was expelled from the Bolshevik organization. The key passages of the resolution state:

"The direct revolutionary struggle of the broad masses was then followed by a severe period of counter-revolution. It became essential for Social-Democrats to adapt their revolutionary tactics to this new situation, and, in connection with this, one of the most exceptionally important tasks became the use of the Duma as an open platform for the purpose of assisting Social-Democratic agitation.

"In this rapid turn of events, however, a section of the workers who had participated in the direct revolutionary struggle was unable to proceed at once to apply revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics in the new conditions of the counter-revolution, and continued simply to repeat slogans which *had been* revolutionary in the period of open civil war, but which now, if merely repeated, might retard the process of closing the ranks of the proletariat in the new conditions of struggle." [emphasis in original]

"On Otzovism and Ultimatumism"

Bogdanov's answer to Lenin is summarized in his 1910 "Letter to All Comrades," a founding document of his own independent group:

"Some people among your representatives in the executive collegium—the Bolshevik Center— who live abroad, have come to the conclusion that we must radically change our previous Bolshevik evaluation of the present historical moment and hold a course not toward a new revolutionary wave, but toward a long period of peaceful, constitutional development. This brings them close to the right wing of our party, the menshevik comrades who always, independently of any evaluation of the political situation, pull toward legal and constitutional forms of activity, toward 'organic work' and 'organic development'."

Robert V. Daniels, ed., *A Documentary History of Communism* (1960)

Bogdanov's phrase about "a long period of peaceful, constitutional development" is ambiguous, perhaps deliberately so. As against many Mensheviks, Lenin did not regard a new revolution as off the agenda for an entire historical epoch, i.e., for several decades. By 1908 he concluded that before another revolutionary upsurge (like that of 1905) there would be a lengthy period in terms of the *working perspectives* of the party and relative to the *past experience and expectations* of the Bolsheviks. 1908 was not 1903. And this reality was precisely what the Otzovists/Ultimatists denied.

Philosophy and Politics

Otzovism/Ultimatism was associated with neo-Kantian idealistic dualism represented by the Austrian physicist-philosopher Ernst Mach, a philosophical doctrine then much in vogue in Central European intellectual circles. Bogdanov's *Empiriomonism* (1905-06) was an ambitious attempt to reconcile Marxism with neo-Kantianism. In 1908 Bogdanov's factional partner Lunacharsky deepened this idealism into outright spiritualism, positing the need for a socialist religion. Lunarcharsky's "god-building" was, needless to say, a great embarrassment for the Bolsheviks as a whole, and even for the Otzovist/Ultimatist faction.

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Anatoly Lunacharsky

Bogdanov's sympathy for neo-Kantian philosophical doctrine was both well-known and long-standing. As long as Bogdanov functioned as Lenin's lieutenant, and did not in himself represent a distinct political tendency, his neo-Kantianism was considered a personal peculiarity among both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks alike. But once Bogdanov became the leader of a distinct and for a time significant tendency in Russian social democracy, his philosophical views became a focus of general political controversy. Plekhanov, in particular, exploited Bogdanovism to attack the Bolshevik program as the product of flagrant subjective idealism. Lenin thus spent much of 1908 researching a major polemic against Bogdanov's neo-Kantianism, *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*, in order to purge Bolshevism of the taint of philosophical idealism.

Lenin's close political collaboration with Bogdanov despite the latter's neo-Kantianism on the one hand, and his massive polemic against Bogdanov's philosophical views on the other, have been used to justify symmetric deviations on this question by ostensible revolutionary Marxists. That the neo-Kantian Bogdanov was an important Bolshevik leader is sometimes cited to argue for an attitude of *indifference* toward dialectical materialism, a belief that the most general or abstract expression of the Marxian world view has no bearing on practical politics and associated organizational affiliation. When he broke with Trotskyism in 1940, the American revisionist Max Shachtman justified a bloc with the anti-dialectician and empiricist James Burnham by citing the "precedent" of Lenin and Bogdanov.

At the other pole, Lenin's major polemic against an opponent's idealistic deviation from Marxism has encouraged a tendency to "deepen" every factional struggle by bringing in philosophical questions—by *reducing* all political differences to *the* question of dialectical materialism. This mixture of pomposity and rational idealism has become a hallmark of the British Healyite group. (The Healy/Banda group has become so outright bizarre that it can no longer be taken seriously, least of all in its philosophical mystifications.)

The Healyites justified their 1972 split from their erstwhile bloc partners, the French neo-Kautskyan Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), by positing the primacy of "philosophy." They appealed to Lenin's 1908 polemic against Bogdanov as orthodox precedent:

"Lenin tirelessly studied the ideas of the new idealists, the neo-Kantians, in philosophy, even during the hardest practical struggle to establish the revolutionary party in Russia. When these ideas, in the form of 'empirio-criticism,' were taken up by a section of the Bolsheviks themselves, Lenin made a specialized study and wrote against them a full-length work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

"Lenin understood very well that the years of extreme hardship and isolation after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution exposed the revolutionary movement to the greatest pressure of the class enemy. He knew that the *most fundamental task* of all was the defence and development of Marxist theory at the most basic level, that of *philosophy*. [our emphasis]

International Committee, *In Defence of Trotskyism* (1973)

This passage is a complete falsification at several levels. To begin with, Lenin's historically more important political struggle in the period of reaction was *not* against Bogdanov's ultra-left Bolsheviks, but against the Menshevik Liquidators. In this latter struggle, philosophical questions played no particular role.

The Healyites also falsify Lenin's relationship with Bogdanov. When Bogdanov became part of the Bolshevik leadership in 1904, he was *already* a well-known neo-Kantian (Machian). Lenin and Bogdanov agreed that the Bolshevik tendency as such would take *no* position on the controversial philosophical issues. Lenin explains this in a letter to Maxim Gorky (25 February 1908) wherein he endorses his past relationship with Bogdanov, despite the latter's philosophical deviation:

"In the summer and autumn of 1904, Bogdanov and I reached a complete agreement, as *Bolsheviks*, and formed the tacit bloc, which tacitly ruled out philosophy as a neutral field, that existed all through the revolution and enabled us in that revolution to carry out together the tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy (= Bolshevism), which, I am profoundly convinced, were the only correct tactics." [emphasis in original]

It was the right-wing Menshevik Plekhanov who brought the question of dialectical materialism versus neo-Kantianism to the forefront in order to discredit and split the revolutionary Bolshevik leadership. In defending the Bolsheviks against Plekhanov, Lenin went so far as to deny that the issue of neo-Kantian revisionism was at all relevant to the revolutionary movement in Russia. At the all-Bolshevik Congress in April 1905, Lenin stated:

"...Plekhanov drags in Mach and Avenarius by the ears. I cannot for the life of me understand what these writers, for whom I have not the slightest sympathy, have to do with the question of social revolution. They wrote on individual and social organization of experience, or some such theme, but they never really gave any thought to the democratic dictatorship."

—"Report on the Question of the Participation of the Social-Democrats in a Provisional Revolutionary Government" (April 1905)

In part as a result of his later fight with Bogdanov, Lenin modified his 1905 position, which drew too arbitrary a line between political and philosophical differences. He came to realize that fundamental differences among Marxists over dialectical materialism will likely produce political divergences. However, for Lenin program remained primary in defining revolutionary politics and associated organizational affiliation. Lenin never repudiated his close collaboration with Bogdanov in 1904-07. And he was absolutely right to ally with the revolutionary social democrat, albeit neo-Kantian, Bogdanov against the pro-liberal social democrat, albeit dialectical materialist, Plekhanov. Only when Bogdanov's neo-Kantian conceptions became associated with a counterposed, anti-Marxist political program did Lenin make the defense of dialectical materialism against philosophical idealism a central political task.

Against the Mystification of Dialectics

The Marxist program as the *scientific* expression of the interests of the working class and of social progress is not derived simply from a subjective desire for a socialist future. The Marxist program necessarily embodies a correct understanding of reality, of which the most general or abstract expression is dialectical materialism. However, as Marx himself wrote in 1877 to the Russian populist journal, *Otechestvennye Zapiski*, he does *not* offer "a general historico-philosophical theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being supra-historical" (Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence* [1975]). Dialectical materialism is a *conceptual framework* which permits, but does *not* guarantee, a scientific understanding of society in its concrete historical develop-

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The Struggle Against the Boycotters...

(continued from page 7)

ment. In other words, an understanding of the dialectical nature of social reality guides a complex of historical generalizations (e.g., that the state apparatus under capitalism cannot be reformed into an organ of socialist administration, that in this epoch a collectivist economic system represents the social dominance of the proletariat) which underlies the Marxist programmatic principles.

The Healyite mystification of the Marxist attitude toward philosophy is a product of their degeneration into a bizarre leader-cult. In the early 1960's Healy's Socialist Labour League understood that dialectical materialism was nothing other than a generalized expression of a unitary world-view, and not an abstract schema or method existing independently of empirical reality. Cliff Slaughter's 1962-63 articles of Lenin's 1914-15 studies of Hegel, reprinted in 1971 as a pamphlet, *Lenin on Dialectics*, contain a trenchant attack upon the idealization of dialectics:

> "Lenin lays great stress on Hegel's insistence that Dialectics is not a master-key, a sort of set of magic numbers by which all secrets will be revealed. It is wrong to think of dialectical logic as something that is complete in itself and then 'applied' to particular examples. It is not a model of interpretation to be learned, then fitted on to reality from the outside; the task is rather to uncover the law of development of the reality itself....
>
> "The science of society founded by Marx has no room for philosophy as such, for the idea of independently moving thought, with a subject-matter and development of its own, independent of reality but sometimes descending to impinge upon it."

Slaughter then quotes Marx's judgment on a concept of philosophy in *The German Ideology*: "When reality is depicted, philosophy as an independent branch of activity loses its medium of existence."

But by the late 1960's the Healyites had "rediscovered" a medium of existence for philosophy as an independent theory. Dialectical materialism was presented with much fanfare as "the theory of knowledge of Marxism," as an expression of the philosophical category known as epistemology. Thus in a collection of documents on the split with the OCI (*Break With Centrism!* [1973]), we read:

> "What was most essential in the preparation of the sections was to develop dialectical materialism in a struggle to understand and to transform the consciousness of the working class in the changing objective conditions. This means the understanding and development of dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism....
>
> "We are certainly saying that dialectical materialism is the theory of knowledge of Marxism, of the path of struggle from error to truth—not to a 'final' truth, but continually making advances through contradictory struggle to real knowledge of the objective world...."

This Healyite notion of dialectical materialism is both enormously restrictive and is an idealization of knowledge. There is no valid, separate theory of knowledge. At the level of individual cognition, a theory of knowledge is derived from biological and psychological scientific investigation. At the level of social consciousness, a theory of knowledge is a constituent part of an understanding of historically specific social relations. Thus, central to the Marxist understanding of knowledge is the concept of false consciousness, the *necessary* distortion of reality associated with various social roles.

The traditional philosophical category of epistemology (in both its empiricist and rationalist forms), by separating the conscious subject from nature and society, is itself an ideological expression of false consciousness. Dialectical materialism criticizes the various traditional concepts of epistemology as well as other philosophical concepts and categories. But Marxism does not criticize traditional philosophy by positing itself as a new, alternative philosophy, which likewise exists independently of a scientific (i.e., empirically verifiable) understanding of nature and society.

The Healyite mystification of dialectical materialism—"the path of struggle from error to truth"—is primarily a justification for the infallibility of a leader-cult. The program, analyses, tactics and projections of the Healyite leadership are thus held to be exempt from empirical verification. For example, to this day the Healyites claim that Cuba is capitalist! Critics and oppositionists are told that they don't understand reality; this capacity being monopolized by the leadership, which alone has mastered the dialectical method. The similarity between the Healyite view of dialectics and religious mysticism is not coincidental.

To summarize, the systematic rejection of dialectical materialism (e.g., Bogdanov, Burnham) must lead sooner or later to a break with the scientific Marxist program. But to believe à la Healy that every serious political difference within a revolutionary party can or should be reduced to antagonistic philosophical concepts is a species of rational idealism. Such philosophical reductionism denies that political differences commonly arise from the diverse social pressures and influences that bear down upon the revolutionary vanguard and its component parts, and also differences in evaluating empirical conditions and possibilities.

Significance of the Struggle Against Otzovism/Ultimatumism

The end of the factional struggle between the Leninists and Otzovists/Ultimatists occurred at the previously mentioned June 1909 conference of the expanded editorial board of *Proletary*. The conference resolved that Bolshevism "has nothing in common with otzovism and ultimatumism, and that the Bolshevik wing of the Party must most resolutely combat these deviations from revolutionary Marxism." When Bogdanov refused to accept this resolution he was expelled from the Bolshevik faction.

As we pointed out in Part I of this series, in justifying Bogdanov's expulsion Lenin clearly affirmed his adherence to the Kautskyan doctrine that the party should include all social democrats (i.e., working-class-oriented socialists). He sharply distinguished between the Kautskyan "party" and a faction, the latter requiring a homogeneous political program and outlook:

> "In our Party Bolshevism is represented by the Bolshevik *section*. But a section is not a party. A party can contain a whole gamut of opinions and shades of opinions, the extremes of which may be sharply contradictory. In the German party, side by side with the pronouncedly revolutionary wing of Kautsky, we see the ultra-revisionist wing of Bernstein. This is not the case within a section. A section in a party is a group of *like-minded persons* formed for the purpose primarily of influencing the party in a definite direction, for the purpose of securing acceptance for their principles in the purest form. For this, real *unanimity of opinion* is necessary. The different standards we set for *party* unity and *sectional* unity must be grasped by everyone who wants to know how the question of internal discord in the Bolshevik section really stands." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Report on the Conference of the Extended Editorial Board of *Proletary*" (July 1909)

After Bogdanov's expulsion he and his co-thinkers established their own group around the paper *Vpered*, deliberately choosing the name of the first Bolshevik organ (of 1905). The *Vperedists* appealed to the Bolshevik ranks in the name of true Bolshevism. Though many Bolshevik workers supported the Otzovist/Ultimatist position on participating in the Duma, they were unwilling to split from Lenin's organization on this question. Thus Lenin had to combat diffuse ultra-left attitudes from the Bolshevik ranks for the next few years until the Otzovist/Ultimatist tendencies completely dissipated.

The Otzovist/Ultimatist claim to represent the true Bolshevik tradition, and that Lenin had become a Menshevik conciliator, could not be dismissed out of hand as ridiculous. Bogdanov, Lyadov, Krasin and Alexinsky had been among Lenin's chief lieutenants, the core of the early Bolshevik center. Lunacharsky had been a prominent Bolshevik public spokesman. The Mensheviks thus baited Lenin over the defection of his best known and most talented collaborators. Through the 1907-09 factional struggle against Otzovism/Ultimatism, a new Leninist leadership was crystallized from among the more junior Bolshevik cadre—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Tomsky and a little later Stalin. This was to be the central core of the Bolshevik leadership right through the early period of the Soviet regime.

How does one account for the fact most of the first generation of Bolshevik leaders defected to ultra-leftism, giving way to a second generation which assimilated Leninism in its developing maturity? The Bolsheviks originated not only as the revolutionary wing of Russian social democracy, but were also *empirically optimistic* about the perspectives for revolutionary struggle. And this self-confident optimism was borne out by events. The period 1903 to 1907 was in general one of a rising line of revolutionary struggle enabling the Bolsheviks to become a mass party. It is understandable therefore that a section of the Bolsheviks would be unwilling to face the fact of a victorious reaction which required a broad organizational retreat. These Bolsheviks reacted to an unfavorable reality with a sterile, dogmatic radicalism which at the extreme took the form of socialist spiritualism. It is a mark of Lenin's greatness as a revolutionary politician that he fully recognized the victory of reaction and adapted the perspectives of the proletarian vanguard accordingly, though this meant breaking with some of his hitherto closest collaborators.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Shahak...

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Palestinians. But if he were to restore half of the West Bank to King Hussein, don't you think the American Congress would give him $10 billion with great delight? Well, he isn't doing this.

WV: Clearly with Begin's electoral victory there must be a rightward shift in the country. How does that affect the anti-Zionist left in general and a person like you in particular?

SHAHAK: First of all most of the shift occurred in 1974-76. Israel was "Beginized" before Begin. One of the main reasons the Labor government fell was that its own officials were "Beginistic" and conspired against it, quite apart from internal quarrels. The generals, too.

Now to your question. The social forces are against us in any case, Begin or no Begin. I will explain this in the most directly economic terms. As the economic militarization of the Israeli economy increases—as jobs are offered in industry that produce weapons, or spare parts for weapons or other services—how can you obtain a job in such conditions? From the engineers to the man who sweeps the courtyard, the answer is: you have to fulfill two conditions. The first is, you have to be willing to serve in the Israeli army. This excludes most of the Palestinians, who are not Israeli citizens. The second is, you must obtain what is called here a security clearance from the Shin Beth [Israeli secret police]. Now if you open your mouth, if you go to a meeting of Avantgarde or of Matzpen or even of Rakah, you will be photographed and lose your security clearance.

To illustrate this, let me tell you a story. For me it is a good story with a successful end. More than two years ago I met a man in Israel, not a political person, who was under a five-year contract with an electronics factory that was apparently producing weapons. But he wanted to open a television sales and repair shop in Beersheba instead. So he asked me how to break the contract. I told him to buy an issue of *Matzpen* and bring it back to the factory and to walk up and down in the dining room and wave it in front of people. He was dismissed with full compensation that same afternoon, and after this he gave me one of the best dinners of my life. I am now completely guaranteed a free lunch every time I pass through Beersheba and a good time because he became very rich with his TV shop.

WV: Have you been subjected to any harassment personally?

SHAHAK: Not recently; in the past two and a half years a lot of the general harassment has stopped. I am in a most privileged position, being older and a university professor.

People who are trying to organize workers will be subjected to much more numerous call-ups to the army as reserves. It's perfectly legal; the army now has an almost unlimited right to call up people for service. There were several instances when people who were organizing strikes—shop stewards, strike committees—had to spend three days in the army doing nothing. They were put inside a camp, given a place to sleep but nothing to do. Before, they were given some work to do—like painting the trees white or something like that. People who are trying to establish a common front with the Palestinians are sometimes called into the Department for Special Duties, the branch which connects Shin Beth with the ordinary police. They aren't arrested, just called in for a "talk." Or they may be arrested for twenty-four hours. This applies to Israeli citizens (in the conquered territories it is worse). They are pulled in and asked questions about their friends. About a year and a half ago thirty, forty, fifty of my remote friends (people whom I know socially)—not political people—were visited at their workplaces by Shin Beth

agents and given an enormous questionnaire which required yes-or-no answers to the stupidest questions. One which I remember was whether Israel Shahak is in the habit of cursing the Israeli government.

WV: What happened to the Revolutionary Communist Alliance prisoners? There was a news blackout after a certain point.

SHAHAK: They remain in prison. I have contact with several of them, especially with Udi Adviv because he was married in prison and his wife is a friend of mine; she translates for me. There is no hope of them getting free, no hope even of a determinate sentence.

WV: Another question that is not clear from American sources: what is the source of the Gush Emmunim?

SHAHAK: This is interesting. This is a very peculiar organization. It is formally not an organization at all. Parties, even fake parties like Herut, have membership rules, elections, even if they are fake elections. Gush Emmunim does not have any of this. You don't know how members are accepted, you don't know even if there is a membership. You don't know how the leadership is nominated, where the money comes from—and by now even the Israeli newspapers don't ask. I can't even guess except negatively—that it does not come from any of the sources one can think of.

But in real social terms one knows, of course. Gush Emmunim is a movement of a particular brand of Yeshivot—Talmudic academies. In Israel we have many Yeshivot of different types, anti-Zionist, non-Zionist and several kinds of Zionist. One is a particularly virulent Zionist sort which believes that the Messiah is really coming now and they are bringing him. Completely apocalyptic.

The Gush Emmunim are really very small. When they were asked for a list of settlers by Sharon about three months ago they provided only 2,500 names. They are limited in two ways. First, since they are fanatically religious, they will not be influential among most Israeli Jews who are very irreligious—who go every Saturday to watch soccer matches, which is of course a terrible violation of the sabbath, or who go swimming or picnicking on Saturday, which again is a mortal sin. Also they come only from the middle class; they do not have any influence even in the religious working class. This is because they come from the strata of Yeshiva pupils; the working class does not send its sons to those institutions.

They are important for several reasons. First of all they are dedicated and honest financially. They have 2,500 settlers but no other movement or party has even 250. And in an apathetic population, which most of the Israeli population is, people who demonstrate, people who do something, are respected. They also dominate the National Religious Party, which has 10 percent of the seats in the Knesset [parliament].

WV: Would you agree with most of the reasons that are put forward in the press for Begin's victory—that it represents mainly alienation from the Zionist establishment? Or was this a genuine ideological commitment to the policies of Herut, the support that Begin has among the Sephardim? Was it a protest vote?

SHAHAK: It was a vote for Begin but not for the Begin who wants to conquer Jordan, but for the Begin who promised them economic plenty and who was sold to them like they sell Coca-Cola. They had another choice: they could have voted for the Democratic Front of Change nonsense. But they voted for Begin because Begin was really sold by the mass media as the savior. They will, in my opinion, easily change their stand in a year for one reason or another. But it was not alienation from basic Zionism; it was alienation from the rotten apparatus of the Labor Party.

WV: What do you think is going to happen to this constitutency under the

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Abortion...

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ubiquitous speaker at anti-busing rallies. Doyle and Flynn's concern for the so-called "right to life" extends only to the unborn fetus. Their bill, embodied in the rider passed by the state legislature, is actually more stringent than the Hyde amendment in that it does not even allow public funds for abortions to save the mother's life.

While the racist, chauvinist legislators drape themselves in Catholic obscurantism, their supporters are less circumspect, more open about the sinister instincts that lie behind this "moral" crusade to drive indigent women into the hands of back-alley butchers. One Rita Warren of Brockton, a prominent advocate of mandatory recitation of the pledge of allegiance and school prayers, managed to shock a state house hearing on the Doyle/Flynn bill when she declared:

> "We have the gall to criticize Hitler for slaughtering 6 million Jews. At least Hitler made them die with dignity—he made them walk into the ovens."

After this bizarre and loathsome tirade, she turned to the legislators and said: "If you kill this bill, this is what you'll be doing." She then took a paper bag and emptied the dismembered pieces of a rubber doll onto the podium (*Boston Globe*, 28 July).

Abortion rights are not the only target of the self-serving bigots in the state house. When a bill prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals in public employment was voted down last month, Representative Richard Finnigan arrogantly proclaimed: "It's coming to the point where if you're female, black, gay, and blind, why, you could almost be governor." When a patently unconstitutional bill requiring school teachers to lead the pledge of allegiance to the flag was passed over a gubernatorial veto, senators waved small paper American flags and House members burst into a chorus of "God Bless America." Even Dukakis' publicity-stunt "exoneration" of Sacco and Vanzetti elicited a resolution of condemnation from the Massachusetts Senate!

This mounting wave of reaction represents a deadly danger to the Massachusetts labor movement. The attachment of the Doyle-Flynn rider to the supplementary appropriation bill including the state workers' pay raise is a deliberate slap in the face to the public employees unions. The refusal of the "liberal" Alliance bureaucracy to come out unequivocally in defense of abortion rights for Medicaid recipients *and its own members* is a disgraceful surrender to anti-labor forces. By allowing reactionary politicians to rip up their contract, they are setting a precedent for the elimination of other contractual rights at the whim of an increasingly rabid legislature.

The Spartacist League (SL) has intervened in the struggle for abortion rights, raising an independent working-class perspective which runs counter to the narrow legalism and reformism of both the Alliance leadership and the liberal Abortion Action Coalition. At a demonstration outside the July 27 State House hearing on the Doyle-Flynn bill, an SL contingent carried signs for "Free Abortion on Demand," "Free Quality Health Card for All," "No Reliance on Capitalist Politicians; Build a Workers Party" and "Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution."

In an incredible display of ostrich-like parochialism, a spokesman for the Abortion Action Coalition (supported by the Socialist Workers Party, among others) demanded, without success, that the SL comrades remove a sign denouncing "Anita Bryant's Bigotry Crusade" and calling for "Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals." The feminist organizers of the demonstration found the slogans objectionable since homosexual rights were not "the issue" on that day. Such a sectarian-particularist approach is as egregious as the Alliance leadership's attempt to focus exclusively on the pay raise while leaving the question of the anti-abortion rider to the dictates of the governor's "conscience."

As the SL has repeatedly stressed, democratic rights are indivisible. The social force to turn back the reactionary offensive in Massachusetts and around the country lies with the labor movement, which must mobilize to defend its own rights and those of all the oppressed. ■

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VANCOUVER

Yale Campus Workers...

(continued from page 4)

to halt fuel deliveries. At that time several confrontations occurred with Teamster drivers respecting the picket lines while the university purchased its own fuel truck and used supervisory personnel to ram it through.

As the strike goes on support for the union is increasing. Recently Labor Secretary Ray Marshall and Senator George McGovern were pressured into refusing to cross the picket line for scheduled appearances. A strike support rally drew 400 people, and 2,000 students and faculty signed a petition circulated by the "Committee for a Just Settlement." Unfortunately most of this "support" is for the union's proposal for non-binding arbitration.

Perennial Communist Party candidate Joelle Fishman has focused on demanding that the liberal mayor of New Haven step in, arguing that the city "has a responsibility to take an active role in seeking a just resolution to the Yale University strike" (*Daily World*, 4 November). But Democratic Party politicians are no more "friends of labor" than liberal university presidents. Mobilizing the whole of the New Haven labor movement and making an active appeal for student-faculty solidarity by mounting militant mass picket lines is key to victory for this drawn-out strike.

Faculty, student and public pressure, even for so innocuous a demand as arbitration, may have marginal impact on the administration. Yale is a giant corporation with an endowment of $560 million. Its administration has one constituency, and that is the rich alumni who constitute a significant segment of the top levels of the U.S. bourgeoisie. This wellspring of bourgeois ideology has not only consistently dealt with both its own workers and the New Haven population in a highhanded manner, but it has played a not inconsiderable role in enabling U.S. imperialism to run roughshod over the face of the earth.

In a concrete sense Yale represents even more than an important training ground for a scientific-technical and political elite. It is a bastion and a symbol of bourgeois class privilege. While the children of Local 35 workers can look forward to a few years in an underfunded community college at best, the children of the bourgeoisie attend Yale and Harvard as a matter of birthright. There are periods like the late 1960's when imperialist war and domestic social unrest radicalize the younger, educated, volatile elements of the petty bourgeoisie concentrated on the campuses. Such periods of student radicalism even extend to elite institutions like Yale and Harvard. But in a period of rightward social motion like the present, Yale's hard line against its workers union has a reactionary ideological, and not merely dollars-and-cents, motivation.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has become known on the campuses for its advocacy of student support to campus workers strikes, including in particular strict respect for all picket lines. A picket line means "don't cross!" And that goes for everybody—whether students and teachers going to class, alumni attending ball games or pseudo-communists like Carrillo looking for their big chance to hobnob with liberal braintrusters of the Carter administration.

Victory to the Yale Campus Workers Strike! Nationalize the private unversities under worker/student/faculty control, and open their doors to all on a tuition-free basis! For mass picketing to shut Yale down tight! ■

Oakland Teachers...

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obtained if UTO/AFT is the teachers' bargaining agent.

More treacherous were the antics of the Fremont OEA. Fremont teachers, out on a bitter strike since October 17, settled four days after the Oakland teachers went out. Here was a chance to link the strikes of the two largest school districts in Alameda County. Instead the Fremont OEA stabbed the Oakland strikers in the back by issuing a despicable leaflet to the Fremont scabs on the second day of the Oakland strike that urged "Scabs go to Oakland!" Indeed many had already done so.

Bay Area teachers unions have struck or threatened to strike at least six area school districts since the school year opened. The road to victory—a Bay Area-wide teachers strike supported by the entire Bay Area labor movement—has been scuttled by the competing bureaucratic cliques. Clearly the need is posed for a single industrial union of all teachers and related workers, committed to fighting for the real needs of the entire working class. Such a union, however, will only be achieved by ousting the present bureaucratic misleaders and replacing them with those committed to a strategy of class struggle.

For mass picketing—Shut the schools down tight! No to "fact-finding"! Down with the Rodda Act and all anti-union legislation! For full sanction of the strike! For a single industrial union of all teachers and related workers! ■

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Israel...

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withdraw most, if not all, of its forces.

The recent bombing raids represent further Israeli defiance of their U.S. imperialist military and financial backers, who are pressuring their Zionist client state to reach an accommodation with neighboring Arab regimes. The state of Israel, based on a racist ideology of expansionism and genocide, requires for its stability another senseless and bloody war with the Arab regimes, a war which it may well provoke in southern Lebanon.

But expansionist aspirations are exorbitantly expensive for the little *schmorrer* (Yiddish for beggar) Zionist state. Further, Israel's benefactor in Washington has become increasingly disenchanted with these aspirations. As we pointed out in "Begin-Carter Rift over West Bank" (*WV*, No. 171, 2 September 1977) Begin sees himself as another Marshal Thieu, abandoned by a weakened U.S. imperialism. The Zionists admire the South African Boers who have established their state as a relatively independent sub-imperialist power in defiance of their original imperialist sponsors. Thus the recent UN Security Council arms embargo is rendered irrelevant by the fact that South Africa has developed a nearly self-sufficient arms industry.

However, there is a fundamental distinction between the South African white supremacist economy, which is based on the super-exploitation of black labor, and the Zionist economy where the super-exploitation of Palestinian labor is decisively subordinate to the exploitation of the Hebrew-speaking working class. South Africa was able to become an independent power and massively enhance the living standards of its white population at the same time. On a much weaker economic base and with a smaller population, Israel's aspirations to become an independent power can only be realized (and then at most partially realized) at the expense of its own working class. This is the fundamental lesson of Begin's "New Economic Policies" and the strike wave they engendered.

UPI

Rescue workers at Lebanese town of Azziye—destroyed in recent Israeli air attack.

Herut for Genocide; Liberals for Profits

Begin's Likud is a bloc with two major components: Herut and the Liberals. Herut is the political heir of the fanatical Zionism of the so-called Revisionists and their armed gangsters in the Irgun, which Begin led in the 1940's and which was responsible for the infamous massacre at Deir Yassin. In his six months in power, Begin has repeated the atrocity at Deir Yassin many times over in southern Lebanon. The electoral base of Herut is the Sephardic Jews, who emigrated from Arab countries and whose memories of persecution in their native countries fueled anti-Arab chauvinism. At the same time the Sephardim are second-class citizens in Israel, concentrated in unskilled and menial work and alienated from the Zionist establishment. In a country run by Jews of European origin, 29 years of "Labor"-dominated governments have only exacerbated this alienation. In order to propitiate this base and set it against the organized labor movement, both the "new economic policies" and earlier austerity measures in July were coupled with higher welfare, pension and family allowances for the poorest members of Israeli society.

The Liberals are the party of Israel's nouveaux riches, the nascent bourgeoisie and rising professional class, who resent the restrictions and regulations of a highly bureaucratized and corporatist Israeli capitalism. The Liberals' main spokesman in the Begin government is Finance Minister Simha Erlich.

"Shock Treatment" for the "Promised Land"

After the Likud electoral victory, Erlich announced he would make drastic cuts in government services and real wages and would seek the advice of reactionary economist Milton Friedman—crony of Pinochet and notorious for his "shock treatment" therapy for sick Chilean capitalism. Soon after Friedman's visit to Israel in early July, Erlich announced a 25 percent increase in the price of subsidized goods, which include basic foodstuffs, public transportation and fuel. The current price increases come *on top* of the July increases. In July Erlich also announced a freeze on public employment including state-supported enterprises and institutions, a freeze which has yet to be lifted.

Begin would probably not have moved so quickly to escalate his attack on working-class living standards or his raids into southern Lebanon were it not for the entry of the Democratic Movement for Change (DMC) into his last government. The DMC was a fake-oppositional electoral grouping led by archaeology professor and former military chief of staff Yigael Yadin. It claims to be for some vague "democratic" change and to be opposed to the cronyism and opportunism of the Labor Party, although it is primarily made up of careerists defecting from the increasingly unpopular Labor Party. It includes some so-called "doves" on the Palestinian question although its platform was indistinguishable from "Labor Alignment." Its economic policies placed it close to the Liberals. By taking the DMC into the government, Begin gained 15 votes in the 120-seat Knesset, raising his voting bloc to 78. This is an unprecedented majority within Israel's highly splintered and clique-ridden capitalist politics.

Begin's bombing raids over Tyre may have annoyed his erstwhile allies in Washington, but his assault on the Israeli working class received the imperialists' endorsement. The International Monetary Fund, those imperialist usurers who extract political tribute through loans rather than gunboats, congratulated the Israeli government for its "impressive and courageous" policy. And Milton Friedman, the Chilean junta's minister of destitution, hailed the Zionist "shock treatment" as "one of the greatest things that has happened to Israel since it was founded."

But even bourgeois commentators in Israel were less confident. Meir Merhav, economic editor for the *Jerusalem Post*, wrote a brutally frank article in the 1 November international edition: "The system that emerged in Israel 29 years ago may indeed have been—and still be—paternalistic and bureaucratized to the point of ossification. But it has never been anything but a capitalist system." He continues, "The new economic freedoms now held out to us as the glittering prize of the new economic era are both largely irrelevant to the majority whose shrunken paychecks will soon disclose to them that they have became less free than before."

Davar, organ of the Histadrut (General Confederation of Labor), pledged "to show public responsibility" even though "the new policy has laid the basis for a resumption of the class war." The ever-responsible Histadrut secretary-general, Yeruham Meshel, was particularly miffed that he had not been "consulted" either in July or in November before the austerity plan was announced. The NEP will produce an immediate 12 percent price inflation, which will totally wipe out the entire cost-of-living raise granted the Histadrut in October.

Following Erlich's announcement, the Histadrut set up an "Emergency Protest Committee" which initiated a week of scattered and often partial walkouts and demonstrations supposed to culminate in a massive demonstration in Jerusalem on Sunday. Strikes in such cities as Haifa and Beersheba were solid. At a militant rally of 25,000 in Tel Aviv on Thursday, several thousand workers broke through a police cordon and marched on Begin's office.

But in many places strike calls were not heeded, indicating how discredited the Histadrut is and that many of the poorer workers now support Herut. Begin's vicious ravings against "the Bolshevik-like tones heard these days" found support among a significant section of the Israeli working class. Years of denouncing strikes as against the "national interest" by the chauvinist leadership of the Histadrut clearly took its toll in the mixed response to the call for protests and strikes against Begin's austerity measures. The most tragic incident occurred in Ashdod, Israel's second-largest port and often a center of labor militancy. While 12,000 workers in the city went out, the port workers voted to go to work.

The Histadrut leadership called off the demonstrations after a week, without having won anything in return. Gideon Ben Yisrael, head of the Emergency Protest Committee, whined: "We hope the government means what is said about preserving real income. If, heaven forbid, it turns out not to be so, we will resume the protests." But in fact the Begin governmetn has *already* announced its intention to only partially compensate workers for the cost-of-living increases.

Yet the timidity and cowardice of the Histadrut leadership notwithstanding, the strikes are an important confirmation of the class contradictions that underlie Israeli society. Unlike the majority of the left, who as vicarious cheerleaders for Third World nationalism have characterized the Jewish population of Israel as a homogenous oppressor caste, the Spartacist League has always pointed to the existence of a Hebrew-speaking proletariat which shares the same class interests as the oppressed Arab masses.

At a demonstration outside the prime minister's office in Jerusalem on November 6, strikers were joined by hundreds of Arabs from the Jordanian sector of the city who chanted in unison "Begin Go Home!" A unique opportunity has arisen to break Israeli workers from Zionist chauvinism. The savage bombing of innocent Arab villagers in south Lebanon is coupled with brutal attacks on the living standards of Israeli working people. Now a class-struggle and internationalist program is timely as well as necessary.

For trade-union independence! For a national conference of works (shop stewards) committees to call a general strike to smash NEP and Erlich's "Shock Treatment"! Israel out of the occupied territories and Lebanon! For the right to self-determination for the Palestinian, Arab and Hebrew-speaking people! For the dictatorship of the Hebrew and Arab proletariat! Towards a socialist federation of the Near East! For a Hebrew and Arab revolutionary proletarian party, section of the reborn Fourth International! ■

CORRECTIONS

In the article "Mandel's Unwanted Children" (*WV* No. 180, 4 November) we reported that "the 'Weiss Crispie' candidate members of the MEC had their applications for full membership 'tabled'." The individuals in question have informed us that they are not members of the CRSP; instead they were kept out of the disintegrating Marxist Education Collective because MEC guru Arthur Felberbaum *thought* they were Crispies.

In *WV* No. 179 (28 October), the pictures accompanying the article entitled "Jury Declares Bennie Lenard Innocent" were inadvertently labeled WV photos. The photographer is Cliff Burress. In *WV* No. 177 (14 October) the article "Down with Bakke!" contains a political error in the call for open admissions with special preparatory programs, state stipends for living expenses and "full scholarships." Of course, the demand for scholarships accepts tuition; the correct slogan is for the abolition of tuition.

And in *WV* No. 176, the article "French Popular Front on the Rocks?" contains a quote from Trotsky and a brief commentary which are open to serious misinterpretation. The quote refers to the possibility of social-democratization of the Stalinized Communist parties, noting that the result would be analogous to *pre-1914* social democracy. (The quote is from 1928 when Trotsky still considered the Communist parties centrist.) The commentary adds that the French Communist Party (PCF) "has gone a long way down this road"—which could imply that it had not yet faced its August 4 and definitively gone over to support of the bourgeois order. As the rest of the article repeatedly points out, the PCF has long been reformist, and its present "Eurocommunist" orientation does *not* represent a qualitative change.

FORUM

Commemorate the 60th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

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LOS ANGELES

CLP: Back to "Lesser Evil" Democrats

During the past few years the Communist Labor Party (CLP) of Nelson Peery has become something of a prodigal son for the pro-Moscow Stalinist movement in this country.

Originating as a pro-Stalin split from the American Communist Party (CPUSA) after the "de-Stalinization" of the late 1950's, the Peery tendency for nearly two decades sided with the Chinese and Albanian Stalinist bureaucracies. But two years ago the CLP left the Maoist fold and began seeking its own "rapprochement" with the Kremlin and its American lap-dog party. Beginning with its sudden endorsement of U.S./USSR "détente," the CLP since then has gravitated ever closer to the wretchedly reformist line of the CPUSA, for example supporting "friends of the Soviet Union" such as the bloody Ethiopian junta and uncritically endorsing "progressive" trade-union bureaucracies such as Cesar Chavez' Farm Workers.

Evidently the "long march" back to what it once denounced as "revisionism" has been a rocky road for the CLP. For the current issue of the CLP theoretical journal *Proletariat* reprints a recent speech by Peery bemoaning the "crisis in our party" and emphasizing "*we're fighting against our sectarianism*.... we're making connections." However, this new "turn" turns out to be an attempt by the CLP to "make connections"... with the Democratic Party!

During the last two months the CLP climbed aboard the electoral bandwagon of "progressive" Democrat Coleman Young, the incumbent mayor of Detroit who was easily re-elected on November 8, using the identical "fight-the-right" code phrases which are the stock in trade of Gus Hall's CPUSA. In a recent issue of its press, the *People's Tribune* (15 October), the CLP advises, "Where he [Young] has taken progressive positions, he should be pushed to do more; where he has taken positions contrary to the workers' interests, these should be exposed and criticized." But the article concludes with an unmistakable call for electoral support to Young: "Those candidates who have taken decisive progressive positions in the past need be supported and pushed to represent the workers even more so[!] in the coming years."

Even more explicit was the CLP's electoral support to Democrat Bella Abzug during September's mayoral primaries in New York City. "Abzug's candidacy is the only one with the potential to halt the disastrous policies

Coleman Young WV Photo

of the political hacks and bankers who presently run New York," trumpeted the *People's Tribune* of 15 August.

Seeking to cover its naked class collaborationism the CLP has now seized the withered fig leaf of "lesser evilism" long used by the Brezhnevite CP. Thus, the CLP has made much ado about how "progressive" Democrats are allegedly the "people's choice" while their opponents are backed by reactionaries. The *People's Tribune* of 15 August stresses that Coleman Young has "received support from the organized labor movement, particularly from the Negro population," while his opponent Ed Browne is backed by "rabid segregationists and the Detroit Police Officers Association. Similarly, the CLP bolsters its backing of Abzug by contrasting the reactionary forces behind her rivals with "the forces behind Abzug—the honest workers and progressives of New York."

But these "lesser evil" apologetics of the CLP don't wash these days when even the so-called "progressive" Democrats are scurrying to the right. Coleman Young earned the endorsement of such prominent bourgeois establishment figures as Henry Ford II and real estate tycoon Max Fischer by his attacks on the organized labor movement of Detroit, particularly the municipal workers, and his commitment to strengthening the police force through his "affirmative action" program. Similarly, CP/CLP darling Bella Abzug ran on such a strident "law-and-order" platform that she won the backing of none other than Ken McFeely, the well-known former top cop of the Policeman's Benevolent Association.

Bella Abzug UPI

In an attempt to distinguish himself from Gus Hall, Peery has raised the call for an independent "third party." Denouncing the CP for remaining chained to the Democratic Party, the CLP has attempted to pose as a "left" alternative by championing the idea of a "pro-socialist, non-socialist" (!) party based on the trade unions (*People's Tribune*, 1 August 1977). Currently, Peery and his friends have been enthusing over a so-called "anti-capitalist, pro-labor caucus" in the Michigan Democratic Party. "It is this growing movement [within the Democratic Party!] that sets the base for building the united front based in the depth and breadth of labor," announced the *People's Tribune* (15 October). In fact, this so-called "labor" caucus is the creature of none other than former Vietnam war supporter and State Department socialist Michael Harrington.

While the CLP's small size means it cannot act as the Communist Party did in the '30's as a broker between the Democratic Party and combative sectors of the working class, its support for Democratic politicians is a real betrayal of the former aspirations of one-time subjectively revolutionary militants. In Detroit, the CLP recruited a section of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, which contained many black cadre who had come through the civil rights movement and community struggles of the 1960's and broken from the liberal pro-Democratic Party leadership of the civil rights movement. Many went through the Panthers and black nationalism and came to a pro-working class stance. Now "Nelson Peery/Joseph Stalin thought" has brought these militants back to the Democratic Party.

Nelson Peery's CLP is the most rigidly orthodox Stalinist organization on the American left. How many other organizations in the world reprint Beria! When the Maoist-Stalinist tendencies originated in the late 1950's-early 1960's, they represented a left impulse against the pro-Soviet liberalism of the CPUSA Gus Hall's open support to the liberal wing of the imperialist ruling class, particularly electoral support to the Democratic Party, was condemned as Khrushchevite revisionism and a rightist ("Browderite") deviation from Stalinist orthodoxy. But the notion that support to the Democratic Party is a break with orthodox Stalinism is complete nonsense. Stalin's support for Roosevelt was far more open and positive than Khrushchev's for Kennedy. It is wholly appropriate that the most perversely Stalinist organization in the U.S. is now demonstrating that support to the principal political organization of American imperialism, the Democratic Party, is orthodox Stalinism. ■

Shahak...

(continued from page 9)

impact of what will necessarily be increasing hardship?

SHAHAK: I suppose that Begin will simply make preventative war. Begin knows that they will turn against him in a relatively short period of time. More time, perhaps, than it took some blacks to turn against Carter, but not very much more, for economic reasons. Before this happens he will make his war—otherwise, they will return to the fold and vote for the Labor Party, if the Labor Party is clever enough to get rid of Rabin and Peres and take somebody younger and unknown.

WV: On the question of human rights, I am sure you have been following *Workers Vanguard* and our attitude to Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign, and the adaptation to that campaign on the part of a great deal of the "left"—how do you feel about this?

SHAHAK: I am very firmly opposed to this. I have felt from the beginning that this is sheer hypocrisy and everything since then confirms this. It is not only sheer hypocrisy, but it is even worse: human rights are being used as an instrument to combat the Soviet Union pure and simple. Of course we have to be for human rights everywhere, but we cannot use this political instrument. Perhaps you know that I have even rebuked the [SWP's] *Intercontinental Press* on these grounds; perhaps you have seen the articles. I think that support of such reactionaries as Bukovsky or Solzhenitsyn when they are outside Russia is a very terrible mistake. The "human rights" policy of Carter is simply an instrument to support American imperialism and this should have been completely clear to everyone. After Carter's speech in the United Nations where he said that the U.S. and Israel have the same attachment to human rights, it should be clear to everyone. A forceful argument should be made that Israel serves Carter as his instrument in some policies that even he doesn't want to make because of his stand on "human rights." Instead of his sending arms to Chile and police equipment to South Africa directly, he uses Israel for this and since many so-called radicals in the U.S. will not dare attack Israel, Carter and Andrew Young can succeed. Carter has no attachment to human rights anywhere, even in places like Chile and South Africa, and he uses Israel as his fig-leaf. This to me is a very important point.

WV: If you were doing this interview, what would you ask yourself?

SHAHAK: Very good. There is something very important and little-known that I wanted to introduce: the treatment of the Palestinians from the conquered territories who work inside Israel. I won't mention that they have no trade unions and no possibility of trade unions, that they can be hired and fired at a moment's notice. What I want to tell you about is their treatment under the curfew regulations.

First of all, any Palestinian from the conquered territories who is not an Israeli citizen commits an offense is he is within the State of Israel between 1 and 3 a.m. if he doesn't have a pass. This is a good proof of the Carter "human rights" policy which is supported by the American mass media—nobody has said a word about this, although it is very well known in Israel. Since there are so many Palestinians from the conquered territories in Israel—in Tel Aviv alone, according to its police commander in an interview on 9 September, there are 70,000 so in the whole of Israel there must be 200,000—you cannot bring so many criminals to court. You cannot compel them to go back and forth every morning and night; it would take too much time. They are faced with two choices.

The official choice is that if they will agree to be locked in their bedrooms from the outside, action will not be taken against them. This is very well known in Israel; even the bourgeois press like *Ha'aretz* has made a campaign against it because if there is a fire those people are trapped in their rooms. There were cases where they were burned to death. There were cases of dramatic last-minute escapes, firemen arriving to break down the door, etc. There have been other cases where they have had to jump from windows. The authorities always answer that it is "voluntary." Of course, if the landlord does not lock them in he will be prosecuted, he also commits a crime.

Those who will not agree "voluntarily" to this are harassed every night—but, as the Tel Aviv police chief says, in sufficient numbers to make it harassment but not so much that they will run away from Tel Aviv because, he says, the city will come to a halt without them. Several hundred a night are taken from the places where they are staying—the unfinished houses which they construct themselves, or other places which you can imagine—and are made to spend the night in a police courtyard, or actually the courtyard of an Israeli elementary school, because some of the places which are schools by day become bases of the Civil Guard at night. In such places they spend the night and in the morning they are let go. There is nothing that can better describe the nature of the system in Israel and the conquered territories: there is a difference between an Israeli citizen and these people.

The situation is now better than two years ago when they were beaten in addition. But this image gives you the real nature of the society. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Massive Strikes Against Likud Devaluation

Begin's Israel: Wage Slashing and Terror Bombing

NOVEMBER 10—These two past weeks the genocidal terrorist who heads the Israeli regime, Premier Menahem Begin, has demonstrated unequivocally what his foreign and domestic policies will be: the provocation of another Near East war and savage attacks upon the living standards and social services of Israeli working people. On November 9 Israeli air strikes massacred over 100 Arab villagers in and around the southern Lebanese port of Tyre. On October 28 the right-wing Zionist government announced so-called "new economic policies" (NEP) which eliminated subsidies and raised the price of 150 basic commodities by an average of 11 percent, increased the value-added tax (equivalent to a sales tax) on all goods by 50 percent and floated the Israeli pound, generating a devaluation of 45 percent and fueling a rate of inflation which already tops 40 percent.

L'Express

Menahem Begin

Rubinger/Time

Israeli workers protest Begin's austerity plan.

But despite the myth of Israel as a solid reactionary Zionist mass, this attack on the working class provoked an angry outburst from its intended victims. Begin's austerity program was greeted by a week-long wave of protest demonstrations and strikes in which well over half a million workers participated. The work stoppages, at various points, closed the port of Haifa, half the nation's banks and Ben Gurian National Airport; disrupted railway and postal services; and shut down scores of industrial plants from Beersheba in the south to the Galilee in the north.

Southern Lebanon: Israeli "Sphere of Influence"?

Israeli intervention in southern Lebanon did not begin with the election of the new government in May. The previous "Labor Alignment" regime supported the Maronite Christian militias against the Palestinian-Muslim alliance with military training, arms supplies, artillery support and a naval blockade of southern Lebanese ports throughout Lebanon's 18-month communal war. This disastrous war, which devastated much of Lebanon and left 60,000 dead (out of a total population of 3 million), was suppressed only by an invasion of 40,000 Syrian troops.

Ruling a mosaic of ethnically and racially mixed peoples, the bonapartist Syrian regime did not want Lebanon's communal conflagration spreading eastward. Nor would the Ba'athist colonels in Damascus tolerate a Palestinian-based, radical Muslim competitor. They wanted social stability in Lebanon, albeit under the reactionary status quo of polytheocratic communalism. Israel preferred instability, a continuation of the bloodbath until the Palestinians were decimated. The Zionists backed the Syrian invasion, however, when it looked as if the war in Lebanon would go in the other direction with the Maronite militias being driven into the sea. Ultimately Jerusalem and Damascus' interests were antagonistic, and the Zionists made it clear that they would not allow the Syrian troops to cross the Litani River, 15 miles north of the Israeli border.

Hence the communal war continued in southern Lebanon as did Israeli support for the Maronite militias. Southern Lebanon was the last territory contiguous with Israel that the Palestinian commandos could use for raids into occupied land that was once their own. Israel intended to use the Maronite militias as border guards to clear the Palestinian refugees out of the area south of the Litani.

The Syrian solution for southern Lebanon is the so-called Shtura agreement of July 25 between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the self-proclaimed but very tenuous "Lebanese government" of Elias Sarkis. Under this plan the 4,000-5,000 troops of the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) would withdraw in stages from the Israeli border, and southern Lebanon would be policed by the reconstituted Lebanese army. U.S. imperialism backed the Shtura agreement by pledging $100 million in military credits to recreate the Lebanese army. But the Lebanese armed forces are completely polarized by the communal warfare. The former officer corps of the army fractured and now heads the various ethnic and tribal militias while continuing to draw their pay from the Lebanese state!

The Begin regime has escalated the interventionist policies of the previous "Labor Alignment" government in southern Lebanon. In late September it sent Israeli combat troops through its "good neighbor fence" with Lebanon to fight side-by-side with the Maronite militias. Israeli incursions embarrassed Washington, which for its own reasons seeks a return to stability and the reactionary status quo in Lebanon. The U.S.-imposed ceasefire forced Israel to

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The Israeli Working Class and Zionist Terror

Interview with Israel Shahak...2

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 183 — 25 November 1977

Butchers Meet in Jerusalem

"We Like Each Other"

AP

Anwar Sadat

NOVEMBER 21 Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's dramatic 44-hour visit to Israel has been acclaimed as a great act of peacemaking and cursed as a betrayal. In the West Sadat's visit has been hailed as a major breakthrough toward permanent peace in the Near East. An atmosphere of elation is reported among the Hebrew-speaking Israeli masses, who see this as an indication that the head of the most powerful Arab state is now reconciled to the existence of the Zionist state (and presumably willing to at least negotiate over Israel's territorial expansion since the 1967 war). Sales of Egyptian flags have been huge in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

But in the Arab countries outside Egypt Sadat is now being reviled as a traitor. Most Arab states have denounced him for breaking a common front, fearing that a separate peace with Egypt would encourage Israel to attack elsewhere (Syria for example). The Palestinians are understandably outraged. Sadat's announcement of his proposed visit coincided with some of the worst Israeli terror bombing raids on southern Lebanon in the last two years. In response to the proposal armed Palestinians last week invaded the Egyptian embassy in Athens, while mass demonstrations against the Cairo regime were held in other Arab capitals.

The Egyptian president certainly went out of his way to offend Arab nationalists. In his speech to the Knesset he failed to demand that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) be present in any Geneva talks. He kissed the leading rabbi and Golda Meir, and as if that wasn't enough, he went to pray at the Al Aksa Mosque in occupied East Jerusalem (thereby implicitly recognizing the Zionist expansionist claims). Damascus declared a "day of mourning," while Libya threatened to demand Egypt's expulsion from the Arab League. In Cairo Sadat's foreign minister Ismail Fahmy resigned in protest, and his successor stepped down shortly thereafter.

While the Western press has hailed Sadat's "bold initiative," there is general (but guardedly expressed) recognition that his chances for any success are extremely slim. Jimmy Carter called it the most important peace mission of the decade but also urged Begin not to send the Egyptian leader home "without something significant." For behind Begin's posture of openness lies the reality of an Israeli war machine that has expanded enormously since the 1973 war. More than $1 billion of U.S. military aid has been allocated for this fiscal year alone; the Israeli arms industry now produces 40 percent of its total arsenal (including tanks, missiles and fighter planes), and Israel's nuclear capacity is an open secret.

In reality Sadat's personal presence in Jerusalem is not a significant step toward peace in the Near East. Nor has Sadat suddenly become a "traitor" to the anti-Zionist cause and Palestinian national rights. Neither Sadat nor Nasser nor Assad nor any Arab head of state has *ever* stood for the just national rights of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian cause was simply a *pretext* for territorial expansionism; anti-Zionist Arab nationalism has been a vehicle enabling bourgeois rulers, from Nasserite Egypt to Ba'athist Syria, to direct the masses' anger against the *foreign* enemy.

David Rubinger

Menahem Begin

When in 1948 the Zionists (with

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Unions Must Mobilize to Defend Firemen!

British Strikes Challenge Wage Guidelines

Callaghan Calls on Army to Scab

LONDON — Britain's first-ever national firemen's strike, now entering its second week, poses the most determined challenge thus far to Phase Three of the Labour government's anti-working-class "Social Contract." The first two phases of Labour's pay restraints have succeeded in holding down wage rates—the *Economist* (12 November) estimates that the real standard of living of British workers has been slashed 8 percent in the last year—while prices remain uncontrolled and have soared.

Britain's 32,000 firemen are striking for a 30 percent wage increase (which will barely bring their real wages up to the pre-Social Contract level) and for a reduction in their workweek from 48 hours to 42. In negotiations so far the government has effectively conceded the reduction in hours while rigidly holding to its 10 percent wages "guidelines." Hypocritically telling firemen that "we are not unsympathetic" to their plight, Labour prime minister James Callaghan has nonetheless dispatched 12,000 troops to scab on the strike. This is probably the largest strikebreaking force used in Britain since the general strike of 1926.

The firemen's strike is by no means

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Socialist Worker

Firemen march for higher wages in Liverpool.

Which Way?

WSL: Between Trotskyism and the USec

LONDON—As the British working class reels under the impact of the "Social Contract" assaults of a bankrupt bourgeoisie, the fake-Trotskyist organisations present symptoms of increasing morbidity. The British "far left" is littered with more than a dozen—perhaps as many as two dozen—self-styled "Trotskyist" groupings, characterized internally by internecine cliquist squabbling and externally by parochialism and programmatic amorphousness. Even their predilection for ersatz "mass work" in their separate bailiwicks cannot keep them from jostling each other on the cluttered centrist turf to the left of the Labour Party. Frantic escapism on the crucial programmatic questions of the day cannot insulate them form the pull of larger and hungrier centrist formations.

The inveterate manoeuvrists of the International Marxist Group (IMG), English "section" of the Pabloist United Secretariat (USec), have high hopes for "regrouping" substantial bits and pieces from the centrist smorgasbord. In a burst of rare frankness a prominent IMG spokesman told a recent public meeting of one of the minuscule denizens of the centrist swamp that the IMG looked forward to picking up the leftovers as the London Spartacist Group polarised and split the redundant centrist groups.

A prime target for the IMG's tender ministrations appears to be the Workers Socialist League (WSL). Expelled from the Gerry Healy/Mike Banda Workers Revolutionary Party at the end of 1974 as a clot centered around Alan Thornett's trade-union work at the Oxford-Cowley Leyland car plant, the WSL is flirting with the USec in a serious way. It shares its front group—the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement (CDLM)—with the USec, whose Scottish affiliate holds the CDLM franchise there. And its Greek co-thinkers are evidently heading toward fusion with the Greek Pabloists, while the WSL takes no exception to their declaration that "we have many times asked these comrades for discussions because we want to try and agree with them on principles...." The anti-Pabloist rhetoric inherited from its predecessor organisation is empty; with no semblance of a coherent programme, the WSL has no justification for existence separate from the opportunist USec.

The WSL is entering its fourth year without a coherent line on Ireland, on the Labour Party, on guerrillaism, on Portugal. Trotsky might have had the Thornett group in mind when he noted in 1933, "centrism after all is nothing but crystallised confusion." One week *Socialist Press* will carry an article with a class-struggle position on Ireland, only to subsequently publish a call for the "nationalist population to strike to prise loose the grip of imperialism" (*Socialist Press*, 17 August 1977). In an attempt to polemicise against the Pabloists, the WSL quotes Trotsky against those who call on the bourgeois state to ban fascists, then calls on the same state to arm black guerrillas in South Africa. On Portugal the WSL's unclear views give implicit support to both of the most common opportunist positions current in the USec (see *Socialist Press*, 3 September 1975 and 6 October 1976).

Misleading the Workers

When Alan Thornett ran for president of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU— the largest union in Britain) earlier this year, he centred his programme on opposition to wage controls and the call for union democracy. His most "radical" demand was for the nationalisation of bankrupt firms. Instead of raising the call for a revolutionary workers government to expropriate the capitalist class, Thornett called on "left" Labour MP's [Members of Parliament] to oust the present Callaghan/Denis Healey leadership and form a government to carry out his reformist programme. In the TGWU campaign, as usual, the WSL consciously avoided raising any opposition to chauvinist import controls or to the intervention of British imperialism in Ireland.

In the second round of the 1976 elections in Britain's second-largest union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, the WSL backed Bob Wright of the Communist Party-dominated "Broad Left" for assistant general secretary. Wright, a "left" bureaucrat whom even the WSL conceded did not pose "an alternate policy" to the incumbents (*Socialist Press*, 5 May 1976), is notorious for ordering workers to cross official union picket lines in a car strike at Chrysler in Stoke, Coventry in 1973 (*Socialist Worker*, 31 January 1973). During his campaign he urged import controls and advocated the "workers participation" (in management) schemes put forward in the government's Ryder plan. This posed no problem for the WSL as it scrambled to line up with the IMG and others in his support.

With this approach it was no surprise to find the WSL lecturing the Spartacist tendency about our refusal to support Ed Sadlowski in last February's presidential elections in the Steelworkers union in U.S. Castigating us for standing "outside of that development," the WSL's centre-spread article (*Socialist Press*, 26 October 1977) had nothing to say about Sadlowski's commitment to enforce Abel's no-strike pledge, his endorsement of Jimmy Carter, his policy of suing the union in the bourgeois courts. By terming Sadlowski a "fake left," the WSL slid neatly over the main danger: reinforcing the illusion that this out-bureaucrat is a *real militant* or any kind of class-struggle opponent of the pro-capitalist labour bureaucracy.

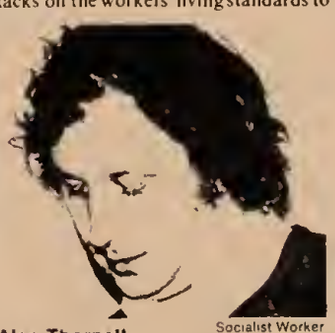
Wiard/Report

MPs Foote, Benn and Heffer at Tribune Group meeting in October.

The CDLM programme is a simple reflection of the economist programme put forward by Thornett in his own union. Its core is opposition to wage controls and spending cuts and calls for more "democracy" in the unions though recently it has added a demand for a sliding scale of wages to offset the effects of inflation. Radical-sounding measures such as "open the books" and "nationlisations" are limited to firms which declare redundancies or threaten bankruptcy. The narrow, Anglocentric reformism of the CDLM programme means it has nothing to say about British imperialism. It is silent on the Labour government's support for the Common Market or NATO and on the continuing military occupation of Northern Ireland.

WSL Labour Loyalism

It is perhaps on the question of the Labour Party that the WSL's opportunism stands out in sharpest relief. Despite the Labour government's blatant attacks on the workers' living standards to boost capitalist profitability, the WSL continues to support Labour at the polls and to sharply criticise left-wing organisations which stand candidates against Labour. In fact opposition to anything short of a mass party running for election was one of Thornett's founding positions when he departed the Healyites. Though camouflaged as an argument over Healyite substitutionalism, this liquidationist line transforms the tactic of critical support to Labour into a strategy of political support for reformism.



Socialist Worker

Alan Thornett

In March of this year when the Labour Party signed a formal parliamentary pact with the bourgeois Liberals, the WSL loudly denouced this "reactionary coalition" but continued to call for votes to Labour in the bye-elections, insisting it would do so until Labour runs joint slates with the Liberals (*Socialist Press*, 17 August 1977). For Leninists, critical support is a tactic to expose the contradiction between the reformists' claims to represent the workers' interests and their real pro-capitalist policies. There is no basis for critical support when this contradiction is suppressed through bourgeois coalitionism or popular fronts.

The WSL's particular formula for its capitulation to the pervasive Labourism of the British proletariat is to call on the Labour "lefts" to fight the Callaghan-Healey leadership. Rather than deriving tactics from the Leninist perspective of the need to split and destroy the Labour Party, the WSL promotes a strategy of a "united front" with the "lefts". This is sometimes explained as a tactic to "expose" the "lefts"—who have unanimously supported every anti-working-class measure implemented by the Labour Party from the Social Contract to the coalition with the Liberals. At other times, it is presented as a development of the call in the *Transitional Programme* for a workers government (*Trotskyism Today* No. 11).

The Trotskyist call for a workers government is a call for the proletariat to mobilise its own independent organs of class rule: factory committees, workers militias, workers councils, for the conquest of state power. It is not a call on the social democrats to reshuffle the cabinet—to replace Callaghan with Tony Benn or Ian Mikardo as the chairman of the board of British capitalism. Centrists like the WSL try to transmute the workers government slogan into something more palatable—e.g. "a government which will support the working class" ([CRDL pamphlet] *The Case for a Sliding Scale of Wages*).

This attempt to vitiate the revolutionary thrust of the Trotskyist slogan of a workers government symbolizes the WSL's retreat from the healthiest aspects of the Healyite heritage to which it lays claim. In 1961, when the Healyites were the most vocal polemicists against Pabloist revisionism, they denounced Pabloist opportunism in the Belgian general strike. One of the key points made in an open letter by Tom Kemp to Ernest Mandel (republished in a pamphlet, *Class Struggle in Belgium*) was the necessity for Trotskyist clarity on the question of the workers government. Against Mandel, who was at that time seeking to pressure the Belgian left social democrats into setting up a government which would "support the workers," the Healyites said:

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Murdoch Press Redbaits SL/ANZ

CP, Fraser Defeat Australian Power Workers Strike

The following report is based on articles in Australasian Spartacist *No. 48, November 1977.*

SYDNEY—The eleven-week strike by Victoria power workers has provided [Australian] Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser with the opportunity he had been looking for to call federal elections more than a year before they were due. Fearing that if he waited too long the economic downturn would worsen and give the Labor Party (ALP) the advantage, Fraser has been angling for the election for months.

Thus the Liberal-Country Party coalition government has been provoking strike situations throughout the country in order to blame the state of the economy on "union disruption." And when the government's unnecessary power cuts and stand-downs [layoffs] in response to the Victoria power strike led to a severe industrial crisis, Fraser called for elections for December 10 with the familiar catchcry—"who's running the country?" In this age-old code phrase for union-bashing the Liberal Party has found its campaign theme. As the Sydney weekly *National Times* (24 October) reported:

> "The Victoria power strike and to a much lesser extent other strikes in NSW [New South Wales], Western Australia and Queensland have given the federal government the chance to make it a key issue in terms of the need to check union power."

Of course Australian yellow-press magnate Rupert Murdoch—who played a key role in bringing down the ALP government of Gough Whitlam, Fraser's predecessor—could be counted on to come to the aid of his friends in need. His papers produced screaming headlines—"Stop Industrial Anarchy Now," or "Defending the Sort of Society We Want"—to magnify the anti-labour scare campaign. The incredible attack on the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) in the national daily *Australian* on 21 October represented Murdoch's using any excuse to keep the hysteria going. Under the headline "Agitators Inflame a Dangerous Situation," the *Australian* decried SL "agitators" roaming the La-Trobe Valley "goading" workers "into a walkout that would shut down electricity supplies and bring the entire State to its knees":

> "Almost daily an organisation calling itself the Spartacist League moves among the workers at the power plant gates with leaflets designed to inflame an already grim situation."

State of Emergency Declared

By the time it was over, the strike by the 2,300 power maintenance workers in the LaTrobe Valley outside Melbourne had taken on a scope and significance which far surpassed their claim for a $40 wage increase, justifiable and vital as that was. The struck generator plants served most of the state of Victoria and although the strike never involved more than the maintenance workers, government-ordered power cuts led to the shutting down of industries throughout the state and to the temporary stand-downs of half a million workers. A state of emergency was called in Victoria and there was serious speculation that the army would be called in to break a strike for the first time in 28 years. Moreover the fight around the wage increase threatened to topple wage indexation [wage limitations] and even challenged the arbitration system itself.

Playing the strike for all it was worth, Fraser used the opportunity to ram through Parliament amendments giving the Industrial Relations Board (IRB) sweeping new powers. At the same time Fraser and Victoria premier Hamer trod carefully. The state of emergency and the newly amended Essential Services Act were never implemented to break the strike. The threatened firings were postponed; the scabs recruited to replace the strikers were never bused into the valley.

This hesitation testified to the widespread sympathy for the strike despite the power cuts and stand-downs, and despite the massive media barrage of anti-strike propaganda. Fraser knew full well that one false move such as the use of troops or mass arrests could put the entire country out on strike in a matter of days, sending all his plans for a second term down the drain.

ALP/CPA Bureaucrats Frustrate Strike Militancy

After months of getting a runaround from the State Electricity Commission the power workers walked off the job last August vowing not to go back without "money in hand." And when they finally returned to work October 25 they had not been broken but betrayed. Although including members of eleven different unions, the strikers came chiefly from the Communist Party of Australia (CPA)-led Amalgamated Metal Workers (AMWU) of the electric power generating stations outside Melbourne. The strike was a genuine rank-and-file action, initiated by the La-Trobe Valley shop stewards. The workforce is a militant bunch, conscious of past sellouts of the ALP bureaucrats. Many are recent immigrants from Britain with the key leader, Sammy Armstrong, a CPer from Glasgow.

Electrical power workers set up picket line to stop coal deliveries.

Australasian Spartacist

SL spokesman addresses rally in support of Victorian power workers strike.

Both the ALP and top CPA bureaucrats were discredited in the Valley from the beginning of the strike. Thus CPA member John Halfpenny, head of the AMWU, was booed and jeered when he addressed the strikers' meetings. Bob Hawke, head of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), craftily waited till late in the game when the strikers were already considerably worn down before stepping in to arrange the deal.

With Halfpenny being booed down, the bureaucrats' task was to get the shop stewards to give in, which took longer but worked in the end. In meeting after meeting Armstrong came on to put over the deal which, with the workers worn down financially and the government threatening ever more dire reprisals, was eventually accepted. In late October the maintenance workers returned to work on the strength of the settlement worked out by Bob Hawke, calling for a new Arbitration Commission which will take weeks. And although the hearing could result in some sort of upward readjustment, the strike ended in a serious defeat since the workers had sworn not to go back empty-handed.

The strike itself was one of the most combative in years. For almost three months the workers stayed out solidly without strike pay and were living on subsistence. For the first time in the Valley, picket lines were thrown up to stop scab fuel deliveries. Four separate times the strikers voted to remain out, and when on October 13 they were talked into returning to work by their leaders (on the promise of a hearing before the Arbitration Commission) they stayed at work only five days. After a rebuff from the Commission, which arrogantly offered them not a cent, they resumed the strike with less opposition than before.

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Australasian SPARTACIST

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OCI: Election Brokers for French Popular Front

—translated from a supplement to Le Bolchévik, 16 November 1977

Undisguised panic has gripped the fake-Trotskyists of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) since the discussions on "actualising" the Common Program theatrically exploded in September and ushered in a period of demagogic exchange of insults by the Socialist (PS) and Communist (PCF) leaders. Years of LCR and OCI "criticisms" of the parties of the Union of the Left (which never prevented them from calling for votes to the candidates of this bourgeois popular front) are drowned out in hysterical campaigns by both groups for "unity" at all costs to assure "victory" in the spring elections. "We Need Unity" screamed identical headlines in *Rouge* and *Informations Ouvrières*, echoing *Le Matin*'s "Enough—Stop Your Quarrels." While the OCI and LCR may be cynical, their headlines are undoubtedly sincere, for how could there be a role for left pressure groups on the popular front if there is no popular front to pressure?

In case anyone still doubts the OCI's willingness to subordinate its Trotskyist "orthodoxy" to the needs of the reformists' electoral campaigns, the OCI Central Committee has obligingly restated in the simplest of terms the classic Stalinist two-stage strategy for tying the workers to their class enemy.

> "While stressing that the OCI continues to fight, as before, to set up the republic of [workers] councils, the *first step* on this path is to aid the laboring masses and youth in achieving the united front to satisfy their demands and sweep away the Fifth Republic and its institutions." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 28 September

Just as it had before, especially in its 1974 campaign for Mitterrand, the OCI must use sleight-of-hand to conceal the fact that when the reformist workers parties participate in a popular front their candidates run as part of a *bourgeois* formation. In 1974 the OCI was unique in passing Mitterrand off as simply "the first secretary of the Socialist Party" rather than the common candidate of the popular front. Now, after having for months disappeared the call for the PCF and PS to break with the bourgeois Radicals, the OCI blithely acts as if the recent fireworks between [the PCF's] Marchais, [the PS's] Mitterrand and [the Radicals'] Fabre have annulled that bloc with the Radicals. *But to date there has not been a single word or incident indicating a break by the reformist workers parties from the popular-front framework.* On the contrary, they all claim to be the "best defenders" of their version of an "updated" Common Program and—updated or not—the Common Program is the concrete framework of this popular-front alliance.

"Unconditional" Support to the Popular Front

Now the OCI calls on the workers "to vote PCF-PS *unconditionally*" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 26 October [emphasis added]). But there is no doubt as to the "condition" required by the PCF and PS: endorsement of the strategy of popular-front parliamentary alliances and the *Common Program*. To call for a "PCF-PS majority in the National Assembly," given the present relationship of forces, the pervasive illusions within the working class, and without any definitive break by the reformists from the popular front is not a "class against class" vote but can be only a veiled call for the election of a popular-front government. Demands for a "PCF-PS government without capitalist ministers" or implicit calls for a break with the Left Radicals and Gaullists are rendered only so much posturing by the word "unconditionally."

The OCI is so scared of being a hindrance to the electoral victory of the Union of the Left or its components that it will continue its policy of refusing to run its own candidates in the 1978 parliamentary elections, cringing at the idea that even the few votes it might win could be seen as a *real* protest against the reformist traitors—the OCI calls this "refusing to help the right." At the time of the municipal elections [last spring], the OCI managed (unlike the LCR and Lutte Ouvrière) to maintain a fig leaf of "opposition" to the popular front by refusing to vote for the candidates of bourgeois parties in the Union of the Left. We wrote:

> "Candidates running on the OCI's positions could merit critical support from Trotskyists as a partial and deformed opposition to the popular front. *But there are no OCI candidates in the municipal elections, and not by accident.*"
>
> —*WV* No. 148, 1 March (original emphasis)

Some OCIers try to make excuses for their organization by claiming that the municipal elections were relatively unimportant; but the "importance" of the legislative elections has only stimulated the full flowering of the OCI's capitulationist methodology.

It takes the most cynical disdain for consistency—to say nothing of the needs of the French workers—for the OCI to cite in the same issue of *IO* "the balance sheet of the [Chilean] Popular Unity as a counterrevolutionary popular front" and then a few pages later to discuss "unity to assure the victory of a PCF or PS candidate in the second round" as being "the road of victory." Such grotesque and shameless expressions of contradiction are the recourse of centrists caught in the act of betrayal. Joaquin Maurín of the Spanish POUM explained the POUM's entry into the Barcelona popular front [in 1936]: "We are for the popular front because we are against it" (quoted in *Joaquin Maurín 1893-1973* by Don Bareman).

The militants of the Ligue Trotskyste de France and international Spartacist tendency reply to such brazen opportunism: the workers have nothing to gain in the victory of one bourgeois formation over another. The debate in the Union of the Left summit meetings is not over nationalizations, but over which of the reformist traitors will put a better face on attacks on the working class, and which party will have the whip hand in administering the nationalized industries.

It should be no surprise that the minuscule Left Radicals seemed to have a decisive influence in the debates over "updating" the Common Program. Though they represent, in Trotsky's words, merely the "shadow of the bourgeoisie," they are the bourgeoisie's guarantee that the Union of the Left will never go beyond its program which promises to keep hands off the state apparatus and the ruling class. At the same time, their presence serves as an excuse for Marchais and Mitterrand not to "go back on their agreement" by fighting for the interests of the working class.

A revolutionary party does not "share the experience" of popular frontism with the workers, any more than it would "share the experience" of patriotic frenzy when interimperialist war breaks out. As the *minimum condition* for electoral support the workers must demand that the PCF and PS break with their bourgeois electoral partners and with the Common Program which provides the framework for this class-collaborationist alliance. By linking these slogans with transitional demands, a Trotskyist organization would seek to split and destroy the reformist parties, winning over their working-class base, pointing the way toward the necessary extra-parliamentary struggles and toward a workers government, which as Trotsky said in the Transitional Program is "only a popular name for the dictatorship of the proletariat," and which must rest upon working-class organs of dual power.

Economist

Union of the Left leaders at September meeting. From left, Radical Fabre, Communist Marchais and Socialist Mitterrand.

LCR and OCI Unity-Mongering

Of course for the LCR the current "unity" campaign takes the form of pressure on the Stalinists; for the OCI, on the social democrats. Thus at a September 27 press conference, LCR leader Alain Krivine jumped into the debate over nationalizations and—echoing the terms set down in 1971 by Marchais—called for "a minimum threshold of nationalizations which will make it possible to change the logic of the capitalist system" (*Le Monde*, 29 September). The OCI, for its part, leaped into the fray on the side of the social democrats. When the PS declared itself willing to withdraw on the second round in order to boost the popular front's electoral showing, the OCI proclaimed obsequiously that "on this precise point, the attitude of Mauroy and Mitterrand corresponds totally to the workers' interests, which demand a fight for a PS-PCF majority in the legislative elections" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 3 November). What about Mitterrand's similar agreement with the Radicals—does this also correspond "totally to the workers' interests"?

If you can't have "unity," says the OCI, "the least you can do" is a campaign for withdrawal [on the second round] (*Informations Ouvrières*, 26 October)—a first step to the first step. A petition campaign was not enough; there must be an organizational structure to implement this "minimum" goal. So, in the cities where PS candidates are particularly threatened, "the workers are encouraged to regroup with the unitary rank and file committees so that the PCF leaders in these cities will come out for withdrawal" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 3 November). The OCI is pushing this campaign because it allows it to claim there is a difference in the degree of treachery of the PCF and PS. If, according to Lambertist "dialectics," unity of the reformist traitors is good for the workers, then the PCF is "worse" for the workers than the PS. In its most recent paper (*Informations Ouvrières*, 26 October) the OCI even goes so far as to say that it does not consider calling this policy "Stalinophobic" to be an insult!

In fact both *equally counterrevolutionary* reformist bureaucracies will go to any lengths to deliver the working class bound and gagged to the bosses. The OCI's "withdrawal" campaign is only the latest of many attempts to prettify the social-democratic bureaucracy—from Portugal to Germany to France.

One can appreciate the problem of the young OCIer from Villetaneuse who attacks a Stalinist bureaucrat for breaking "unity"—carefully avoiding any reference to the central question of the popular front—and gets the sanctimonious answer, "Better to lose the elections than to be elected on a bad program" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 26 October). *IO* concludes, "Who does he think he's kidding?" And just who does the OCI think it's kidding, comrades!

Trotsky was far from gentle with those who—like the OCI—talked like social democrats about "unconditional unity." Replying in 1935 to the arguments of the French followers of Marceau Pivert that "the masses want unity" and that we must not "cut ourselves off from the masses," he wrote:

> "We say in answer that the *instinctive* urge to unity is quite often an urge peculiar to the masses; but a *conscious* striving for unity on a *revolutionary*

basis is peculiar to the *vanguard* of the proletariat. Which of these tendencies should revolutionary Marxists support? For example, the organizational unity of the working class has long existed in England. But at the same time it implies the political unity of the working class with the imperialist bourgeoisie.... Under such conditions 'organizational unity' is a conspiracy of the workers' bureaucracy against the basic interests of the proletariat. But are things any better in France?... From its outset the united front in France was converted into an instrument of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The organizational merger of the two parties, if realized, would signify *under present conditions* only the preparation for national unity. .. When centrists, tailing the rights, begin to declaim too much about unity, the Marxist is duty-bound to be on guard. *Unity between whom? In the name of what? Against whom?* Unless there is a clear definition of aims and tasks the slogan of unity can become the worst possible trap. The Marxists are for the unity of genuine revolutionists, for the fusion of militant internationalists, who alone are capable of leading the proletariat on the road of the socialist revolution."

—"Introduction to Fred Zeller's Pamphlet," 7 November 1935

Leninist Party the Key, Not Amorphous "Rank-and-File" Groups

The OCI's capitulationist policies are rooted in its anti-Leninist conception of party building. The OCI's strategy for the construction of the party is to build a "Workers Revolutionary League" (LOR), a regroupment on a minimum, explicitly centrist program to salvage "broad layers" breaking from the PCF and PS. With this view the OCI has formed a whole series of ill-fated front groups, from the Workers Alliance Committees in the post-1968 period, through the "political groups" (1973) to the present "Unitary Rank-and-File Committees" (CUB). Each time the program has been progressively more watered down, but the masses still fail to rally 'round.

The OCI's conception of building the party through the "LOR" is fundamentally liquidationist since it projects party building by advancing the program in stages (first, forming a centrist regroupment, afterwards...). Thus the OCI imagines that it must first advance a minimum program in order to entice the masses away from the traditional parties:

"In other words, *in the first stage* to get cadres and militants to oppose the apparatuses, without giving them grounds to think that the OCI asks them to break immediately from the confidence (eroded, to be sure, but still confidence) which they still have in the traditional leaderships."

—Theses adopted by the 17th OCI Congress (June 1971), *La Vérité* No. 561, July 1973 (our emphasis)

But Lenin always insisted that the revolutionary party can be built only on the basis of unity around the revolutionary program. Lenin and Trotsky sought to build the revolutionary party through revolutionary regroupment—intervening on the basis of the full revolutionary program to provoke splits in reformist and centrist parties and winning the base to the revolutionary program. Thus Lenin built the parties of the Third International by provoking splits in the social democracy on the basis of the "21 Conditions," which represented the *full program* of the Communist International. Likewise, the international Spartacist tendency, though on a far smaller scale, has been built through fusions based on the full Trotskyist program, a notable example being our recent fusion with the Chilean Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria.

The OCI's position that the formation of a revolutionary party must inevitably pass through a "hroad" regroupment of different political tendencies is an essentially social-democratic conception typical of the pre-World War I social democracy. So it is not surprising that an OCI leader feels compelled to explicitly solidarize with Luxemburg against Lenin on the method of building the party:

"The centralist rigidity of *What Is to Be Done?* is linked to the particular characteristics of the Russian proletariat, i.e., a nascent proletariat.... The role of the revolutionary intelligentsia as a factor of organization and consciousness, as Lenin portrays it, is thus proportional to the degree of relative backwardness of a proletariat legally deprived of any form of trade-union or political organization.

"Thus the conflict between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg for example seems—aside from personal features—the expression of the immense distance separating one of the least cultured proletariats of Europe from the German proletariat, the strongest and politically most vigorous and ripest in the world."

—Jean-Jacques Marie, Introduction to *What Is to Be Done?*

The Leninist method of party building was reaffirmed by Trotsky in the historic faction fight in the French section against Molinier and Frank, a fight whose lessons are still relevant today. In late 1935, when the Trotskyist GBL was about to leave the SFIO [French section of the Second International] and form an independent party, after a period of entrism, a sharp factional struggle broke out around the orientation to take toward the Gauche Révolutionnaire (GR—Revolutionary Left), a "broad layer" in the left wing of the SFIO. Trotsky insisted on a hard polemical struggle against [GR leader] Pivert based on the need for the Fourth International, the main programmatic difference between the GBL and Pivert.

Molinier and Frank opposed Trotsky, putting forward a conception of party building which is strikingly parallel to that of the OCI. Molinier-Frank wanted to put together an ongoing "United Front" with the Pivertists by forming together with them the "Revolutionary Action Groups" (GAR), based on a four-point minimum (centrist) program. The GAR, they thought, would serve as a structure to lure the unsuspecting Pivertists into the Trotskyists' nets. Molinier-Frank's idea of a press was parallel to their method of party building. With a notion oddly reminiscent of *Informations Ouvrières*, they launched *La Commune* not as the organ of the party but as the expression of the GAR, diluting the programmatic level in order to become a "mass press" on the cheap.

Molinier-Frank's conception—like that of the OCI—necessarily represents a programmatic capitulation, since it seeks a shortcut to the masses by forming a bloc with "broad layers" (the centrist formations) while gradually assimilating them into the party. Drawing on the experience of the entry into the SFIO and the GBL's relations with Pivert's GR, Trotsky tirelessly insisted that the revolutionary party can be built only on a firm programmatic basis, drawing a sharp line between the revolutionists and the centrists. He characterized the differences with Molinier-Frank as "irreconcilable" and condemned them for their "capitulation to the social-patriotic wave" ("A Capitulation to the Centrists," 3 December 1935). Today when the OCI claims Trotsky took a neutral position, maintaining "an equally severe judgment" of his supporters and the Molinierist splitters ([OCI's] *Some Lessons from Our History*) this is simply to obscure the central question in this important struggle—the method of building the Bolshevik party.

To give an "orthodox" cover to its capitulation to the popular front, the OCI tries to make an analogy between its "committees," such as the CUB, and Trotsky's 1935 call for "Action Committees." But for Trotsky the Action Committees were organs of class struggle, linked to the revolutionary action of the working class. He insisted:

"However, it would be a mistake to think that it is possible at a set day and hour to call the proletarian and petty-bourgeois masses to elect committees of action on the basis of a given statute. Such an approach would be purely bureaucratic and consequently barren."

—"For Committees of Action, Not the Popular Front," 26 November 1935

Trotsky saw the Action Committees as being formed through the independent mobilization of the working class against the bourgeois state. He explicitly *counterposed* them to the popular front, projecting that Action Committees which took up such tasks as the creation of a workers militia could become organs of dual power, soviets.

But the OCI makes it clear that its "committees" are not intended for the revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat. Any committees the OCI succeeds in setting up are intended to support and exert pressure on a parliamentary government of the principal parties of the popular front:

"...the united front of the workers parties and organizations; a government of the workers parties without hourgeois ministers representing the bourgeois parties and organizations; the demand that this government, once constituted, satisfy the masses' demands and base itself on the proletariat organized in committees, in soviets; that it take measures to expropriate capital and begin to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus, etc."

—*La Correspondance Internationale*, special issue, December 1976

OCI Abandons Fight Against Pabloism

The OCI's position on the 1974 presidential elections marked its consolidation on a right-centrist line. One of the most notable capitulations marking this turn was its abandonment of the struggle against Pabloism in order to rebuild its bridges toward the Pabloist United Secretariat (USec) and particularly the USec's reformist wing, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

In 1965 Stéphane Just wrote in *Défense du Trotskysme*:

"It was the Cuban revolution which revealed that the SWP leadership had given up building a revolutionary party in the USA, and that from now on it set its task as winning the leaders of the petty-bourgeois movements to the program of socialist revolution.

"There was no longer anything to prevent it from rallying overtly to the political positions of Pabloism."

—*La Vérité* No. 530-531, September 1965

Yet starting in 1973 the OCI discovered that the SWP, which had renounced the 1953-54 split with the Pabloists and in 1963 crawled back to the Pabloist fold, had now become "Trotskyist" and "not centrist." But it wasn't the SWP which had changed! The SWP continues to provide ample proof of what has been clear since the mid-1960's—that it is a hardened reformist organization.

The SWP spent the Vietnam war years building a class-collaborationist bloc with bourgeois politicians (the National Peace Action Coalition) on the basis of the single slogan "Out Now," and refusing to call for the defeat of U.S. imperialism. In the women's movement it oriented for years toward building a class-collaborationist coalition (WONAAC) with bourgeois feminists, declaring that feminism is "revolutionary in itself," and rejecting the slogan of "Free Abortion on Demand" as "sectarian." Three years ago in its "socialist Watergate" the SWP renounced in court "violence or any other illegal activity." In 1976 the SWP's presidential campaign centered on adding some "democratic" amendments to the U.S. Constitution. The SWP's democratic illusions are shown clearly by its long-standing defense of free speech for fascists. Recently it called on the USSR to take the "initiative for disarmament," abandoning the Trotskyist position for military defense of the Soviet Union. And the latest of its campaigns in defense of the interests of its own bourgeoisie was its agitation in alliance with ecologists and openly reactionary elements against the Concorde landing in New York.

In October 1976, pursuing its barefaced courtship of the SWP reformists, the OCI closed the book on even formal struggle against Pabloism by signing a joint declaration with the USec leadership which recognized the USec's pretensions to be the Fourth International and characterized the LCR as "revolutionary." While making this vain attempt to enter the USec, the OCI addressed a major polemic to "Comrade Mandel," demonstrating to what lengths it was willing to go in polite and responsible behavior if only the Pabloists would permit. The OCI's 35-page document ("25 Théses du Camarade Ernest Mandel...," *La Correspondance Internationale*, special issue, December 1976) does not even mention Pabloism, barely hints at the differences which historically separated the OCI from the Pabloists, and reserves the most honeyed flattery for Mandel ("such a subtle connoisseur of the Marxist classics, of Trotsky in particular," etc. etc.).

But now, after assiduously courting the SWP reformists for three years, the OCI may be left out in the cold by the dissolution of the SWP's "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" and the rapprochement of the two wings of the USec. In the period preceding the USec's 1974 World Congress, the OCI advised its supporters in the USec to support the pro-SWP faction. Today OCI supporters present the rapprochement of the two wings of the USec as a capitulation by the SWP to Mandel's majority....

LTF Upholds Anti-Pabloist Fight

Intervening in an OCI educational last June, a comrade of the Ligue Trotskyste de France sketched the degeneration of the OCI:

"In 1956, when the OCI was the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI) and fought against the Pabloites and for Trotskyism, it refused to vote for the PCF and the SFIO when they were in a popular-front formation. It attacked electoralist illusions by projecting a revolutionary battle against the bourgeoisie, whereas the Pabloites voted for the PCF and PS. Who defends that policy today? Today, the OCI has given up the fight against the popular front, not even bothering to preserve appearances....

"In 1972 I was recruited to the AJS [de facto youth group of the OCI] on the slogan of the workers government. Today, using the same excuses as the social democrats, the OCI restricts itself to calling for a Republic in Spain.

"The first book they had me read when I was in the AJS was *Défense du Trotskysme*, where they criticized the SWP, saying that it had nothing in common with Trotskyism, and rightly so: I saw the SWP in the U.S., where it defends free speech for fascists.... But today in the OCI they say that the SWP has miraculously become Trotskyist again.

"When I was in the AJS, we attacked the Pabloists. Today, the OCI leadership signs a document with Mandel and Frank which calls the LCR revolutionary and says that the USec is the Fourth International, without quotation marks, moreover. The OCI is not fighting Pabloism. Today, it is the Ligue Trotskyste de France which has taken up that banner.

"Like the PCI of the 1950's, there are not many of us; but we, the international Spartacist tendency, represent the programmatic continuity of Lenin and Trotsky." ■

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The Maoists United Will Never Be

The rise of New Left Maoism in the late 1960's represented a radicalization among students and youth so rapid and broad that it quickly went beyond the framework of the established ostensibly Leninist organizations. The New Leftists were attracted to Maoism by the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," which they saw as a radical upheaval of youth, analogous to their own experiences in storming the campuses, instead of the manipulated mobilization by a wing of the Peking bureaucracy which it was. They of course turned their backs on the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as being too right-wing and legalistic. But they also rejected the older Maoist organizations, Milt Rosen's Progressive Labor Party (PL) and Nelson Peery's California Communist League (now Communist Labor Party), because of their dogmatic, "old-fashioned" Stalinist style.

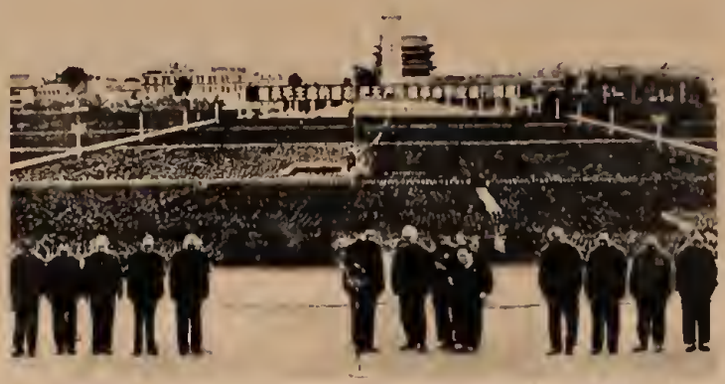
The heyday of New Left Maoism came in 1968-69 and was exemplified by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in that period. While it influenced tens of thousands of students and non-campus youth, this current utterly lacked political cohesion, as was seen at the spectacular June 1969 SDS split conference. On the one side there was PL, which despite its crude "pro-working-class" line was still formally Maoist; and bitterly opposed to it was a feuding gang calling itself the "Revolutionary Youth Movement" (RYM). The scene could have been lifted from one of Chiang Ching's "Cultural Revolution" operas: in the workshops, Bay Area Revolutionary Union leader Bob Avakian was arguing that "Third World people" were the vanguard; up on the platform RYM leaders Bernadine Dohrn and Michael Klonsky were devising one bureaucratic ploy after another to frustrate the PL-led majority; and down on the floor the Ohio delegation would periodically wave its Little Red Books whenever tensions rose.

Following the irrevocable SDS split, Progressive Labor grew for a time on the strength of its flamboyant "revolutionary communist" militancy but was ultimately led by its unique combination of opportunism, sectarianism and theoretical know-nothingism into the dead-end of a small, eclectic Stalinist sect without a country. Dohrn, Mark Rudd and their gang became the Weathermen and went underground with no great effect. And while Klonsky's October League (OL) jockeyed for position with Avakian's Revolutionary Union (RU) over the allegiance of the remnants of non-Weatherman RYM, well over a hundred New Left Maoist collectives bloomed in almost every part of the country.

The fracturing of New Left Maoism was not accidental, nor are the political confusions and organizational maneuverism which have been its hallmark. They are based on the fact that the Chinese bureaucracy has never been interested in (or capable of) giving revolutionary leadership to its international followers. Thus on the decisive black question in the U.S. the only reference which can be gleaned from the entire corpus of "Mao Thought" is a single empty message of solidarity penned in 1967. And despite their initial sharp attacks on Khrushchevite "revisionism," the nationalist Peking rulers have never made the slightest pretense of building a new International -or, until now, even taking sides in the sharp disputes among its adherents in the West.

Both Klonsky and Avakian realized that their success on becoming top dog of U.S. Maoism depended on roping in the local collectives, so the next eight years have seen innumerable regroupment palavers and often kaleidoscopic organizational realignments (see the informative, but partial map drawn up by the "Third Period" Stalinist Communist Workers Group which accompanies this article). So cynical was the maneuvering that the main protagonists repeatedly interchanged their "principled positions" in accordance with their successes or failures in regroupment deals. Originally the OL favored "party building" over "building the united front against imperialism," while the RU had the opposite position. But when "movement unity" became the fad, the OL changed its tune. Then when the RU fell out with the Black Workers Congress (BWC), the other main component of the "National Liaison Committee," suddenly Avakian came out for "building the party NOW." Seeing the RU's star on the wane, Klonsky came out for the "united front" and was relatively successful in attracting a number of collectives (see "Maoist Fusion Fizzles," *Young Spartacus*, December 1974).

The major regroupments which produced the RU (since renamed the Revolutionary Communist Party [RCP]) and the OL (now the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist [CPML]) coincided with a sharp rightward turn in China's foreign policy—support to Madame Bandaranaike's suppression of Guevarist youth rebels in Ceylon, support for Pakistan's nationalist butchery in East Bengal, and above all the beginnings of the alliance with Nixon's America. As "Home on the Range" was being intoned in the Great Hall of the Peoples to greet the mad bomber of Vietnam, a severe crisis of conscience hit the U.S. Maoist movement. Under the impact of Peking's openly counterrevolutionary foreign policy, some Maoist collectives found their way to genuine revolutionary Marxism, the Trotskyism of the Spartacist League (SL). Fusions with the Communist Working Collective (a split from the Communist League) and with the Buffalo Marxist Caucus (a regroupment from the Progressive Labor wing of SDS and the Mao-oid New Left) played an important role in the transformation of the SL from a sub-propaganda group into the nucleus of the vanguard party.



党和国家领导人华国锋、×××、叶剑英、×××、宋庆龄、××、×××、李先念、陈锡联、纪登奎、汪东兴、吴德、许世友、韦国清、李德生、陈永贵、吴桂贤、苏振华、倪志福、赛福鼎在追悼大会上。

Hsinhua

Stalinist falsification: "Gang of Four" bureaucrats were removed from history, their names replaced by X's.

Hsinhua

Chairman Hua presenting Mike Klonsky the American franchise in Peking.

Gamma-Liaison

People's Liberation Army support for the new chairman, Hua.

The Dregs of New Left Maoism

In general those New Left collectives which did not adhere to serious party formations by the end of the Maoist regroupment period of the early 1970's degenerated into hardened circle-spirit Menshevik groupings. Cliquism, local ultra-parochialism, extreme hostility to Marxist theory and program, and sub-reformist activism became the norm. The very existence of these collectives represented a contradiction. As self-proclaimed "Marxist-Leninists" they were formally committed to building a centralized party; in practice they rejected such a formation.

Peking's long delay in granting an American franchise perpetuated the existence of the many Maoist collectives, since every little group could look forward to a new, grand regroupment which would at long last create a party officially endorsed by Mao. But now the pretensions and illusions of most American Maoists have been irreparably shattered, as usual by the seemingly capricious actions of the rulers of the Forbidden City. Last July 20 Li Hsien-nien of the political bureau of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) proclaimed one Michael Klonsky the cardinal of American Maoism:

> "The founding of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the U.S. has reflected the aspirations of the proletariat and the working people of the U.S. and also marked a new victory for the Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S. "...we extend our warm congratulations on the founding of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of the U.S. and on the election of comrade Klonsky and comrade Klehr as chairman and vice-chairman...."
>
> —*Call*, 1 August

This crushing blow to every other Maoist organization in the U.S. is even more bitter because "Chairman" Klonsky is a certified political dolt.

Now all the Maoist collectives face an excruciating situation at two levels. They cannot claim to accept the CPC's leadership unless they march forthwith to the drummer Klonsky, which for most is the equivalent of political suicide. And they cannot claim to be "Marxist-Leninist" without at least making a pretense of building a party

As if anticipating the ill wind from the East, in the last year a new current has emerged in the diffuse "ML scene": the "anti-dogmatists." "Anti-dogmatism" is a code word for rejection of orthodox Maoism and foreign leadership. Whereas in the past "ML" unity maneuvers were conducted in the spirit of more-Mao-than-thou, today various collectives are talking about "unity" and "party-building" on the basis of *independence* from hard-line Maoism and from fealty to Peking.

Among such "anti-dogmatist Marxist-Leninist" collectives are the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee (PWOC), the Potomac Socialist Organization (PSO), the Tucson Marxist Leninist Collective, the Socialist Union of Baltimore, the Ann Arbor Collective (M-L), the Detroit Marxist-Leninist Organization, the Movement for a Revolutionary Left, El Comité and, not to be forgotten, the East 12th Street Study Group in New York City.

Repeated

What chiefly distinguishes these "anti-dogmatist" collectives is both a commitment to localized, low-level economist activism and/or disdain for a comprehensive programmatic worldview. This philistine notion of deriving a full revolutionary program from the latest local garbage collectors' strike is expressed in its pristine form by the Potomac Socialist Organization:

> "...we hold that the correct balance between practice and theory, between the objective conditions and the subjective will, between the working-class movement in the U.S. and international Marxist-Leninist ideology, can best be developed through sustained application of these ideas in daily, local working-class struggle situations."
>
> —"Preconditions of party-formation," *Guardian*, 23 February 1977

In other words the PSO believes that the entire doctrinal and programmatic universe of Marxism-Leninism "can best be developed" through immersion in the proletarian struggles of the Washington, D.C. area.

These "anti-dogmatist" "MLers" are fond of referring to Lenin during the *Iskra* period (1900-03), but their self-identification with the early Russian social democracy is both grossly ahistoric and profoundly politically false on several levels. To begin with, the Russian working class at this time was atomized, prevented from building stable mass organizations by tsarist repression. Thus both the Iskraists and their opponents, the Economists, had to directly organize the working class through struggles which of necessity were localized and episodic. In contrast, U.S. workers have powerful mass organizations in the trade unions and are prevented from struggling for proletarian socialism by a consciously pro-capitalist bureaucracy. The central strategic task of an American communist vanguard party is to oust the Meany/Fraser bureaucracy and replace it at the head of the organized working class.

Further, at the level of organization Lenin's main fight with the Economists and their successors, the Mensheviks, was precisely his opposition to the autonomous, localized "circle spirit." In his declaration "To the Party" (August 1904), he summed up the Bolshevik/Menshevik split:

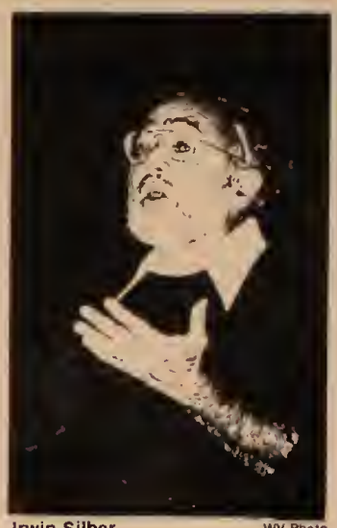
> "...the essence of its internal struggle is a conflict between the circle spirit and the party spirit.... Under the name of the Party 'minority' there have united a variety of elements who are linked by a conscious or unconscious desire to preserve circle relationships, pre-party forms of organization."

If there is an analogy from this period to the "anti-dogmatist" Maoists today, it is certainly not with the Bolsheviks but with their anti-centralist opponents, whose policy Lenin attacked as "elevat[ing] their instinctive anarchism to a principle of struggle, misnaming it a desire for 'autonomy,' a demand for 'tolerance,' etc." A more apt description of the political psychology of groups like the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee, the Potomac Socialist Organization, the Ann Arbor Collective (M-L), et al. would be hard to find.

Enter the Wily Opportunists of the Guardian

It is doubtful that groups like the PWOC, PSO, El Comité, etc., in themselves would have the capacity or will to put together a national organization. But in the past two years or so "critical Maoism" has found an influential patron in the "independent radical" *Guardian*. It is mainly in the pages of the *Guardian* that there has been talk of a new regroupment of "anti-dogmatist ML" collectives. Yet despite a momentary seeming identity of interests, the glib *Guardian* journalists and the primitivist New Left Mao-oid collectives represent fundamentally different animals.

As a political current, from its origins up to today the *Guardian* has always been the expression par excellence of American "progressives." Its constituency is the world of left-liberal and



Irwin Silber WV Photo

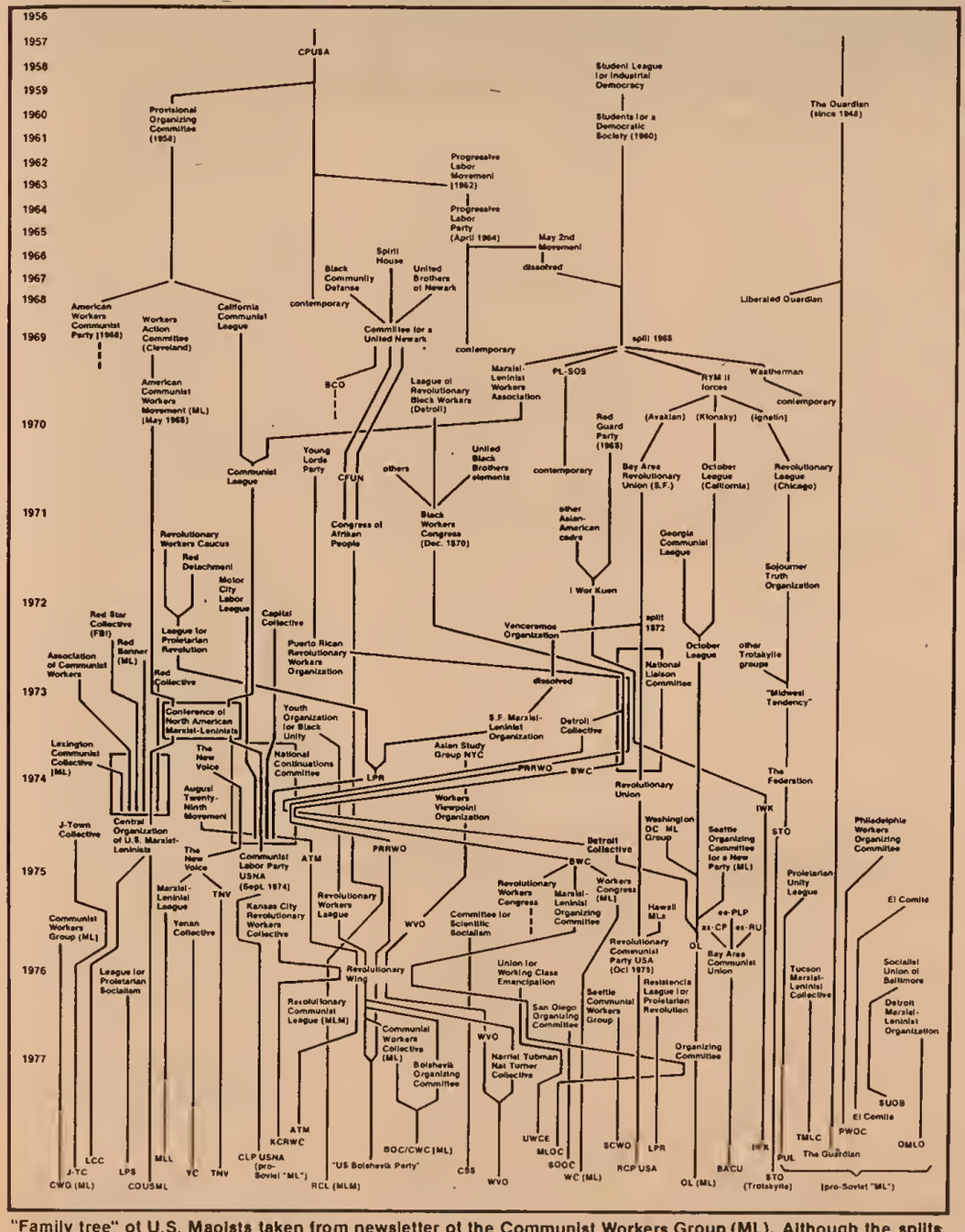
radical petty-bourgeois, pro-Stalinist fellow-travelers. That is why Irwin Silber & Co. have been able to go through apparently far-reaching political shifts with relative ease, from supporting bourgeois liberal-populist demagogues like Henry Wallace to supporting Ho Chi Minh and Mao. In all cases, the *Guardian* faithfully reflected the major shifts of opinion in the rad-lib fringe, which is the most that American Stalinism has ever managed to drum up in the way of bourgeois support for popular frontism.

The *National Guardian* originated when a right split from the Communist Party merged with Henry Wallace's Progressive Party, which in turn had been brokered by the CP. Wallace was FDR's third-term vice president, and the *National Guardian* (18 October 1948) pledged its commitment to the "continuation and development of the progressive tradition set in our time by Franklin Delano Roosevelt." When the first rumblings of the New Left could be heard in the early 1960's, the paper asked skeptically "Is There a New Left?" But once it realized there was such a current big enough to build its circulation base, the *National Guardian* carried out an abrupt shift, appearing under its shortened name and with a zippier format, filled with new rhetoric and touting new heroes. On 10 February 1968 it declared:

> "We dedicate this, the first issue of the new *Guardian* to those heroic liberation fighters who last week began a major offensive against American imperialism in South Vietnam and particularly the nineteen patriots who stormed the U.S. embassy in Saigon."

With the split of SDS and the death of the New Left, the *Guardian* continued to serve as a clearing house for aging, footloose New Left radicals from the Vermont hills to Telegraph Avenue. Its usual posture was as the tribune of

continued on page 8



"Family tree" of U.S. Maoists taken from newsletter of the Communist Workers Group (ML). Although the splits, fusions and isolated sectlets shown above indicate the many divisions within U.S. Maoism, the chart is far from complete!

Maoists...

(continued from page 7)

"unity" of the "Marxist-Leninist movement." However, when in the fall and winter of 1975 China went all the way with South Africa and the CIA in Angola, most American radicals became critical of Peking's alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. Acutely sensitive to the growing rift between mainstream radicalism and orthodox Maoism, the *Guardian* too became "comradely critical" of China's foreign policy. Under the banner of "anti-dogmatic ML unity" the *Guardian* is seeking to revive late-1960's New Leftism in both its organizational amorphousness and its generalized support to "Third World" nationalism.

A savagely perceptive attack on the *Guardian* and its new friends has been written by the Communist Workers Group in Kansas City, a "Third Period" ultra-Stalinist sect which publishes *Forward*. In contrast to the mind-deadening unreadability of most Stalin-Mao Thought, *Forward* has a lively and finely ironic style which, while no compensation for its wretched political program, is a virtue nonetheless. *Forward* (August 1977) has this to say about the *Guardian*'s line:

> "As any attentive reader of the *Guardian* knows, that newspaper does not have, properly speaking, a political line of its own. Its 'line' is, rather, the sum total of events beyond its control, the political biases of its contributors and editors, the criticisms leveled against it by other 'ML' organizations, and most importantly the current *mood* of its subscribers. It is the *Guardian*'s subscribers and sustainers in particular who determine its 'line,' since in supplying monthly donations, in encouraging their friends to subscribe, in shopping at the *Guardian* marketplace, in creating a 'demand' for *Guardian* T-shirts, Chinese work jackets, *Guardian* calendars, Kim Il Sung reprints, and so on, it is they who determine the *Guardian*'s existence. This 'irresistible historical force,' *purchasing power*,' which supplies the *Guardian* with both its economic and political raison d'être and occupies in its editors' minds the space usually reserved for political integrity, drives them with the most extreme caution to seek the golden mean. Thus prior to or during a major political event, the *Guardian*'s editors nervously extemporize, avoid taking any 'extreme' position in either direction, caution against drawing conclusions too soon, and await the inevitable flood of correspondence from their readers. These are given prominent display in the 'Letters' column, so many letters adamantly for, so many adamantly against. After thus polling its constituency for a few weeks running, the *Guardian*'s editors simply split the difference, declare the discussion closed and *voilà* its political 'line'." [emphasis in original]

Although *Forward*'s delightful empirical description certainly hits the mark, its analysis of the *Guardian* as the flabby, dilletantish right wing of "Marxism-Leninism" is shortsighted and in that sense false. The *Guardian*'s Maoist posture of the late 1960's-early 1970's was only a passing phase, corresponding to a period when this was the dominant attitude among "independent radicals." As in the days of Wallace and the Progressive Party, the *Guardian* still orients to the rad-lib "progressives." The actual political distance between the *Guardian* and the *Village Voice* or *New York Review of Books* is far less than its voguish "ML" terminology would indicate. If the collectives like the PWOC, PSO, etc., can be likened to the circle-spirit Economists, then Silber's *Guardian* is analogous to the Russian "legal Marxists" of the same period, the aspiring left advisers to the liberal bourgeoisie.

The *Guardian* exists as a publicity agent for forces capable of influencing *bourgeois* liberalism. As such it is organically incapable of adhering to a party formation, for to do so would automatically make the *Guardian*ites competitors of the very movements they seek collaboration with. Building a party would violate the *Guardian*'s very reason for existence—to maneuver for influence in U.S. and international "progressive" circles.

Economism vs. Progressivism

Thus the "dialogue"/dispute over party-building between the *Guardian* and the various "anti-dogmatist" collectives has been essentially artificial—for the record only. The *Guardian*, for the above-stated reasons, has no intention of adhering to a party formation, and collectives like the PWOC and PSO will never allow any kind of national leadership to determine their highly valued activities among the working masses of Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Tucson or Ann Arbor. Above all, these parochial workerists seek to escape from politics, i.e., from taking *any* unpopular position. So, for the record, the dispute took the usual, sterile form of "theory vs. practice." Ho hum.

UPI

"Progressive" Henry Wallace and Franklin Roosevelt.

The most extreme philistine spokesmen for the economist practitioners is the East 12th Street Study Group in NYC. It berates the *Guardian* and the rest of the American left for their preoccupation with foreign affairs, which presumably don't concern U.S. workers. They write:

> "The debate on Angola, for example, has been conducted as an internal and 'in house' discussion in isolation from the working class and has in some cases been detrimental to the work of political activists. As one frustrated activist expressed it upon her return from a left-misled community crisis meeting, 'The left is so far ahead of the working class, or thinks it is, that the major issue in America is Angola, as though the issues here have been resolved'."
>
> —"We must be organizers for action," *Guardian*, 8 June 1977

Faced with this unabashed, anti-political capitulation to the backwardness of the American working class, even Irwin Silber can sound rather orthodox:

> "A party is, by its very nature, a 'voluntaristic' organization which attempts to introduce into the class struggle between the working class and bourgeoisie a factor which does not flow spontaneously from that struggle—that is, the organization and leadership of a vanguard force which bases itself, in the first place, on the theories of scientific socialism."
>
> —*Guardian*, 4 May 1977

In reality the *Guardian* has as little to do with the "theories of scientific socialism" as it has to do with trade-union or community work. The *Guardian*'s "theories" are an eclectic amalgam of Stalinoid notions designed to justify its positions of the moment. The latter are not derived from a coherent programmatic world view but from a desire to please the latest whims of its "independent radical" constituency. That Silber's talk of "theory" is mere hombast is proven by the *Guardian*'s refusal to take a position on the class character of the Soviet Union, one of the key questions of our time and indispensable for taking a clear position on China.

Clarity is obviously not what this trendy crowd is after. What the *Guardian* calls the primacy of "theory" is nothing more than a literary propagandistic orientation. Its purpose is to provide the necessary cover of ambiguity and sophistry to evade responsibility for the more revolting aspects of Stalinism, while continuing to act as publicity agent for various nationalist movements and "Third World" Stalinist forces. It is this desire to be with the big leagues—rubbing shoulders with the famous, occasionally visiting China or Vietnam—which causes the *Guardian* to reject local activism. After all, where would they be without the endless stories of that "progressive" journalist Wilfred Burchett (who doubtless only tortures his readers) to inform its armchair radical supporters of strange happenings in far-off places.

These deep-going differences between the *Guardian* and the "anti-dogmatist" collectives have prevented them from uniting in any common framework. Still the *Guardian* feels impelled to make some show of "party-building" and in September established "Guardian Clubs" in ten major cities. The clubs have been formed around ten programmatic points (reduced from an original 29), which allows Silber & Co. to present them as a step toward a pre-party formation while at the same time serving as a means to smoke out members of existing Maoist tendencies and any other troublemakers. The ten-point program reasserts that U.S. imperialism is "the principal enemy," while labelling the Soviet Union "a hegemonistic superpower" (whose class nature is conveniently left undefined). And the kicker: "Within the antirevisionist, 'new communist' movement, the dominant error has been ultra-'leftism' and sectarianism" (*Guardian*, 7 September).

The nature and purpose of these clubs is described by the acid pen of the dogmatic Stalinist *Forward* group:

> "The *Guardian* would just as soon continue as an 'independent' newsweekly quietly pandering its radical chic and boosting its subscription lists, and leave this 'party' business alone. But in claiming to be Marxist-Leninist, it must at least go through the motions of building a new communist party.... At the same time it must be especially careful not to offend its constituency or place 'outrageous' demands on their fragile dedication to the cause. It must assure them that 'party-building' is not, after all, such a frightful thing; ...and that, besides, the readership can carry on their usual business as easily under the 'party' label as they can under the title '*Guardian* sustainer'."
>
> —*Forward*, August 1977

The *Guardian* has yet to spell out how the Guardian Clubs are related to its professed commitment to "party-building." At a promotional meeting in Chicago on September 26 Silber said that the clubs will not bother other "Marxist-Leninists" because "we are not interested in bringing into being an organization that competes with other organizations." Yet in the next breath he claims the clubs are also supposed to "help develop and support national organizational forms that will move the party-building process forward." More than one *Guardian* supporter present expressed confusion over the "double messages" presented by Silber.

The real message, however, came in his pitch for the clubs to mainly work to increase the financial and circulation base of the paper. As a result of its turn toward "critical Maoism" the *Guardian* has suffered the loss of some pro-China supporters, just as it lost some dyed-in-the-wool "friends of the Soviet Union" when it took up the New Left banner in the late 1960's. In response to its "comradely criticism" of their foreign policy, Peking rulers canceled the Guardian Tours of People's China. So in large part the clubs have been launched to satisfy pressing financial needs. "Questions of local political action," said Silber, would be "somewhat secondary."

It can be imagined what the response of localist collectives has been to this slap in the face. The October issue of the PWOC's *Organizer* whines, "...the *Guardian* has assumed a posture of 'benign neglect' [toward the "anti-dogmatist" collectives]. It has chosen to stand on the periphery of these efforts, and now has counterposed its own narrow plan." Thus it appears that the grand regroupment of the dregs of the New Left is going nowhere. A half-hearted replay of the Maoist "unity" maneuvers of the early 1970's, the "anti-dogmatist" lash-up has apparently bitten the dust.

The Peking-Loyal Losers

If the "critical Maoists" have absolutely no future as a unified tendency, then the remaining Peking-loyal organizations who have been left out in the cold by China's endorsement of Klonsky have no future even as local collectives. Ever since the break-up last year of the so-called "Revolutionary Wing," the self-styled "hard" Maoist groups—notably the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO), the Revolutionary Workers League, the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) and the August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM)—have been in complete disarray. WVO has now proclaimed itself the sole "leading center" of "Marxism-Leninism-Mao-tsetung Thought" in the U.S. and a split-off from the PRRWO has denounced its parent organization as "Trotskyite."

Some refugee collectives from the defunct "Revolutionary Wing" (which was largely the initiative of the PRRWO) joined with some other hapless local Maoist groups to discuss "party-building" prospects at a conference last March in Denver. Convened by the Colorado Organization for Revolutionary Struggle (COReS), this meeting brought together the League for Proletarian Revolution (LPR—formerly Resistencia Puertorriqueña), the ATM, the Kansas City Revolutionary Workers Collective and the Lexington Communist Collective. Evidently the sole basis for "unity" of these collectives was submission to the "leadership" of the Hua regime in China and the Enver Hoxha regime in Albania. Thus, explaining why the Wichita Communist Cell was "dis-invited" to the Denver forum when its pro-"Gang of Four" views became known, the sponsors stated:

> "Our position on the gang of four is that we start from the premise, the unity that the Communist Party of China (CPC) as well as the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA) are the international leadership of the communist movement and that they have proved this in theory and in practice....
>
> "COReS considers the recognition of the international leadership of the CPC and the PLA to be a fundamental line of demarcation between all genuine Marxist-Leninists and all the sham Marxist-Leninists. On this point we make no concessions."
>
> —*Party Building: The Overall*

Situation in the Communist Movement and How to Complete the Central Task (April 1977)

Unfortunately for these out-of-touch would-be hardliners, the Peking and Tirana bureaucrats have since had a falling out, thus shattering their single point of "unity." At the March conference there was disagreement on just about everything. The party-building discussion was dominated by a dispute on—you guessed it—theory versus practice. The ATM accused the other groups of being literary sects:

> "But if the advanced are those who have won the confidence of the laboring masses how have they done this except through their practice of leading the class struggle? And how do we win them over if all we do is talk? All we'll win over are the windbags, not the revolutionary leaders of the class and national movements."
>
> —*Ibid.*

The ATM's concept of "leading the class struggle," however, was seen at the Fremont, California GM plant where the Resistance caucus, politically supported by the ATM, has careened between the bureaucratic cliques of the Brotherhood Caucus and the former Unity Team ("Brotherhood" Bureaucrats Collect on Sellout," *WV* No. 174, 23 September).

As could be expected the other groups, particularly the LPR, denounced the August Twenty-Ninth Movement for mindless economistic activism:

> "By labeling as 'leftist' anything that relates to theory, by dispensing with all ideological struggle with a simple, 'this is abstract, it's in the realm of ideas,' they [the ATM] have become an anti-theory trend in our movement. An anti-theory trend carries on a line of practice, practice, practice, that unless defeated will take these comrades to the marshes."

And so on and so forth. Anyone vaguely familiar with Mao Thought could write the dialogue at the Denver forum in their sleep. A computer could produce livelier and more original polemics.

The March conference was probably the last of many gatherings of its kind. These few small Maoist groups clung to the life raft of foreign authority. Yet a few months later this life raft split and sank for good. In July the PLA denounced the CPC for revisionism without so much as paying lip service to Mao Tse-tung Thought (see "Albania Denounces China," *WV* No. 169, 12 August). And then on July 20 came the final knockout blow. The "international leadership of the communist movement" recognized Klonsky's Communist Party Marxist-Leninist as its sole authorized outlet in the U.S. So already we are beginning to hear sour grapes from these spurned running dogs of Peking. Even the LPR is beginning to talk like "critical Maoists":

> "If your view is that the task of the U.S. Marxist-Leninists is to repeat everything that the Chinese say, why don't you join the October League-CP whom the Chinese comrades have recognized as the party of the U.S. proletariat and with whom they have fraternal relations?"
>
> —*Resistance*, October 1977

The ever-sarcastic *Forward* commented on Peking's granting of the franchise to Klonsky:

> "It has laid, in the view of the pro-CPC but anti-CP-ML circles, a rather rotten egg. It is so rotten, in fact, it will be difficult for the RCP, Revolutionary Wing, WC(ML), New Voice, PUL, M. Nicolaus and others even to mention the CP-ML's new favored status without, on the one hand, attacking the CPC outright, or on the other, making themselves look even more ridiculous. The CPC's recognition of the CP-ML is not after all, an inadvertent error or simple tactical maneuver. It is the CPC's view, as expressed by Politbureau member Li Hsien-nien, '...The founding of the CP-ML of the US has reflected the aspirations of the proletariat and the working people of the US....' The American proletariat aspires, in the CPC's view, to have a *nitwit* at its head." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Forward*, August 1977

Trotskyism—The Continuity of Leninism

Behind the futile scrambling for position of the American Maoist sects lies the fundamental fact that their "glorious" bureaucratic leaders in Peking have always viewed their "foreign" flunkies with utter disdain. The job of "MLMers" in the West is to be loyal, period; then perhaps they will receive a few crumbs from the banquet tables of the Great Hall of the Peoples. It was Klonsky's slavish apologies for every twist and turn of Chinese foreign policy—including in particular the OL's denunciation of "Cuban mercenaries" in Angola—that won him the coveted handshake. From Stalin's deliberate refusal to supply sufficient arms to the Spanish workers fighting Franco to his dissolution of the Comintern in the interests of anti-Axis "unity" to Peking's total disinterest in building a new International—the *nationalist* Stalinist bureaucrats have always used their international disciples as doormats.

The explosion of New Left radicalism in the late 1960's represented a commendable sense of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese masses fighting the greatest imperialist power on earth, with the workers and students who brought Gaullist France to the brink of revolution, with black ghetto youth who battled cops in Watts, Detroit and Newark. For thousands of radicalized youth, Maoism appeared to be the contemporary expression of revolutionary communism. Only a relatively few New Left radicals were able to grasp the bankruptcy and ultimately counterrevolutionary nature of Maoist-Stalinist doctrine and find their way to the Trotskyism of the Spartacist League. In doing so they had to break with "the movement" and accept a certain political isolation from the mainstream of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

But today a New Left Maoist faces the unenviable choice of joining the pro-U.S. imperialist CPML of the "nitwit" Klonsky or burying himself in nickel-and-dime labor struggles and outright social work through some local collective. In contrast, those ex-New Left radicals who joined the Spartacist League in the late 1960's and early 1970's are participating in the construction of a genuine international democratic-centralist tendency, whose American section is building the basis for future revolutionary leadership of the organized workers movement through waging exemplary struggles today and forging a Leninist party on granite programmatic foundations rather than endless maneuverism and sycophantic toadyism. In the end principled Marxist politics will defeat opportunism and faddishness. ■

SOEBEN ERSCHIENEN!

SPARTACIST

Deutsche Ausgabe

Nr. 5-Mai 1977 DM 1,--/öS 7

- Vom Grossen Sprung zur Rebellion auf dem Tien-An-Men-Platz: Maos „Sozialismus": Weder Elektrifizierung noch Sowjets
- Entstehung des kubanischen deformierten Arbeiterstaates
- Rede über die Labor Party-Frage
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Sadat...

(continued from page 1)

the bloody Irgun terrorist Menahem Begin leading the pack) drove out the Palestinian Arabs, Egypt, Trans-Jordan and Syria fought to *carve up* the former British mandate for themselves. The 1967 and 1973 conflicts were likewise wars of territorial expansion on both sides. It is conflicting state ambitions, not the Palestinian question, which guarantee war between expansionist Israel and the surrounding Arab states. This does not mean that a separate peace settlement could not be signed—already Jordan's Hussein and Lebanese Maronites have more than cordial relations with their Zionist neighbor. But this is based on Israeli military predominance, and should the balance of forces shift then new wars could break out at any moment.

Following the 1973 war Sadat turned from military confrontation, dependent on an alliance with the Soviet Union, to a diplomatic offensive through alliance with U.S. imperialism. Sadat has shown in every way that his regime desires to become a client of the U.S.; his personal visit to Israel is designed to prove to Washington that he really accepts the Zionist state—he only wants some territorial adjustments. While Begin might eventually make a deal for a large chunk of the Sinai (excepting Gaza and with conditions on the straits of Aqaba), Tel Aviv will defy Washington when it believes its vital national interests are at stake. Sadat's latest diplomatic maneuver is based on an illusion shared by Arab nationalists and their international leftist sympathizers, namely that Israel is a U.S. puppet state. Yet since the 1967 war Washington has pressured Israel to pull out of most of the occupied territories—to no avail.

Begin reported after his talk with Sadat, "We like each other." They do have more than a little in common: they are both capitalist military butchers; both oppress the Palestinians and the working masses. The rulers of the Arab East, the Assads and Qaddafis no less than the Sadats and Husseins, are not "betrayers" of Palestinian national rights; they are enemies and oppressors of the Palestinian people. In the unlikely event that the Arab states should conquer Israel, the Palestinians will suffer the same disastrous fate as in Gaza under Nasser's Egypt, during Black September in Hussein's Jordan, and last year in Lebanon under the boot of Assad's Syria.

When confronting Israel the Arab ruling classes seek popular support by claiming to stand for "Palestinian national liberation" and the "Arab Revolution." Fake-leftists tail along behind them, supporting one "anti-imperialist" colonel after another. When seeking through diplomacy what they cannot gain in war, the Arab rulers must openly conciliate Zionism, and their cheerleaders of yesterday cry "traitor." It is not accidental that the most confrontationist "anti-Zionist" states, Iraq and Libya, do not border Israel and thus do not have to risk much in urging greater military intransigence. But in those, like Egypt, on whose territory a war would be fought the rulers are openly fearful of a new defeat and the social upheaval which could come in its wake. The strikes and food riots in Cairo in January 1976 and 1977 shook Sadat's regime to the foundations; his army shot down scores and wounded hundreds of protesters. Now he is willing to make a desperate move in international diplomacy in the hopes of earning Washington's gratitude and aid dollars.

In 1939 the French ambassador to Germany, Coulondre, in his last talk with Hitler said, "I would also have the fear that as a result of the war, there would be only one real victor—Mr. Trotsky." The Nazi dictator accepted as self-evident this prediction of revolutionary upheaval in the wake of a conflagration between the imperialist powers. Today the Iranian Shah is certainly conscious of this danger inherent in a new Near East war and seeks to build up an army which can serve as a pretorian guard over the entire Persian Gulf area. Sadat, with one eye nervously looking over his shoulder at the restive Egyptian working masses, fears the same. But even Begin, although he appears to have the upper hand militarily, faces tremendous discontent over his anti-working-class economic policies and very real war-weariness which doubtless fed into the tumultuous welcome given Sadat.

The road to Palestinian national self-determination does not go through an alliance with the Arab bourgeois states against Israel. It lies in an alliance of the Arab workers and peasants with the Hebrew-speaking proletariat against the Begins, Sadats and Assads.

Israel out of the occupied territories! Down with the reactionary Zionist and Arab nationalist regimes! For the right of self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew people, which can be democratically realized only through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

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British Strikers...

(continued from page 1)

the only recent challenge to the government's pay policy. For the first several weeks of November there were sporadic blackouts across the island as militant power worker shop stewards organised a "work-to-rule" campaign. Their claims were aimed at offsetting falling real wages by winning increased benefits, travel allowances and a £6-per-week increase in shift pay. Faced with the unanimous hostility of their official union leadership and Energy Secretary Tony Benn, a prominent Labour "left," the action fizzled out after 17 days. But it did serve to remind Britain's rulers of the combativity and real social power of this sector of the working class.

Earlier this month 850 air traffic controller assistants won a 14 percent wage hike beginning April 1978 with an additional 8 percent payable at some unspecified date after that. While the air traffic controller assistants' strike breached the government's official guidelines, it didn't even compensate for the inflation of the past year. In the year ending September the cost of living rose by 15.5 percent (*Economist*, 12 November). Furthermore the Labour government doesn't really expect to hold wage increases down to 10 percent. According to the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (13 November), when Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey "talks about 10 percent, [he] does so in the hope of achieving 15 percent." The government reportedly conceded this because it feared that picket-line busting by the Royal Air Force to deliver fuel to the West Drayton air traffic control center posed a threat of spreading trade-union militancy.

In the case of the firemen the government has decided that it had to undertake the political risk of organising large-scale strikebreaking by military personnel. However despite the best efforts of the bourgeois press to whip up support for the uniformed scabs with tales of 17-year-old soldiers battling the flames and lurid descriptions of various people dying in fires, the strike is gathering momentum and popular support as it enters its second week. The firemen have thrown up picket lines around virtually every firehouse in the country and are preventing troops from getting access to equipment inside.

While the firemen have not bent in their determination to win this strike despite the propaganda barrage of the bourgeois press, the same cannot be said of the entire British left. The International-Communist League (I-CL), in the 11-18 November issue of *Workers' Action*, suggested that firemen should occupy their fire stations so they could put out fires in cases of "emergencies." But after being sharply rebuked by strikers that of course all fires are emergencies, *Workers' Action* meekly published a retraction the following week.

The fire officers (whose own "professional association" is putting in a pay claim for 40 percent on December 1) have thus far been accompanying the scabs on calls to give technical advice and assistance. However as the strike gathers strength the firemen have begun to set up picket lines at the makeshift scab stations, lines which most of the officers are not crossing. The determination of the rank-and-file firemen to win their struggle has led some of the fire officers to join the pickets. The firemen are also receiving increasing support from working-class communities across Britain as tens of thousands of people are signing petitions supporting the strike and making donations to the strike fund. At Duston fire station in London, for example, firemen collected 7,000 signatures and £800 in donations during the first five days of the strike.

The Fleet Street capitalist press has been focusing a lot of attention on the fact that the firemen have retained control of the fire stations and the specialized firefighting equipment contained in them (most of which untrained army scabs would be unable to use effectively in any event). However thus far the government has been reluctant to send the army through the firemen's lines to get equipment, fearing the probable repercussions throughout the trade-union movement. In the first days of the strike there was scattered fighting between firemen and troops in Essex as the government intended to billet troops in fire stations there. In these clashes the firemen came out on top and successfully defended their picket lines.

The firemen have shown considerable initiative in organising their strike, with many of the more militant stations sending out flying picket squads to reinforce the lines at weaker points and to picket the scab depots to keep the officers out. After the government cut off phone services to fire stations controlled by strikers in London, militants set up a "pirate" radio station using equipment in the fire trucks which broadcast an hourly "Rank and File Bulletin." The government finally managed to force it off the air by jamming the four channels it was broadcasting on. The firemen, however, have countered by occasionally using their equipment to jam the broadcasts of the strikebreaking fire centers. In Merseyside strikers' wives are reported to be organising a nationwide campaign in support of their husbands, which is to include factory gate visits, petitions, collections and demonstrations (*Times* [London], 19 November).

None of the credit for any of these initiatives goes to the official leadership of the Fire Brigade Union (FBU), whose opposition to striking was overturned by a two-to-one majority at the FBU delegates' conference on 7 November. The conference majority also passed a motion specifying that the leadership was *not* empowered to end the strike with any less than the full 30 percent claim and that any such decisions could only be taken by a reconvened conference. An attempt by the FBU leadership to postpone the strike by first submitting it to a national mail ballot was resoundingly defeated. Throughout the strike the union leadership, headed by general secretary Terry Parry, has been extremely conciliatory to the government but has thus far been unable to derail the struggle.

The Labour government has quite explicitly staked its continuation in office on its ability to further depress the living standards of the working class. If the firemen decisively break the 10 percent limit, then Labour's pay policy will be in shambles. Since the end of Phase Two on August 1, only 3.5 percent of British workers have reached settlements, compared to the 17 percent who would have settled by November in a normal year (*Financial Times*, 17 November). The capitalist class recognises that if any sizeable group of workers breaks the pay limit it will spell the end of their hopes to get another year of wage cutting.

If and when that happens Callaghan's government will have outlived its usefulness to the employers and will be brought down by the decision of its bourgeois coalition partners, the Liberals. Speaking in the House of Commons on 17 November, Liberal Party spokesman Emyln Hooson made this unambiguously clear when he reportedly stated that "if the government negotiates an agreement [with the firemen] which effectively destroys their battle against inflation, then the arrangement with the Liberals is at an end" (*Times*, 16 November).

In a parliamentary vote of confidence in Callaghan's handling of the strike November 15, the bulk of the opposition Conservatives voted with the government while 38 Tribunites voted against. The Tribunites, who have loyally supported both the Social Contract and the coalition with the Liberals, apparently decided that their vote on the firemen's strike provided an appropriate opportunity for them to refurbish their badly tarnished credentials as Labour "lefts," without of course endangering the continuation of "their" coalition government. In fact in voting against the leadership the Tribunites lamented only Callaghan's lack of "flexibility" in dealing with the firemen—but did not question the use of troops to break strikes.

Labour's difficulties in enforcing the wage restraints are just beginning with the firemen's strike. One of the most powerful and combative sections of the British proletariat, the miners, has put in a claim for an *immediate 90 percent* wage hike, thereby thumbing their noses at both the wage-slashing 10 percent "guidelines" as well as the government's 12-month "rule," which holds that pay settlements must be separated by at least a year, meaning that the miners would have to wait until next March.

Joe Gormley, president of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), had assured the government that the miners would accept the 12-month rule in return for the immediate introduction of "productivity bonuses" of less than one third the pay claim. The miners rejected this insulting piecework scheme in national balloting. Gormley's main opposition in the vote was from within the NUM bureaucracy, headed up by Arthur Scargill, leader of the Yorkshire miners and darling of the Communist Party.

After winning the vote Scargill eagerly reached an agreement with Gormley to stretch out negotiations with the National Coal Board for at least another month (with various local productivity deals being implemented in the meantime). But a decisive victory for the firemen could well create enough pressure from the NUM ranks to force the leadership to act on their pay claims, thus bringing Britain's powerful miners into a head-on confrontation with the government. For now all wings of the NUM bureaucracy are stalling for time, hoping that Callaghan can force the firemen to settle for something close to the pay guidelines.

While the miners are generally seen as posing the most serious threat to Labour's pay restraints, unions representing millions of other workers have also begun to put forward demands well in excess of the paltry 10 percent guidelines. One million local authority manual workers who withdrew a settlement on 7 November are claiming 30 percent. Power workers, engineers [metal workers], seamen and even university lecturers are demanding 20-45 percent increases for their next settlement, while their leaders sit on their hands, hoping that the government will be able to control the firemen. None of these treacherous bureaucrats is prepared to bring their ranks out in support of the firemen and to thereby turn this strike into an all-out attack on the remnants of the tattered Social Contract.

The Callaghan government must not be allowed to suppress the *political* impact of the anti-wage restraints strikes by taking them on singly. By coming out *now* in solidarity with the firemen, other militant sectors where opposition to the 10 percent guidelines is burning hot—above all the miners—can greatly aid the isolated firemen and turn their strike into a broad offensive against the anti-working-class Social Contract and coalition government. The entire union movement must defend the firemen's strike from the army scabs by reinforcing mass picket lines and other militant actions. And if Callaghan uses the army to smash the firemen's pickets or other strike activities, this must be answered by a general strike!

Sturrock/Report

Yorkshire miners demonstrating outside union executive meeting.

As the British working class stands on the verge of a massive explosion of the class struggle, the criminal character of Labour's alliance with the Liberals stands out more sharply than ever. The firemen's strike demonstrates anew that the condition posed by Labour's bourgeois allies for the maintenance of such a bloc is the suppression of every significant working-class struggle that threatens the austerity programme and the pay controls imposed by the ruling class. The continued existence of this wretched coalition is incompatible with leading major strike battles to victory.

The toleration of such an alliance, not only by every wing of the Labour Party but by the trade-union bureaucracy as well, has forced the working masses to endure countless sacrifices in the interests of moribund British imperialism. It is not only the reformists who stand condemned but every variety of centrist which has given electoral and political support to this class-collaborationist alliance. The creation of an authentic Trotskyist party in Britain, firmly grounded in opposition to all forms of coalitionism, has never been more urgent. ■

UMWA...

(continued from page 12)

recent ARB decision is a perfect example of the kind of "justice" that union members get under such compulsory arbitration schemes.

The combative miners have time and again downed their tools in the face of unresolved grievances, unfavorable arbitration decisions and hostile court rulings. But this is no thanks to the UMWA bureaucracy, which has consistently sowed illusions in arbitrators and the bourgeois state. Arnold Miller's succession to the presidency was essentially the result of the intervention of the Labor Department in the union, while both Patrick and Patterson continued this disgraceful pattern by seeking government supervision of last June's election.

Without the unlimited right to strike, any contract gain won by miners can be taken back by the coal operators. This demand is central in the upcoming UMWA contract battle. Miller, Patrick and Patterson all now claim to support the inclusion of a "local right to strike" clause in the contract. If they give lip service to this demand, it is only because of the insistence of the rank and file, demonstrated in strike after strike, that they will not tolerate the subordination of their interests to the pro-company arbitrators and the courts.

However militants in the coalfields must beware of the treachery of the UMWA tops, whose local "right to strike," if actually realized, would probably require approval by the International in order to be exercised and would undoubtedly enmesh the miners in other bureaucratic straitjackets. The bureaucrats have already made clear that they would seek to provide guarantees against the roving picket squads in exchange for the "local right to strike." Miller was elected in 1972 claiming to support the "local right to strike" only to drop this demand in his first national negotiations with the coal operators in 1974. Eighty thousand miners wildcatted in protest.

Militants must demand an end to any restriction on a local's ability to strike over its particular grievances. But in the coal industry, where many pits have fewer than 100 workers, isolated strikes would be far easier to defeat than those which pull out neighboring mines. It is precisely because of the tremendous social and political power of the mass miners' strikes that the bureaucracy is as afraid of them as the bosses. The 80,000-man wildcat against strikebreaking court injunctions in the summer of 1976 began as a job-posting dispute between the Cedar Coal Company and about 200 members of local 1759 in Cabin Creek, West Virginia. Miller & Co. threatened the local with receivership and expulsions in an effort to break the wildcat, which included half the union's working membership.

The ARB decision concludes with the statement: "The choice is the Miners'. They cannot legitimately argue that their survival is dependent on adherence to their picketing and striking tradition[!]. For the shedding of that tradition merely means acceptance of the grievance procedure as the proper disputes-settling forum—which, in turn, amounts to no more than the honoring of the Agreement. There cannot be both pride in the tradition and respect for the Agreement."

The ARB is right about one thing: the miners' traditions of solidarity and respect for picket lines are indeed inconsistent with the rotten agreements shoved down the UMWA membership's throats by Miller and Patrick in 1974 and before that by Boyle and his supporters like Patterson. What the miners must shed is not their tradition of militancy but the present sellout contract with its grievance and arbitration procedures, and along with it the Millers, Patricks and Pattersons who have collaborated with the bosses in consistently subordinating the interests of the miners to the pro-company arbitrators and the bourgeois state. ■

Australian Power Workers...

(continued from page 3)

By demanding the wage increase while accepting the arbitration procedures the maintenance workers had painted themselves into a corner. The only ways out were abject capitulation to the Arbitration Board or an open strike against the arbitration system and the state. Lacking a class-struggle programme even the most militant stewards were at a loss, although it was clear that with the proper tactics they could have pulled out the other power workers and brought the state of Victoria to a halt.

While the strikers generally had the number of both the ALP and top CPA bureaucrats such as Hawke and Halfpenny, they unfortunately maintained their trust in Sam Armstrong, who was key to engineering the defeat. At a mass strike meeting October 13 where Armstrong was instrumental in arranging the first return to work, the SL distributed a leaflet, "Reject the Contract," warning that to accept Hawke's settlement would be to risk throwing away nine weeks of the strike for nothing. "Well, you were right last week," one steward told an SL supporter after the workers had voted to resume the strike. But what the workers would not buy from the thoroughly discredited Hawke and Halfpenny they bought from Armstrong. As the media observed with interest:

> "Firstly and most important was the strong personal persuasion of the secretary of the valley's shop stewards' committees Sammy Armstrong, who managed to overcome the workers' suspicions and distrust of such State union leaders as John Halfpenny....
> "Having been a main force behind the strike from its early stages, Armstrong's turn-around was interesting to witness, especially his tirade of abuse over pamphlets handed around before the meeting by communist groups from Melbourne exhorting the men to stay on strike and smash wage indexation."
> —*National Times*, 17 October

It was not without reason that both Armstrong and Murdoch's *Australian* singled out the Spartacist League for its attacks, for the SL's aggressive national campaign of strike-support work was remarkably effective. SL-initiated united-front committees were responsible for the first support rallies in Melbourne and the only support demonstration in Sydney. The committees organised protest pickets at Arbitration Commission hearings to denounce this phony "neutral" tool of the bosses and warn against any reliance upon it. Moreover the committees raised over $3,000, more than 5 percent of the total of urgently needed strike funds collected nationally.

Murdoch's scare-mongering that "outsiders" were "living on the backs" of the strikers did not impress the militant workers. "This 'outside agitation' is real good, give us more," said one of the stewards. Moreover, alone on the left, the SL offered programmatic direction to the strikers' militancy. It called on the power workers to draw the political conclusions from their situation, as the bourgeoisie had already done. One SL leaflet said:

> "The *Age* and the *Financial Review* at least...know quite well that the $40 wage claim is a direct challenge to the indexation wage freeze and Government policy of cutting real wages. They also know that the power workers' determined stand could be the first real test against the battery of anti-union laws compiled by State and Federal Governments this year. Power workers must confront these real political questions squarely and openly. The ACTU has refused. The Victorian Trades Hall Council...has not even met for the past month.... These class traitors have taken their stand. Power workers must take theirs—smash the indexation wage freeze! Down with the Arbitration system! Smash the Essential Services Act, the IRB and all anti-union laws!"

Calling for a statewide general strike if Hamer attempted to invoke penal powers or deregister unions and a nationwide general strike to meet any move to bring in troops or arrest strikers, the leaflet warned that unless the workers' militant stand "is linked to a class-struggle policy it can only ultimately lead back into the straitjacket of the union bureaucracy and the bosses' Arbitration Court." Trade-union militancy and democracy alone could not steer the workers past the class-collaborationist trap of reliance on the Arbitration Commission. That requires a class-struggle leadership, totally independent of the bourgeois state, to oust the reformist bureaucracy which props up the capitalist system.

Whoever wins the coming elections, little will change in Australia's current industrial situation. Wage indexation was instituted under the last Labour government, and the ALP is no less committed than Fraser to the arbitration system as a method of shackling the workers. The ALP's response to Fraser's undisguised union bashing has been to play up to the petty-bourgeois movement against uranium exports while ignoring the class struggle altogether.

Although in a limited degree the ALP represents an expression, however distorted, of political independence of the working class. Thus the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand calls for a vote to the ALP against the direct political representatives of the capitalists. But that in no way entails the least support to the treacherous policies of the ALP/ACTU leadership. Fraser's reactionary policies will be swept away once and for all only by forging a Trotskyist vanguard which can lead the LaTrobe power workers and all workers to victory through militant class struggle. ■

THE AUSTRALIAN

PART of the Spartacist League's news sheet

Agitators inflame a dangerous situation

VICTORIA: A power workers are being goaded into a walk-out that would shut down electricity supplies and bring the entire State to its knees.

By DAVID ELIAS

Agitators and scapegoats

Australian's slander (21 October) and SL reply (24 October).

WSL: Between Trotskyism and the USec...

(continued from page 2)

> "A workers' government is a government of the workers' councils. Such a government means the dictatorship of the proletariat. But experience has shown that a dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be established or maintained until the crisis of leadership is resolved, i.e. until a Marxist revolutionary leadership stands at the head of the proletariat, having routed the bureaucratic and reformist leadership in struggle....
> "Trotskyists have always maintained that the struggle for dictatorship of the proletariat entails the defeat of the existing bureaucratic leadership of the labour movement. So long as the present leadership stands at the head of the movement in Belgium, your 'workers' government' would be a bourgeois government. What's more, this would still be true if the present leaders were succeeded by the 'trade union and socialist party left tendency' to which your letter refers. These people will play the role of classical left centrists as soon as the question of power is on the agenda....
> "The only method by which right-wing domination of the labour movement can be overcome is the method of the socialist dictatorship of the working class, and such dictatorship is achieved only under the leadership of a Marxist party. There is no room in this for 'workers' governments' apart from the dictatorship of of the proletariat, any more than there is for reliance upon 'Left' allies when the hour strikes for the struggle for power."

But the Pabloists may have the last laugh as far as the WSL is concerned. Like the far larger French OCI, whose split from Healy prefigured the WSL's subsequent spin-off, the inherited formulae of verbal anti-Pabloism have proved no substitute for Trotskyist politics and no bulwark against the cynical blandishments of the opportunist USec. Unwilling to contemplate the hard programmatic choices necessary to outline an authentically Trotskyist course, the WSL leadership is already contemplating doing a deal with the USec and has requested participation in its upcoming 11th World Congress.

The WSL's sterile illusion of "mass" work and its increased flurry of housekeeping activities (such as the increase in the frequency of *Socialist Press* from fortnightly to weekly) will not provide a stable niche on the centrist spectrum. For subjectively revolutionary elements in the WSL as among its countless British centrist competitors, the only road forward lies through a serious examination of the principled Trotskyist programme of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Miller Sells Out Roving Pickets

Coal Bosses Threaten to Break UMWA

Daily World

Arnold Miller (left) with Joseph Brennan, president of BCOA, at opening of contract discussions.

Mountain Eagle

Cops arrest Stearns, Kentucky strikers October 19 as bosses and courts conspire to stop mass picketing in 16 month strike.

On the eve of the December 7 deadline for the expiration of the bituminous coal miners' national contract the industry Arbitration Review Board (ARB), a tripartite body with one representative each from the United Mine Workers (UMWA) and management and a so-called "neutral" chairman, issued a major decision which amounts to a frontal assault on the miners' most important tradition—respect for the picket line.

The far-reaching ruling of the ARB, the highest body in the union-management grievance procedure, issued out of a miners' strike last spring. In support of a job-posting grievance in early May involving five men at a mine owned by giant Consolidation Coal Company, three Consol job sites were struck on May 9. On May 17 the strike spread to other mines and facilities of the company's southern Appalachian region. Two days later the strike was lifted, but it resumed on May 23. Scores of miners were involved in the picketing.

Consol fired the five grievants for striking although this was reduced by an arbitrator to a 30-day suspension. The ARB upheld the suspension, stating however that it disagreed with the decision of the arbitrator to reduce the firings. It ruled that as of November 1 the coal bosses have the right to fire pickets who engage in unauthorized strikes.

The detailed ARB decision minced no words. The Board acknowledged that the UMWA contract lacks an explicit no-strike clause, "and that this fact represents an unusual state of affairs in modern American collective bargaining. We nevertheless do not believe," the ruling continued, "that the Agreement can reasonably be read as permitting resort to strike action... when it comes to disputes involving the proper interpretation and application of the Agreement."

Because of the miners' tradition of respect for picket lines, one picket in front of a mine site is generally sufficient to shut down production. Quoting an earlier board decision, the October 14 ARB statement said: "The problem is that the Mine Workers have demonstrated...an excellent concerted discipline and it is so well-known as to be 'judicially noticed' that one man, known to be a member of the Union and about whom information is gained that he has a grievance, can and does furnish ample signal to cause a work stoppage."

The ARB seeks to "rectify" this admirable situation by giving the bosses the right to fire such pickets on the spot! "We lump picketing with strike instigation and other strike-leadership manifestations as being of the same gravity. They constitute a capital offense by which we mean an offense which itself warrants discharges."

Making sure that there were no loopholes, the ARB made it clear that such penalties were to apply to pickets in unauthorized strikes, regardless of whether they picketed their own job sites or others. In the past militants who picketed mines other than their own were rarely disciplined. With the failure of the UMWA leadership to call union-sanctioned strikes against the attacks of the coal bosses, the key weapon of the miners has been the roving pickets that have spread strikes from one locale to another. This is clearly the key target of the ARB: "Next, we do not believe that a distinction can properly be drawn between the picketing of an employee's own mine and the picketing of other mines, he they mines of the employee's Employer or mines of another Employer."

Furthermore, the board ruled that:

> "Inseparably involved, once more, is the Miners' traditional willingness to shut down mines in supposed aid of fellow Miners. Until this begins to be turned around, the passing out of information relating to a dispute even in public places near an affected mine (meaning beyond mine site entrances) cannot realistically be viewed as the exercise of constitutionally-protected freedom of speech and must be viewed, instead, as a contractually improper act of work-stoppage inducement."

In other words, until miners are broken from their customary solidarity actions, *leafletters* are also subject to discharge!

Most outrageous was the stance of the UMWA leadership to this noxious ARB decision. Union president Arnold Miller did not condemn it; the union representative on the ARB, Robert Benedict, even refused to tell *WV* how he had voted on the issue! In fact he publicly upbraided District 17 president Jack Perry, who charged that the ruling violated the miners' right of free speech, using the hack response that "Freedom of speech doesn't give the right to yell fire in a crowded theater." Perry's criticisms, however, were rendered meaningless by his suggestion that the union challenge the ARB ruling in the courts, which have consistently ruled against the miners.

The failure of the top UMWA bureaucracy to attack the ruling simply reflects the fact that it is just as opposed to "unauthorized" strikes as the ARB. Not only Miller, but every wing of the union bureaucracy, including both LeRoy Patterson and Harry Patrick (Miller's rivals in this year's UMWA presidential elections), have consistently opposed the wildcat strikes that have swept the coalfields over the past three years. On each occasion they have demanded that the strikers return to work unconditionally.

Although they might find it expedient to distance themselves from some of the particular conclusions of the ARB decision, the UMWA bureaucrats could hardly find fault with the basic logic behind the decision. For, in fact, the ARB lays out quite candidly the class-collaborationist philosophy espoused not only by the UMWA leadership but by the entire reformist trade-union bureaucracy.

The ARB wrote, "...nowadays, the use of arbitration in the terminal point of the grievance procedure coupled with assured labor peace during the life of the Agreement is practically universal in American collective-bargaining Agreements."

What such agreements essentially do, of course, is to deprive workers of the strike weapon in resolving disputes with the bosses. Without the threat of a strike, the bosses are free to allow thousands of grievances to accumulate unresolved. Should a dispute, after months and sometimes years, reach arbitration, there is no reason why the workers should expect satisfaction. The

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 184

2 December 1977

Labor Must Win This Strike! Don't Handle Coal!

UMWA in Fight for Its Life

The battle lines are being drawn sharply as the country's 200,000 union coal miners prepare for a bitter strike to defend the very existence of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) from a bloodthirsty assault of the coal operators.

The UMWA is the oldest industrial union in the U.S. For the last three years it has been the one focus of sustained labor militancy as repeated wildcats sweep the coalfields. But now, due to incredible bureaucratic squabbling and the pro-company policies of the UMWA leadership under Arnold Miller, the union is faced with a life-and-death battle.

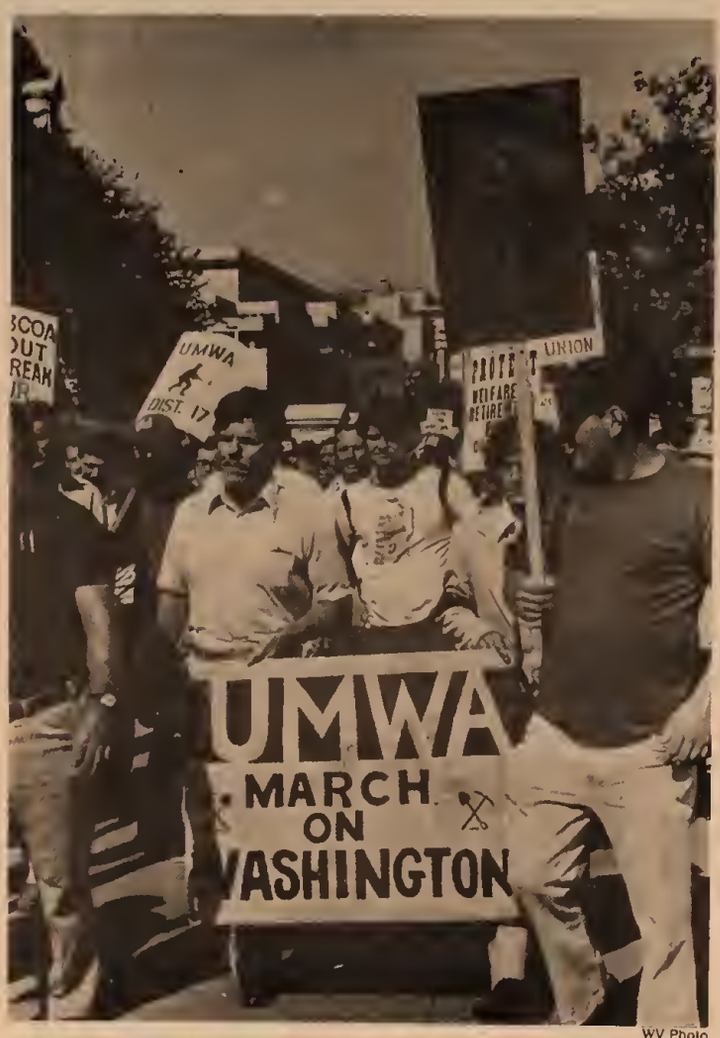
All U.S. labor has a stake in this struggle, for if the Miners union is broken it will open an offensive of union-busting throughout the country. The need for labor solidarity, particularly from the closely connected steel and railroad workers, is sharply posed; the possibilities for powerful joint action are enormous. What is criminally lacking is a leadership with the guts and the class-struggle program to pull together the miners' militancy into a mighty fist which can shatter the attack by the energy trusts.

The bosses are out for blood. Joseph Brennan, head of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), put it bluntly when he said in a bargaining session: "The UMWA is not the only show in town." The operators are absolutely adamant that "labor discipline" must be restored to the coalfields, and they have geared up to deliver a shattering blow to the UMWA. Their aim: to quash the militancy of the miners, which threatens the untrammeled right to extort profits under the projected mass expansion of coal production.

On the other side, rank-and-file miners are aware that they must stand and fight. The burgeoning expansion of non-union coal production and the exhausting wildcats which, thanks to the sabotage of the UMWA bureaucracy have not led to real victories, have weakened the position of the union. The relationship of forces is deteriorating for the miners. Unless the bosses are stopped now, massive defeats are in store.

For its part the weak-kneed UMWA bureaucracy under Arnold Miller is simply attempting to postpone the inevitable conflict. For the second time, on November 25, Miller walked out of negotiations, declaring that a "strike was inevitable." But only three days later he was back at the bargaining table, at the invitation of federal mediators, promising that he might even extend the contract if "substantial progress" was made in bargaining!

The harsh words of Brennan and the coal operators are not the usual tough talk thrown around lightly at contract time. The bosses are itching to humiliate the UMWA and if necessary destroy it as a national union. The expansion of coal production under Carter's energy program is projected to almost double by 1985, rising to more than one billion tons annually. For the coal operators this opens up vistas of massive new profits, but only if the traditional militancy of the coal miners can be tamed.



WV Photo

Miners protest cutbacks in Welfare and Retirement Fund in Washington in August.

In the first eight months of 1977 alone, wildcat strikes cost the industry an estimated 21.8 million tons of coal and 2.3 million man-days of work, a lost-time rate that is ten times the average for all industries. Productivity in the union mines has actually fallen, largely as the result of union-enforced safety and crew-size regulations. The UMWA has become a serious hindrance to the BCOA, which is losing the race for profits to the non-unionized sector of the industry. As *Business Week* (28 November) noted, "For sustained profitability, the place to look is in the non-union mines."

The key issue is the right to strike. In furtherance of their demand for uninterrupted production, the operators are demanding: an explicit no-strike clause; financial penalties for miners who engage in wildcats, with bonuses for those who cross picket lines; elimination of the two-week summer shutdown with mines to be operated seven days a week, 52 weeks a year; completely barring union safety committees from closing unsafe mines; and an end to the union's right to automatically represent new mines opened up by UMWA-contract companies.

The coal operators are prepared for a protracted strike. Trustees of the UMWA benefit funds, jointly administered by the BCOA and the union, have announced that all health and death benefits for miners will be cut off for the duration of the strike. The trustees also threaten to suspend or reduce pension benefits. Penalizing miners for strikes has been a regular practice for the trustees. Less than six months ago the trustees ruled that miners must pay the first $500 of medical expenses, in retaliation for wildcats; this decision itself sparked a 10-week wildcat. The recent ruling once again demonstrates that administration of the funds must rest solely with the UMWA. The government-mandated pension and welfare "reforms" which supposedly guaranteed "responsible" administration of the funds through a tripartite body of union, company and "neutral" outsiders has been thoroughly exposed as a weapon for the bosses.

Stockpiles held by steel and power companies are high, with estimates averaging around three months' supplies on hand. During September and October the two leading coal-hauling railroads reported record volumes. The Chesapeake & Ohio, the top carrier, claimed that it moved more coal in this period than in any two-month stretch over the past seven years. The Norfolk & Western claimed similar achievements (*Journal of Commerce*, 21 November).

But the militant miners will not easily surrender the right to strike. They do not need convincing that the preservation of hard-won gains cannot be placed in the hands of the industry's arbitration system or the courts. That the courts belong to the bosses was demonstrated once again by an October decision of the Arbitration Review Board (ARB), which ruled that participants in so-called unauthorized strikes, whether picketing their own or other job sites, or even distributing literature in support of such a strike, could be fired on the spot. The courts, whether in Stearns, Kentucky or Cabin Creek, West Virginia, have baldly demonstrated time and again that they are tools of the companies; it was, in fact, the interference of the courts that sparked the 1976 wildcat.

When the miners returned to the pits last September after a ten-week wildcat against medical cutbacks, they did not go back defeated. Although the cutbacks have not been revoked, the operators' attempts to demoralize the miners on the eve of the contract battle did not succeed. UMWA militants are grimly determined to defend their gains.

The miners have been by far the most combative section of the U.S. proletariat. In recent years of relative quiescence in the labor movement, the miners have symbolized the fighting spirit of the American working class. Although the UMWA has more than once been reduced to virtually little more than a paper organization, the miners have rarely ceased fighting. Even in the dog days of the depression, miners' strikes

continued on page 8

IRSP Leader Assassinated in Dublin

Behind the Murder of Seamus Costello...6

"Red Scare" Whipped Up on Eve of Strike

Press, Miller, Coal Bosses Witchhunt Miners Group

On the eve of a national coal strike the big business press, backed up by the mine operators and the Miller bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), has launched a vicious red-scare campaign in the coalfields of West Virginia. In a series of lying, sensationalist "exposés" which would do the late Joe McCarthy proud, newspapers last week "uncovered" a small band of "communists" whom they claim have engineered the seething unrest in the union for the last three years. While the hysterical media barrage is now directed against the Miners Right to Strike Committee (MRSC), its real aim is to intimidate all militants who would oppose the sellout contract Miller & Co. hope to pawn off on the membership next month.

The press attack began when the *Huntington Herald Dispatch* reported November 18 that Mike Branch, an MRSC spokesman from Beckley, West Virginia, was a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). United Press International picked up the story and the Morgantown *Dominion-Post* ran it that same day under the headline "Mine Strike Leader Linked to Red Party." A week later the *New York Times* devoted a lengthy article in its first section to the anti-communist scare. "Activities of Maoists Revive 'Red Baiting' in Coal Fields, 5 to 10 Organizers From Splinter Group Are Blamed for Turmoil in the Mines," screamed the 25 November *Times* headline.

The *Times* coal "expert" Ben A. Franklin performed his hatchet job with information so false as to be patently absurd to anyone remotely familiar with the U.S. left. The article claimed, for instance, that the RCP—"a small puritanically Maoist faction"—had denounced Hua Kuo-feng, the successor to Mao Tse-tung, "as 'a rightist'." If this is the party line, one wonders how Franklin found out since the RCP, profoundly confused by the political upheaval in China since Mao's death, has not uttered one word publicly about the character of the Hua regime.

Franklin also stated that the RCP is "a schismatic splinter of the former Revolutionary Union [RU], an ultra radical Maoist group that grew and failed in southern California in the Vietnam war voicing a belief in immediate armed revolution." Aside from the bombastic distortion of the RU/RCP's *reformist* politics, everyone knows that the RU and RCP are the same animal, having simply changed its name two years ago when it proclaimed itself a party. The crude "dirt" Franklin dug up has the unmistakable stench of FBI "intelligence" leading one to speculate, not on the background of the militants in the mines, but on the sources behind this redbaiting story. By anonymously floating such slanderous "news reports," the feds hope to get militants fired or driven out of the union by utilizing McCarthyite practices.

The present media campaign is not the first attempt to oust the MRSC from the UMWA. Last year Committee leader Bruce Miller was fired and jailed for three months for his involvement in a March 1976 black lung wildcat. In May 1976, while Miller was in jail, two other MRSC members were given one-year suspensions from the union by the International Executive Board. Miller eventually won his job back with an arbitrator's stipulation that he refrain from further strike activity for the life of the current contract. But he was fired again as a result of this summer's wildcat against medical insurance cutbacks. According to the Right to Strike Committee, local UMWA officials testified for the company at a subsequent arbitrator's hearing and Miller's firing was upheld.

Actually the presence of radicals in the mines is pretty stale news. According to the *Times* account Branch issued a statement that "...some members of the committee are Communists. This is no sinister secret and is common knowledge." *Revolution*, the RCP's newspaper, has openly endorsed MRSC activities for years. Besides, as even "a Government official familiar with investigative reports on the party" (i.e., a federal labor spy) admitted, the charge that last year's black-lung and anti-injunction wildcats or the August 1975 walkouts over the right to strike were caused by the tiny MRSC is ludicrous.

Another article by Franklin (*New York Times*, 27 November) makes it abundantly clear that it is the 1974 contract—particularly underfunding of the health/welfare funds and the unworkable grievance procedure—which lies behind the unrest in the UMWA. The wildcats were sparked not by "outside (or in this case, inside) agitators" but by the miners' bitter experi-

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WV Photo

Striking miners in Charleston, West Virginia, August 25.

Kentucky police guard mine entrance on Justus Road. WV Photo

Blue Diamond Imports Scabs

Stearns Strike in Danger

Sixteen months after the bitter struggle against the Blue Diamond Coal Company began, the miners' strike in Stearns, Kentucky is in real danger of defeat. For more than three weeks now scabs under heavy police protection have been working in the Justus mine compound. So far only a few coal hoppers—idle since July 1976—have been emptied and new coal has not yet been dug. But United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) organizer Lee Potter told *WV* that he expects the company to attempt full-scale operations with strikebreakers as the next blow to the organizing drive. And the Bureau of Mines reportedly planned an inspection of the struck mine last Monday as a prelude to reopening it.

Following the massive police assault October 17 when, in defiance of a court order, virtually the entire 153-man local assembled to block Blue Diamond's first importation of scabs, 79 miners were arrested along with 20 women and four children. Many were beaten. The following week eleven workers were singled out for their militancy by circuit judge J.B. Johnson, Jr. and jailed. Except for a three-day Thanksgiving furlough eight of these miners have been behind bars ever since serving six-month terms. Sixty-eight others were fined and got six-month suspended sentences. Union officials filed an appeal November 28 for those still in jail, but with no results.

Two militants were freed only at doctors' insistence. One, picket captain Mahan Vanover, was released because of a multiple fracture to his arm, and another, Roy Keith, may have sustained a brain injury as a result of the clubbing he got from the Kentucky state troopers as he lay handcuffed on the ground. Most of the miners' injuries were received in the same fashion, but several cops were also hurt before the strikers were subdued.

With combativity that stands as a model for the entire labor movement the miners at Stearns have held out alone for 16 months against each successive effort to break their strike. Gunfire from company thugs, night-rider attacks and cop assaults all have failed to break them, and last month's court order designed to cripple their picket lines was met with heroic resistance. Yet for all their militancy the Stearns miners alone cannot win against the combined union-busting drive of the bosses and the government.

Just as the 13-month organizing drive at the Brookside mine in nearby Harlan County could be won only by bringing out the entire UMWA (in a five-day "work holiday" in August 1974), so a victory at Stearns depends upon the aid of the class brothers and sisters throughout the union. With negotiations on the national bituminous coal contract deadlocked because of employer intransigence, militants must demand an immediate nationwide mine strike which includes as a key demand the inclusion of Stearns under the same contract. A victory over Blue Diamond here is crucial to organizing the largely non-union mines of the southern Appalachians. There must be no national settlement without bringing the Justus mine under the master contract! Moreover, with the union now controlling less than half the coal mined in the U.S., victory in the upcoming national strike depends on aggressive organizing and picketing to stop the flow of scab coal from the hundreds of other unorganized pits and western strip mines.

While the plight of the embattled miners at Stearns cries out for the mobilization of the entire strength of the UMWA behind the strike, the International has sat on its hands leaving the local in utter isolation. And if the Miller bureaucracy has its way the opportunity to win the Justus contract through the national coal strike will tragically slip by. A union spokesman at UMWA International headquarters in Washington told *WV* that the strike won't make "any difference one way or another" to the fight in Stearns.

For 16 months neither Miller nor his opponents in last June's union presidential elections—Harry Patrick or Roy Patterson—have called for the militant solidarity actions which would quickly bring Blue Diamond to its knees. Today while the pro-company court order is being observed in Stearns and scabs daily enter the mines unmolested, Miller's strategy is to try to "pressure" the very same government which has repeatedly shown which side it is on by the cop assaults and jailing of the strikers! After putting in a brief appearance at the McCreary County jail October 31 Miller met with Kentucky governor Julian Carroll November 4. However, all he "won" through such polite "jawboning" was the promise of an investigation and a reduction of the number of patrolling state troopers to 20. Meanwhile 30 Blue Diamond-hired gun thugs are "guarding" the mines while state cops continue to harass the strikers. Roadblocks have now been set up at the nearby Tennessee line where troopers hope to catch a miner with a six-pack of beer entering "dry" Kentucky.

According to the UMWA bureaucracy the Brookside strike was won through good public realtions. Union spokesman Paul Fortney at International headquarters insists that the Eastover Mining Company at Brookside "caved in after they had that boy killed and they got all that bad publicity." The brutal gunning down of 23-year-old miner Lawrence Jones by an Eastover foreman certainly caused a wave of revulsion. But the strike was won not through organized media pressure, but when Miller finally pulled every UMWA miner in the U.S. out of the pits in a five-day memorial period following Jones' murder.

UMWA members must not wait for another tragic murder on the battle lines of the Kentucky coalfields, a possibility which even Fortney admits is ever-present. If the bitter struggle at Stearns is not to be squandered in defeat the nationwide solidarity which was key to victory at Brookside must be organized at once! Free the Imprisoned Miners! Drop All Charges and Injunctions against the UMWA! No National Settlement Without a Standard UMWA Contract in Stearns! Victory to the Stearns Strike! ■

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Drop Charges Against Sandor John!

Chicago U. of Illinois Arrests SYL Spokesman

CHICAGO—Sandor John, a spokesman of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), was arrested November 22 while distributing literature protesting administration harassment of left and campus groups at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus (UICC). Directed by the University administration, armed campus cops turned John over to the Chicago police. He was jailed, charged with "criminal trespass" and then released later in the evening on $1,000 bond.

WV Photo

Sandor John speaking at campus rally in 1975.

With this arrest the administration has enlisted the cops and courts behind its anti-communist ban launched on October 27 when the armed cops drove John off campus and threatened to "lock him up" if he ever came back. The administration declared him "permanently barred" as an "outsider, non-student."

This familiar redbaiting charge of "outside agitator," of course, is applied only to communists and union organizers. Last year the signed union cards of university employees were disqualified because they were collected by Service Employees International Union (SEIU) "outside agitators." On the other hand the invited guests of ROTC—the representatives of U.S. imperialism on campus—and the administration have the run of the campus.

In singling out the SYL for arrest the administration has targeted the most outspoken and openly communist group on campus, the one that has most energetically fought the anti-communist ban. The arrest is the most dramatic and provocative act in a McCarthy-style witchhunt which is clearly meant to intimidate and chill the entire campus, which the administration runs with seigneurial contempt for democratic rights. Not only do they arrest socialists for handing out literature, they have also conducted a campaign of harassment against radical professors, minorities programs and organizations, and threatened to take away office space from groups out of favor, including the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and even the student government. The administration attempts to decide by fiat what literature can be distributed, how many books can be sold, and now raises a menacing political test of who may set foot on the campus of this public institution.

John's arrest exposes the university's phony line that there was no ban, a line obediently echoed by a redbaiting article in the campus newspaper, the *Illini*. These students of remedial yellow journalism blamed the SYL for making up the issue and proclaimed the anti-communist ban against Sandor John "non-existent." Perhaps they will now write that the arrest is also "non-existent."

The SYL, stressing militant campus protest, has taken the lead in fighting the ban and harassment campaign. It is no accident that the administration planned its arrest of John a few days before the Thanksgiving/Christmas school break, when few students were on the campus. They did not arrest him on November 18 when he spoke openly at an anti-ban protest rally.

Nor did they arrest him when, surrounded by students and others, he marched into an "open meeting" of the trustees to demand that the ban and harassment stop. When John identified himself as the very person the trustees had exiled, the board became practically apoplectic. "Sandor John! Sandor John! Are you a student here?" one of the trustees exclaimed. "No," replied John calmly, "are you?" With this the trustees fled from the room. But they did not rescind their anti-democratic ban.

The defense of Sandor John is the defense of the left and other campus organizations at UICC. And it is also clearly the defense of democratic rights. This defense must be carried out through militant protests on the campuses and streets of Chicago, as well as in the courtroom. The SYL-initiated Ad Hoc Committee to Stop Administration Harassment, formed on the UICC campus to oppose the anti-communist ban and to end the administration harassment of left and campus organizations, has adopted the slogans: "Defend Sandor John! Drop the Charges!" This Committee includes the SYL, Young Socialist Alliance, the student government and Circle Womens Liberation Union, as well as many students and professors who recognize the need to defeat the administration's witchhunt. It has been active on campus publicizing and building rallies like the one at which John spoke in defiance of the ban.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), a class-struggle anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, has taken up the defense of John and the cause of defeating the anti-communist ban. The PDC has endorsed the Ad Hoc Committee along with many others including: Ron Dorfman of *Chicago* magazine, Studs Terkel, Southside New American Movement, American Federation of Teachers Local 3500 and Bennie Lenard.

The university administration hopes that with this arrest they can defeat the rapidly growing resistance to their ban. On their side they have now enlisted, besides the threat of jail sentences, the added harassment of costly legal fees. To offset these costs the Sandor John Defense Fund is being administered by the PDC. The PDC asks its friends and supporters to send in contributions, making checks payable to: Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked for Sandor John Defense Fund), P.O. Box 6729, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680. ■

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Ex-WLer Joins Spartacist League

Life in the Healyite Snake Pit

6 November 1977

Dear comrades:

I am in agreement with the program of the Spartacist League/U.S. and therefore would like to submit this application for membership in the party. More than seven years ago I came to the understanding that communism represented the force capable of freeing mankind from the various forms of oppression under which it lives. The succeeding years found me seeking to translate my aspirations for revolutionary change into practical activity.

The path to the Spartacist League [SL], the embodiment of the Leninist program, was unfortunately not direct and I took a detour called the Workers League [WL] from 1971 to 1974. Prior to joining the WL, I had had some contact with the SWP [Socialist Workers Party], read some of Trotsky's books, and considered myself a Trotskyist.

It was the Workers League's espousal of Trotskyist orthodoxy, in particular, that attracted me to the organization. My involvement in the anti-war protests and Black Students Union during my high school days had taught me to despise liberal pacifism and black nationalism, both defended by the SWP, as roadblocks to the development of a communist world outlook. The WL interseeted my revulsion towards the SWP's reformism by calling for the victory of the NLF and maintaining a knee-jerk reaction against nationalism. With its anti-Pabloist pretensions, the WL seemed to carry the authority held by the leaders of the October Revolution. At a time when many New Leftists still claimed the working class was hopelessly reactionary, the WL's workerist orientation seemed a defense of principle.

Life in the Workers League was a continual series of crises, a perpetual zigzag between socialist posturing and adaptation to the most blatant backwardness in the working class. At Stanford we peddled our "maximum" program to the students. We screamed to them that capitalism's collapse and fascism were imminent, placing the socialist revolution immediately on the agenda. In East Palo Alto the Young Socialists recruited black lumpen youth who had no political understanding. TUALP, the WL's trade-union front, restricted its program to demanding higher wages.

This opportunist practice found a political rationalization in the crisis theory. This asserted that the acute crisis of capitalism made even minimal demands revolutionary. The inexorable march of the class struggle would force the trade union bureaucrats to build a labor party and take up revolutionary demands. In effect, the WL negated the task of revolutionists in the trade unions: breaking the grip of the bureaucrats and constructing an alternative class-struggle leadership.

My three years in the Workers League saw a revolving door of members, the trampling of democratic centralism by Healy's lackeys, and the cultivation of many anti-communist youth who became disillusioned by the WL's deception and manipulation. The 1974 summer camp marked a new low for these political bankrupts. Toward the end of the camp, scores of card-carrying Young Socialists armed themselves with clubs and other make-shift weapons. They roamed the camp grounds at night, terrorizing the Workers League. They were recruited on the basis of dances and basketball games and were tired of having "polities" jammed down their throats. I received a bloody nose from a Young Socialist twice my size while trying to defend another comrade from attack.

After the summer camp I decided to leave the WL. Wohlforth had been deposed and I saw the organization making no serious attempt to assess how it got itself on such a disastrous course. I sensed something was vitally wrong with the organization. But because I lacked political development, I felt ill-equipped to carry out a factional struggle. So outside of the WL I read and thought.

The WRP's [Workers Revolutionary Party—the British Healyite organization] expulsion of the Thornett group broadened my understanding of Healyism to a certain degree. Attracted to the WSL's [Workers Socialist League—founded by Alan Thornett and others expelled by Healy from the WRP in 1974] politics I joined its American fraternal group—the Socialist League (Democratic Centralist). After a month I resigned, realizing that the SL (DC) had not fundamentally broken from Healyism. This minuscule circle continues the WL's mass posturing and unashamedly demands a reformist labor party.

Separating the Spartacist League from every other leftist tendency is its granite adherence to the Trotskyist program. With this program as its core, the SL has assembled an impressive group of cadres. In the WL-SL debate over "mass work" versus the regroupment tactic, the SL has proven its line correct by its ability to assimilate several political generations in one party.

John K.

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WV Photo

Scene outside Trenton Engine Plant during walkout in August.

PDC Holds Trenton Seven Defense Forum in Detroit

DETROIT—The victimization of the Trenton Seven by the auto companies and courts of Detroit "threatens the right to strike," Trenton Seven Defense Committee chairman Jim Barczyk told the audience at a Partisan Defense Committee forum held at Wayne State University November 17. The seven are members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 372 fired from Chrysler's Trenton Engine Plant for participation in a walkout over the firing of a shop steward and five line workers during the massive heat walkouts that swept Detroit auto factories last summer.

The intolerable conditions in the plants, with temperatures reaching 120 degrees on the assembly lines and even higher in foundries, caused the deaths of several workers. Of course, nothing was done to the companies who killed them by refusing to install adequate air conditioning. But on October 16 the Trenton Seven were declared guilty of "irreparable damage" to the Chrysler Corporation by Judge John Feikens (a Chrysler stockholder) and now face up to six weeks in jail and heavy fines.

Barczyk graphically described the events leading up to this blatant victimization by the company and courts. A walkout at Trenton took place on July 20 at the height of the intolerable heat wave. "We just got brand new electronic gates that they'd never used," he pointed out, "and the day that these guys walked out the electronic gates closed and they wouldn't let anybody out of the parking lot.... They kept everybody in, and told them they were going to be fired...."

Despite Chrysler's heavy-handed intimidation, on August 8 the Trenton plant again exploded, this time in a mass walkout over the firing of the steward and other workers. While thousands of UAW members participated in the heat wave protests, these seven members of Local 372 were singled out for special treatment because the Trenton walkout was the longest, largest and most militant job action in Chrysler's Detroit-area plants. Instead of the usual procedure of calling up the UAW International leadership and relying on them to end the wildcat, the company decided to make an example out of Trenton, going directly to the courts to obtain an injunction against seven workers deemed to be "instigators."

Barczyk bitterly condemned the inaction and cynical maneuvering of the International while insisting that the UAW as a whole must take up the Trenton Seven. "In 13 weeks they have not received a penny of unemployment [compensation]; they have not received anything from the union; they have not received help from anyone, except what they've got from people like yourselves," he said. The only reason Solidarity House has shown the least bit of interest in the case is that Chrysler snubbed them in favor of the courts, thus depriving the International of the job of keeping the ranks in line. Fraser & Co. lost "the right to break up wildcat strikes," as Barczyk sarcastically put it.

The second speaker, union militant Frank Hicks of UAW Local 600 (River Rouge), who has been active in defending the Trenton Seven, emphasized the collusion of the company and courts in smashing workers' protests, and the treacherous role of "reform" union bureaucrats such as Arnold Miller and Ed Sadlowski in calling in the government against the unions. "You can't depend on the state in any way," he pointed out, emphasizing the need for independent and massive labor defense of the Trenton Seven.

WV Photo

Jim Barczyk

The Trenton Seven Defense Committee received $100 as a speaker's honorarium, and a collection was taken up from the audience. Much more is needed. This case is crucial for the working class as a whole and strikes at the very heart of the labor movement. As Hicks pointed out, what is necessary is an uncompromising fight on the part of the entire UAW demanding that all charges be dropped and the Trenton Seven be reinstated with full back pay. The case also raises auto workers' need for the unfettered right to strike without the approval of the International. The treachery of the union bureaucracy in this case shows that these labor fakers cannot simply be ignored but must be replaced by a leadership committed to a militant defense of the workers movement against the capitalist state.

The Partisan Defense Committee urges all readers of *WV* to send urgently needed funds for the defense of the Trenton Seven to: Trenton Defense Committee, P.O. Box 2132, Riverview, MI 48192. ■

What Does It Mean?

Hicks Out in Boston Election

BOSTON—Louise Day Hicks, "Pixie" Paladino and John Kerrigan—the local bourgeois politicians most closely identified with the racist anti-busing movement here—lost their seats on the Boston City Council in the November 8 elections. Moreover former teacher John O'Bryant became the first black member of the Boston School Committee in 75 years. So liberals and reformists from the *New York Times* to the Communist Party's *Daily World* tentatively assessed the election results as a step toward progress in a city torn by racist violence since the initiation of court-ordered busing in September 1974.

One local liberal outfit, the City-Wide Educational Coalition, wrote an editorial bursting with enthusiasm: "Boston took a giant step toward respectability and reason on November 8.... The voters of this city delivered a message—that they are tired of demagoguery,' empty promises and single issue candidates, and are anxious to move ahead to the critical issues facing the city.... The election of John O'Bryant is seen by many as a move away from the politics of fear and division of recent years..." (*Common Ground*, November-December 1977).

Such fatuous optimism overlooks a key fact: the professional anti-buser politicos lost simply because they had become irrelevant: the militant racists have won far more in the streets than at the ballot box. Meanwhile, the slicker reactionary politicians have broadened their repertoires to include attacks on abortion and homosexual rights. Typical of the latter is Raymond Flynn, who finished second in the election, sagely observing that "It's an attitude of change; people are looking for a change." This quick-change artist has identified himself as a leader of the state's vociferous anti-abortion movement while not in the least disclaiming his history as a kingpin in the anti-busing ROAR.

The frenzied mobs who stoned black youths in full view of TV cameras have temporarily retired from the streets because they have succeeded in putting large sections of the city permanently "off limits" to blacks. If they have not ended busing entirely, they have established their all-white enclaves as national symbols of violent resistance to school desegregation and vastly aided the gutting or total elimination of similar programs across the country.

The racists in Boston have effected a fragile deadlock, freezing the scope of busing at the level of the 1975 Phase II program and preventing its extension to East Boston. Unable to destroy the program altogether, they vent their rage in frenzied assaults on non-whites who venture into the white neighborhoods. Thus in the same week that "the voices of moderation" were victorious at the polls, Salvadorian emigré Maria Alvarado and her family were forced to flee their Dorchester apartment by rock-throwing thugs, and the home of Leclair Sylvestre, a Haitian, was assaulted by racists wielding bricks and baseball bats.

On November 15 fourteen black tourists from a Pennsylvania religious school were attacked near the Bunker Hill monument in Charlestown by whites brandishing golf clubs and hockey sticks. Earlier on October 29 two 12-year-old black female students were arraigned on charges of "assault with intent to murder" for allegedly pushing an (unharmed) 14-year-old white student out a window at South Boston High School. During the arraignment, a hundred-strong racist mob surrounded the South Boston Court House, confronted the police and smashed a black man's car.

Enter the Respectable Moderates

The Boston City Council and School Committee have been dominated for the last ten years by a clique of unsavory, corrupt, racist demagogues who have been somewhat of an inconvenience for the major banks and insurance companies headquartered in Boston. The latter would prefer that "the Hub" have a reputation for Yankee moderation and innovation—a center of education—rather than a hotbed of racist reaction. The standard-bearer for the local reactionaries has been Louise Day ("You know where I stand") Hicks, who has maintained an international reputation as Boston's answer to George Wallace since the mid-1960's. Tied on the one hand to paramilitary anti-busing thugs such as the South Boston Marshalls, she is no less wedded—by an intricate network of patronage—to liberal mayor Kevin White. The shades of difference between reactionary Hicks and liberal White (a more circumspect opponent of busing) merely reflect the differences between the former's white ethnic community constituency and the latter's city-wide political ties and commitments. Both are essential components of *the same* local political machine.

Hicks and many of her political cohorts, who rode to office on the single issue of opposition to "forced busing," are now seen as political failures and quite dispensable. They have, after all, been unable to deliver, so they are being replaced by "clean, respectable" bigots like Flynn. Boston politics is now in the hands of "responsible conservatives" and "moderate liberals" like O'Bryant, White and School Committee chairman Kathleen Sullivan. These "moderates" all view with concern incidents of racist violence that garner too much bad publicity and could discourage tourism and investment.

1975: Boston schoolbus escorted by cops. AP

Carson Beach—A Symbol

The facade of progress through reliance on "moderate" politicians and the state has also been projected in the case of Carson Beach, a public bathing area lying between South Boston and the black housing project at Columbia Point. In the summer of 1975 a "black community picnic and swim-in" protested vicious gang assaults on blacks attempting to use the beach. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leader Maceo Dixon, appointed chief marshal for the protest, urged "picnickers" to "bring tuna fish sandwiches." The SWP's viewpoint was (and is) simple enough: since blacks can supposedly depend on protection by the Boston police, they need equip themselves with nothing more than soggy sandwiches. But the cops played a very different role. While a giant mob of white racists hurled rocks and bottles, policemen on motorcycle and horseback drove blacks off the beach, arresting ten and injuring 40.

This summer Carson Beach was again the locus of a black-white confrontation. After a black child was injured while playing in front of an open fire hydrant, a group of Columbia Point parents decided to attempt to use the beach. Immediately assaulted by a screaming mob, they were driven off by cops on July 24 when they sought to defend themselves. After three days of the same, black parents "decided to go the nonviolence route" as the *Boston Globe* (3 August) put it. Police provided a semblance of "protection" only when blacks indicated a willingness to endure racist abuse and provocation in silence.

It is a testimony to the ingrained racism of the bourgeois state that only under these humiliating conditions were the police willing to defend even the elementary right of blacks to bathe on a public beach! What took place at Carson Beach this summer was not a "victory for the black community," as the SWP maintains. Rather, the just cause of Columbia Point parents was used by the racist Boston authorities to stage a media publicity stunt to clean up Boston's tarnished public image. The SWP shares responsibility with the NAACP and other black liberals who politically disarm the masses by their repeated calls for confidence in the forces of bourgeois "law and order."

Reformist Electioneering

The preachers, politicians, small businessmen and poverty program hacks who pose as "leaders of the black community" have systematically channeled all black protest against the ongoing racist violence in Boston into electoral reformism. During the Carson Beach incidents, not so much as a single protest rally was held in Roxbury. Instead "black community leaders" organized to "change the color scheme of the city council and school committee" (*Militant*, 7 October). The Organization for Voter Education and Registration campaigned to mobilize black voters behind a straight black ticket, including, interestingly enough, School Committee candidate Hattie McCutcheon of the Socialist Workers Party.

Louise Day Hicks UPI

This effort paid off with the election of black School Committee member O'Bryant, one of whose campaign slogans was for removal of federal court involvement in running the Boston school system (this being, of course, a rallying cry of the white racists). The true significance of this "victory for progress" is indicated by the fact that Mayor White's electoral machine mobilized support for O'Bryant, Hicks and Kerrigan simultaneously. The SWP's McCutcheon, in turn, managed to garner over 6,000 votes after a campaign so utterly apolitical as to be indistinguishable from any liberal black Democratic Party politician. (A few years ago the Communist Party achieved a similar vote total running a black woman for School Committee.)

Interviewed in the SWP's *Militant* of 7 October, McCutcheon characterized the "vote Black" campaign as "positive," and failed to explicitly deny electoral support to her Democratic Party "running mates"! Thus the SWP, after three years of urging Boston blacks to rely on the capitalist courts and cops and liberal misleaders like NAACP president Tom Atkins, has finally achieved "respectability." For the sake of a few thousand votes, it has become a link on a political chain extending through O'Bryant to White, Hicks and her ROAR supporters. Reformist electoralism becomes just as much an exercise in class collaboration as the SWP's calls for reliance on the bourgeois state. Both spell defeat for busing and the interests of the oppressed black masses. ■

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IRSP Leader Assassinated in Dublin

Behind the Murder of Seamus Costello

Seamus Costello

Rouge

LONDON—Seamus Costello, chairman of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP), was murdered in Dublin's North Strand docks district on 5 October. The 38-year-old militant was reading a morning paper in a parked car when the gunman approached. Witnesses reported that the killer spoke to Costello before firing two rounds from a sawed-off shotgun point-black in his face, then calmly reloading and firing twice again.

This brutal assassination made a sharp impact in Ireland as well as abroad. On the day of the funeral the streets of Bray, a port city in Costello's native county Wicklow, were thronged with thousands of mourners. The huge funeral, numerous tributes and "in-depth" press reports bespoke the IRSP leader's importance as a key representative of an entire generation of Irish left nationalists.

Costello's long history in the Irish Republican Army (IRA), his leadership of a major split from the "Official" wing and his militant anti-imperialist politics had quickened the hopes of "far-left" groups in Britain, Ireland and elsewhere that an organic fusion of "Republicanism" and socialism was on the agenda. The IRSP at first enlisted not only ex-IRA members but also a section of the New Leftist People's Democracy, draped itself in the mantle of revolutionary Irish trade unionist James Connolly and criticised both the "Official" IRA and the "Provisional" IRA for separating the class struggle from the national question. But the inability of Costello and his comrades to transcend their roots in the "Republican" movement points to the inescapable conclusion that the programmes of revolutionary Marxism and petty-bourgeois nationalism are fundamentally incompatible. Indeed during the last year the IRSP has moved into the orbit of the sectarian, militarist Provisionals.

Who Killed Seamus Costello?

The most obvious question posed by this cowardly murder is "Who killed Costello?" There are two logical suspects: the British state and Costello's political opponents in the "Republican" movement. While it is not uncommon for political disputes between (or within) Irish nationalist groups to be argued in bullets and settled in blood, this does not appear to be the explanation for Costello's slaying. The Official IRA, which has a history of internecine conflict with the IRSP, disclaimed responsibility without challenge by the IRSP leadership. Funeral eulogies were delivered by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, whose supporters split from the IRSP in late 1975; by Nora Connolly-O'Brien, daughter of James Connolly and a supporter of the Provisionals; and by IRSP leader James Daly. Speculation that the assassination was the result of factional struggles inside the IRSP quickly subsided. The left-bourgeois Irish weekly *Hibernia* commented on 14 October: "The suspicions have since been greatly allayed, partly by the evidence of the funeral attendance, and partly by the obvious IRSP solidarity since the killing."

The finger of suspicion points at London, which had reason to fear the convergence of the IRSP with the Provisionals and Costello's potential role as unifier and leader of sections of the split-wracked Irish nationalist movement. Even the *Times* of London (6 October) noted that Costello was "once regarded by British security forces as one of the most dangerous organisers on either side of the Irish border." Moreover, the *Times*' report referred to the sinister 1973 "Littlejohn affair," which may shed light on Costello's death.

In that incident a major scandal was triggered during the trial of two accused bank robbers who stated in a Dublin court that they had infiltrated the Official IRA on behalf of British intelligence. While in the IRA they had instigated an unprecedented wave of bank robberies and bombings in the South, which fueled the "anti-terror" campaign propaganda of the Fine Gael-Irish Labour Party coalition and aided the election of the most pro-British government in the Irish Republic's history. The Littlejohn brothers also testified that they had been ordered to kill Costello, at that time a leader of the Officials.

A Soldier in the Border Campaign

The key to Costello's prominence lies in a 20-year history as a leader in the "Republican" movement. He joined the then-united Irish Republican Army at the age of 16, committed to its one-point nationalist program: reunification of the six counties of the North with the 26 counties of the South. By the time of the ill-fated guerrillaist "Border Campaign" of 1956-62, Costello already held a minor leadership position. He was extremely active in the campaign and led a column of men who burned down the courthouse at Magherfelt in the Northern county of Derry. He was interned for two years by the Irish government for his activities (J. Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army*).

By 1962 the initial enthusiasm with which sections of the Irish Catholic population greeted the campaign had long since dried up, along with the financial backing of Irish Americans. Hundreds of IRA militants were interned, including the bulk of the leadership, by both the Ulster regime and the Irish Republic. On 26 February 1962 the IRA issued a proclamation "To the Irish People" calling off the campaign. This defeat shook the organisation. While part of the leadership blamed the faint-heartedness of the Catholic population and argued that a better prepared, more tightly organised military campaign would find new support, others argued for a turn from guerrillaism to involvement in social struggles.

In 1963 the president of Sinn Fein (the IRA's legal political organisation) was found shot in his garden under mysterious circumstances. A change in command took place. Cathal Goulding assumed leadership of the IRA from Rory Brady (now a central Provisional leader), and Goulding's co-thinker Tomas Mac Giolla became the new president of Sinn Fein. They spearheaded a process of military disengagement and political reassessment, increasingly gravitating toward the reformist politics of the Irish Communist Party.

From Nationalist Guerrillaism to "Socialist" Reformism

The IRA's "new direction" of the 1960's involved an orientation toward parliamentary politics. Initially it contested local government posts because of old compunctions against participating in the Dail (southern parliament), Stormont (Northern Ireland), or Westminster. (The eventual decision of the Dublin IRA leadership to contest seats in the Dail became one of the issues in their 1970 split with the Provisional wing.) As the leadership dictated a turn away from the gun, many of the battle-hardened Belfast cadres

Peress/Magnum

IRA checkpoint in the Bogside in Londonderry.

(for whom the IRA had always been primarily a defence force against the Orange gangs) dropped away from the movement.

Compounding the Belfast Republicans' fears that the communal defences of the Catholic minority were being undermined was the sense among the old boys like Billy McKee, Joe Cahill and Leo Martin that the IRA's "sacred traditions" were being gutted by the "Marxism" of the Goulding-Mac Giolla leadership. In this tradition "physical force" is more than a political strategy. It is a mystique with religious overtones. Central to the IRA mythology is the necessity for each generation to honour the memory of the Fenian/Republican martyrs by renewing the blood sacrifice in the name of a united Ireland. Many of the IRA veterans who left in the mid-1960's (and later joined the Provisionals) kept faith with their past by joining the National Graves Association, which maintains the burial plots of Republican heroes.

Along with the new "grass roots" involvement in local politics, public housing, co-ops and trade unions, the IRA adopted a more "socialist" rhetoric. At the 1967 Wolfe Tone commemoration in Bodenstown—the annual gathering where the major political statements of Republican groups are traditionally made—chief of staff Goulding announced the IRA's turn toward "socialist policies" and away from "physical force." The Communist Party exerted considerable influence in this development, but even the official wing of the IRA remains autonomous and quite capable of falling out with the Stalinists.

Just as Costello had been a model of the young "man of action" in the 1950's, he also became exemplary of the new trend in the 1960's. While rising to the upper echelons of the IRA leadership and working as a car salesman, he was active in the Irish Transport and General Workers Union and was elected as a Sinn Fein member of the Wicklow County Council and Bray Urban District Council in 1967.

1970: Officials vs. Provisionals

The IRA played no leading role in the rise of the civil rights movement thrown up in opposition to the manifold discrimination against Catholics in the North but lent some assistance by providing stewards for mass marches. Its military capacity, however, had wound down to the point where it was totally unprepared to defend the Catholic areas during the virtual pogrom unleashed by the Ulster police forces during the summer of 1969. In his book, *The IRA*, bourgeois nationalist Tim Pat Coogan wrote:

> "As far as can be reasonably ascertained, approximately six Republicans took to the streets of Belfast during the rioting which broke out after August 12 to defend the Catholic areas. One of these, at least, was a middle-aged man who had not been active since the 1940s.... There seems little doubt that had the handful of IRA men not been present, Orange mobs led by B-Specials would have burned the Falls Road to the ground and with it, every Catholic family which did not flee. But this circumstance, much as it may have redounded to the credit of the individuals concerned, redounded very badly indeed on the IRA's public image."

The bitter joke told in Belfast at the time was that "IRA" stood for "I Ran Away."

The events of 1969-70 led to the deep split between the Provisionals and the Officials. The break largely pitted besieged Northern IRA men against the Dublin command and its supporters. It was probably inevitable but appears, nevertheless, to have been hastened by secret offers of arms and money made by a section of the ruling Fianna Fail party, offers contingent on the establishment of a separate Northern command and renunciation of "Marxist" politics (London *Sunday Times* Insight Team, *Northern Ireland* [1972]). Conor Cruise O'Brien, as a Labour member of the Dail, also documented the complicity of a section of the Republican bourgeoisie in the emergence of the "militant, anti-Marxist" Provos:

> "It seems that some of the rich and of the influential not only welcomed the Provisionals, but helped them to come into being.... The exact extent and character of the involvement of members of Mr. Lynch's 1969-70 government with the I.R.A. and especially the Provisional I.R.A. in the North is still a matter of speculation.... Certain Irish Army regular officers sent into Northern Ireland on intelligence work at this time became active sympathizers and helpers of what became the Provisional I.R.A...."
>
> —*States of Ireland*, 1972

The split was bitter but by no means clean; some joined the Provisionals because they favoured "action" whereas others joined because they opposed the Officials' pseudo-Marxist rhetoric.

Seamus Costello's decision to stay with the Officials perhaps surprised some. Yet he proved himself adept at the electoral manoeuvering and economist community organising characteristic of the Officials' activities in the South. He ran for the Dail several times and in 1974 headed the polls in the Wicklow County elections. Costello's ability to shift from the guerrillaist orientation of the 1950's to the ultra-minimalism of local politics (and such headline-catching stunts as "fish-ins" to dramatise the IRA's demand for nationalisation of the South's lakes and rivers) illustrates not so much the "cooling-off" of a young hothead as the Republican movement's search for a mass popular base.

1974: IRSP vs. Officials

Apparently Costello opposed the Officials' decision in May 1972 to abandon the military activities which they had reinstituted after the British imposed the notorious internment policy in July 1971. Frictions mounted inside the organisation, and Costello was charged with "criminal negligence" in running the Operations Department, which was responsible for buying weapons and financing. He was "court martialled" and "dismissed with ignominy," only to be subsequently reinstated.

The reinstatement did not signal an end to the bitter factionalising, however. The Officials' leadership combined accusations of "ultra-leftism" and Stalinist-style hints of imperialist involvement with a defence of their own economist policies against Costello's charge that they had abandoned the "ages-old national question." Finally Costello was expelled and took with him a section of the Officials' membership. He gathered some 80 delegates, including his closest associates, a group of former People's Democracy members headed by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and former leading members of the Derry Republican Club to found the IRSP in December 1974.

The IRSP denounced the Sinn Fein national executive for its position on the national question, "the lack of internal democracy," the decision to run candidates for the British-initiated Northern Ireland Convention and "the unprincipled betrayal of the internees arising from the decision to take seats on local councils in the North" (*Intercontinental Press*, 24 February 1975). The Goulding leadership gave its new nationalist opponents plenty to criticise. The Officials' call on Westminster for "withdrawal of troops to barracks" and passage of a "Bill of Rights" in Northern Ireland constitutes de facto recognition of the British imperialist presence albeit with demands for "democratic" reform of the sectarian Orange statelet.

Immediately after its foundation, the IRSP became involved in a lethal conflict with the Officials. Although provocateurs may have begun the fighting, there is strong evidence that the Officials did attack members of the IRSP in an attempt to prevent their growth in Belfast. The IRSP generally denied any active retaliation, but in an interview (*Intercontinental Press*, 21 July 1975) Costello acknowledged that certain small "radical Republican" paramilitary groups had offered to "defend IRSP members against such actions and retaliate for such actions." He added that "as soon as we have some concrete indication that the 'Officials' are going to call off its campaign, there will be no difficulty whatsoever about ensuring that there are no attacks on members or supporters of the 'Official' IRA." Such murderous feuds are a fact of life in the petty-bourgeois "Republican" movement. In this poisoned atmosphere, a single killing by a provocateur can bring British imperialism the benefits of endless rounds of organisational vendettas.

"Republicanism" vs. Marxism

At the time of the formation of the IRSP, various revisionists (notably the ex-Trotskyists of the United Secretariat) hailed it as a "left split" from the Officials. The USec group in Ireland, then known as the Revolutionary Marxist Group, wrote:

> "We welcomed the formation of the IRSP and we did so on two main grounds. In the short term in so far as they recognised the necessity for linking up the national struggle and the economic struggles of the working class we could foresee them playing a decisive role in organising the minority in the north to resist a Loyalist takeover and in mobilising the southern working class against the collaborationist policies of the Free State government i.e. as an important element in the current struggle.
>
> "In the longer term in that they are a grouping of militants who have broken from the reformism of the Officials and who are oriented towards revolutionary socialist politics i.e. as an important development in the building of a revolutionary party."
>
> —*The Plough*, Vol. 2, No. 19 [n.d.]

All of the groups which constitute the "Republican" movement are based on programmes which combine some mix of Irish Catholic nationalism and trivial sub-reformism. They differ chiefly in the proportions of these two elements and in the tactics which they employ in their pursuit. The Officials, who are strongest in the South, have since 1972 not

WV Photo

Bernadette Devlin

engaged in any military struggles with British forces in Northern Ireland. They are accused by the Provos of having resigned themselves to the continued existence of the Ulster statelet. But if they are perhaps less fanatically Catholic nationalist, the Officials remain petty-bourgeois "Republicans"—Green nationalists—whose position and entire tradition is that of forcible incorporation of the North into the Catholic-dominated Republic.

While many left groups, following the lead of the Communist Party, for a time portrayed the Officials as moving towards Marxism, in reality their direction has been towards a Labourite accommodation with whatever division of the island is favoured by British and Irish rulers. Thus similar criticisms of the Officials can be raised both by proletarian communists and by more militant "Republicans" such as the Provos and the IRSP. The Officials attempt to "forge class unity" among Catholic and Protestant workers by liquidating the struggle against British imperialism in favour of the most timid brand of economist gradualism. An example repeatedly cited by IRSP leaders was the Officials' campaign against the "ring road" in Belfast whose construction threatened both Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods. Moreover the Officials' reliance on the "democratic" conscience of the British overlords (especially the Labour Party) has led them even to flirt with the pro-imperialist pacifism of the Women's Peace Movement.

But the IRSP, on the other hand, proved unable to find a revolutionary solution to the national question in Ireland. In a speech in the Ardoyne Catholic ghetto in Belfast shortly after the IRSP's formation, Costello outlined a vague conception of "anti-imperialist unity" between the Protestant and Catholic ghettoes:

> "We want protestant and catholic unity—but on the basis of a principled political approach. That is unity on the basis of the effects of imperialist policy: There is absolutely no point in approaching the protestants on the 'ring road' only to have them a week later reject our position on the national question.... We want to unite on a broad front against imperialism. We issue a call for unity to individuals and organizations on short term demands such as these: end internment, British troops out, amnesty for all political prisoners and an end to bad debts accrued during the rent and rates strikes.... But our long term aim remains a socialist republic."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 3 March 1973

This amorphous notion, similar to the early ideas of People's Democracy, ignored a vital aspect of the Irish situation: the distinct identity of the Ulster Protestants. Opposition to "Republicanism," i.e., to forced unification with the Catholic South, among Protestant working people in Northern Ireland is not merely an expression of Orange privilege or support to British imperialism. There are also real and legitimate fears about the oppression of non-Catholics which would be inevitable in a united *bourgeois* Ireland. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has repeatedly stressed that the struggle to expel the British oppressors must be linked to a revolutionary working-class programme to overcome the communal divisions. Such a programme must recognise: 1) that historically the Protestants have defined themselves largely in opposition to Irish Catholic nationalism, and 2) that political unity among Catholic and Protestant workers requires a struggle against not only Unionism and incipient Ulster nationalism but also against Irish Catholic nationalism.

The concrete question posed for the IRSP militants was whether they would break on a class basis from their roots in the "Republican" movement. This would have led them in the direction of the Trotskyist programme uniquely defended by the iSt. A central task in Northern Ireland today is the organisation of anti-sectarian workers militias to protect working-class communities, both Catholic and Protestant, from the repressive forces of the bourgeoisie and from the marauding gunmen and bombers of the Orange gangs and Provisional IRA. Such militias can enlist support from *both* Catholic and Protestant workers (which is absolutely vital to their success) only if they are based on a programme of key democratic and class demands such as an end to all discrimination in hiring and housing and a sliding scale of wages and hours. The possibility of standing together with Protestant workers in a military confrontation with IRA men sharply focusses on the contradictions of "Republican" socialism.

One of the wellsprings feeding Orange reaction of the Paisleyite stamp is the preponderant influence of the Roman Catholic Church on the Dublin govern-

continued on page 9

UMWA...

(continued from page 1)

represented 32 percent of time lost to strikes of all American industry in 1931, the figure rising to an astounding 58 percent the following year. And this was achieved without a union that functioned on a national level.

The combativity of the miners cannot be questioned. Once again it is they who are bearing the brunt of the attack by the profit-hungry bosses. Ranged against them are the coal operators, who are increasingly dominated by oil and steel trusts, as well as the capitalist government, eager to clear the way for the unhindered expansion of coal production. The conflict in coal is of central importance to the entire U.S. working-class movement. It is urgent that the trade unions rally to the defense of the UMWA.

Organize the Non-Union Mines

The expansion of the non-union sector of the soft-coal industry has been meteoric. In 1974 some 70 percent of the industry was organized by the UMWA; today it is no more than 50 percent. The closing of the non-union pits could very well be the decisive factor in whether the strike is victorious. Certainly, the continuation of scab production during the strike will be a major demoralizing factor.

By no means, however, will the militant miners allow such production to continue unhindered, and the non-union sites could well be the sites of the most hard-fought battles of the strike. The difference between the union and non-union mines is recognized by thousands of non-union miners, such as those at Brookside and Stearns, who have waged months-long battles to win UMWA contracts. It is imperative that union militants raise as a major demand on their own leaders, "No settlement without standard UMWA contracts at the non-union mines." In such a fashion the strikers can cut through the anti-union propaganda of the scab outfits and demonstrate clearly to the non-union miners that the strike is in their interest.

A major focus of the expansion of non-union coal has been in the western United States. In 1976 some 133 million tons or 20 percent of the 665 million tons of soft coal mined in the U.S. were mined in this area. The western pits, mainly strip mines, have been the hardest section of the industry to organize. The mines are new, the workforce lacks roots and the traditions of militancy of the eastern and Appalachian miners. Only 30 percent of the western miners are organized into the UMWA.

Not a single member of the UMWA International has fought for an aggressive organizing campaign of the western mines, and the bureaucracy has consistently weakened the appeal of the UMWA by signing substandard contracts. While contracts with western UMWA mines also expire on December 6, the agreements signed in the west are separate and distinct from the ones negotiated with the BCOA. And UMWA negotiators are now flirting with the idea of creating a separate western pension and benefits fund, supposedly to keep the loyalty of miners worried by the weakness of the national funds.

The existence of separate agreements and separate funds can only heighten the danger that western UMWA miners will arrive at a separate settlement and return to work while their union brothers and sisters continue the battle back east. This is tantamount to surrender in advance. The crucial and mostly non-UMWA western mines are relatively inaccessible; the key to shutting them down can only be the roving pickets of UMWA miners. Miners must demand: one industry-wide agreement and benefit plan! End medical and pension funding on a per tonnage basis—Full benefits for all must be contractually guaranteed! Only in such a fashion can there be real unity within the UMWA.

Even in the relatively backward west, a militant strike by UMWA members, combined with an appeal that the UMWA contract be extended to the unorganized, can have a powerful effect in galvanizing the support of non-union miners. Many times previously non-union miners have walked off the job in solidarity with UMWA strikes, often from mines considered anti-union strongholds. This was the case in 1922, with the heroic rebellion by 75,000 non-union miners in the Connellsville coke region in Pennsylvania, where not a single miners local had existed in 30 years. The same happened with the determined strikes by employees of the "captive" mines—owned by the steel companies—in the 1930's. It would be criminal to underestimate the bonds of solidarity that exist among miners. Even where organizational links are weak, a determined leadership with a clear program for militant action can elicit a powerful response from the unorganized workers.

Jack Mahoney

Arnold Miller

Class Solidarity is Key

The accumulation of vast coal stocks, as well as the likelihood that these stockpiles will be augmented by scab domestic production and foreign imports, makes organized class solidarity a key element in the defense of the miners. The UMWA must not be forced to bear the brunt of the bosses' attack alone.

A major user of coal is the basic steel industry. No coal strike can be successful unless it threatens to shut down steel production. As an elementary act in defense of the miners, steel workers must refuse to handle all scab coal. All shipments of coal to the mills must be boycotted by steel workers!

Railroad workers can play an equally crucial role in insuring that coal not be moved from scab mines and coal depots. Seamen and longshoremen must enforce the demand that no coal be imported into the country for the balance of the strike. Effective labor boycotts of scab coal can play a major role in foiling the bosses' strategy of starving out and demoralizing the miners through a protracted war of attrition.

That steel workers are still working while the USWA iron miners go it alone against the no-strike ENA is testimony to the criminal policy of both wings of the Steelworkers bureaucracy, the Sadlowskis and Balanoffs as well as the McBride clique. The massive layoffs in steel, the iron miners' battle against ENA, and the upcoming conflict on the railroads, where the contract expires December 31, necessitate the establishment of a solid alliance of steel workers, coal and iron miners and railroad workers. The immediate implementation of effective hot-cargoing measures in defense of the miners would be a major step in preparing the way for a joint strike of these workers until the demands of all are met.

The entire labor movement must demand that the capitalist government keep its hands off the miners. Should federal troops be marshalled or the National Guard be mobilized, it will only be for the purpose of defending scabs against pickets. Such actions, as well as strike-breaking Taft-Hartley decrees, must be countered by a solid show of strength by the entire trade-union movement in the form of general protest strikes.

The UMWA Bureaucracy

Although it is absolutely clear that miners can avoid a strike only by a complete surrender to the BCOA, UMWA president Miller continues to spend his time dawdling around the bargaining table instead of girding the union for battle. In his last-ditch efforts to avoid a real struggle, Miller has even declared his willingness to extent the contract past December 6, thus making a mockery of the historic UMWA slogan of "No Contract, No Work."

Serious strike preparations are entirely lacking. The UMWA leadership has simply ignored the most important tasks confronting the union. There have been no appeals to the Steelworkers union or railroad and transport workers, and the International has essentially turned its back on the non-union miners. Even at Stearns, Kentucky, where the UMWA has been conducting an organizing drive for 15 months, the International has declared that the contract battle will have no direct bearing on the fight for unionization.

Militant miners are rightfully suspicious of Miller's version of the "right to strike." In 1974 Miller narrowly rammed through a sellout contract which omitted this key demand. Since then he has consistently attempted to quash every rank-and-file strike against the bosses. He has opposed every single wildcat strike, demanding that miners return to work and imposing disciplinary sanctions against militants, and he did not utter a peep of protest against the ARB's recent ruling against roving pickets. While Miller claims that he will not submit a contract to the ranks for ratification which does not contain a right-to-strike provision, he has made it clear that he is only talking about the strictly "local" right to strike (and even then only around certain issues)—thus barring the roving pickets and district-wide and nationwide strikes that are absolutely essential in many instances to defeat the coal bosses. But despite Miller's explicit willingness to write a ban on roving pickets into a "local right to strike" provision, the bosses are not buying. They are firmly convinced that Miller is incapable of disciplining the militant miners, and they want an explicit no-strike clause, combined with

Jail Kill-Crazy NYC Cop!

"A psychotic episode caused by a rare form of epilepsy" is the latest defense that America's killer elite, the blue-uniformed enforcers of capitalist "law and order," has come up with for the cold-blooded slaughter of a black youth by one of their cohorts. On those rare occasions when a cop is actually brought to court for gunning down a helpless subject, "self-defense" or a plea that the victim was "shot while trying to escape" is usually enough to get the killer off the hook. But the cold-blooded murder of 15-year-old Randolph Evans on Thanksgiving night a year ago by Patrolman Robert Torsney of the NYPD's 75th precinct (East New York) was so grotesquely wanton and occurred in front of so many witnesses that this time the cop's defense had to try a new angle.

It was "the biggest shock of my life, getting collared," Torsney said at his trial, which began on November 9. "Obviously, I didn't do anything wrong" (*New York Times*, 18 November). Clinging to the usual story that the youth was pulling a gun (or at least "something shiny") out of his pocket, the cop defendant feels betrayed by his buddies. Even fellow police officers had to testify in court that Evans had done nothing threatening, and no gun was ever found. The incident occurred as Torsney was returning from investigating a family dispute in Brooklyn; Evans, standing in front of his building talking with neighbors, asked the policeman if he had visited an apartment there. "That's right," Torsney reportedly answered, then pulled out his revolver and shot Evans in the head.

The final story took the defense almost a year to concoct, so obviously was this a case of cold-blooded murder. Torsney's lawyer, the chief counsel for the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, had argued in winning his release on $20,000 bail last year that his client was "sane and lucid" and used "proper police procedure" during the killing. However, after briefly toying with the standard "self-defense" plea, the defense has settled on legal insanity as a better bet.

Dr. Daniel Schwarz, chief psychiatrist for the defense, was forced to admit on the stand that it took him a year to reach the conclusion that "rare epilepsy" was involved. "I was troubled in trying to decide," he conceded under cross-examination. "For a long time I couldn't make sense out of the sequence of events as I was told they occurred" (*New York Times*, 23 November). The cop's sister described in heart-rending detail how the young Torsney had been beaten by his father; and if that wasn't enough to cause epilepsy, his wife went on to describe a motorcycle accident Torsney had in 1975, after which he just "hadn't been the same."

Torsney has stuck sullenly to his gun story, which the defense psychiatrist explains "was only a delusion." The poor killer cop, he claims, "had filled in his amnesia with a memory he could live with morally." The psychiatrists' ludicrous scramble to keep their stories straight with Torsney is a grotesque farce. But the murder of Randolph Evans is not the result of some obscure "rare" disease. As we wrote at the time of the murder:

> "Torsney is a fatigued member in the front lines of the cops' race war on New York's black population. That he, upon seeing a young black face, found himself apparently compelled to shoot it is the result of long conditioning of capitalism's hired thugs—racism transformed into reflex."
>
> —"Point-Blank Racist Murder in NYC," *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976

Torsney's only real crime in the eyes of his fellow cops is stupidity, murdering Evans head-on in front of witnesses instead of beating him to death in the station house or shooting him in a lonely parking lot. Cops in America are used to literally getting away with murder. So long as their targets are poor, dark-skinned or socially helpless and the police observe a minimum of caution in their slaughter, their license to kill will be renewed indefinitely by their bourgeois masters. City governments that live in dread of explosions of ghetto frustration, as occurred during NYC's power blackout last July, recognize that their badge-toting gunmen require a certain *esprit de corps* and that they periodically give vent to frustrations born of enforcing a system that requires virtual military occupation of minority communities.

The murder of Randolph Evans must be avenged! We demand that Torsney be immediately jailed, and that the cops be disarmed! So long as they have an open-ended license to kill on behalf of capitalism, the killer cops will continue to claim new victims. ■

August 1975: Charleston cops attack demonstration protesting court injunctions ordering miners back to work after 120,000 wildcatted in defense of their right to strike.

draconian penalties to be levied on wildcatters.

While Miller's attempts to implement his conciliationist program are being snubbed by the BCOA, the Patterson and Patrick wings of the bureaucracy have counterposed absolutely nothing. The sudden quiescence of Miller's enemies in the bureaucracy is simple expediency: caught between a determined rank and file and an intransigent BCOA, Miller's position is unenviable. The Patricks and the Pattersons neither want to share responsibility with Miller for the outcome of the strike, nor do they have anything different to propose. The silence of these would-be "leaders" at this critical juncture demonstrates anew that the factions within the UMWA leadership are nothing but unprincipled cliques. There's not a dime's worth of difference among them.

While there exist smaller groups within the UMWA that claim to offer a more militant policy, none provide a real answer for miners. The Miners Right to Strike Committee, supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), must be defended from the vicious red-baiting campaign currently being boosted by the coal bosses, the bourgeois press and Miller (see article this issue). However, this vicious witch-hunting attack notwithstanding, the reformist policies of the Right to Strike Committee do not fundamentally break from those of the UMWA bureaucracy.

The Right to Strike Committee—along with the Mountain Community Union—has recently initiated a Miners Support Committee. This committee is circulating petitions simply calling for support to the miners and four contract demands: right to strike; full medical and pension benefits, contractually guaranteed; a big wage increase; and a strong safety program. The petitions are to be turned into such disparate entities as the BCOA, West Virginia Governor John D. Rockefeller IV, the U.S. government, Arnold Miller and the UMWA's International Executive Board! It should be obvious that the coal operators and the capitalist politicians will not be swayed one bit by these pieces of paper; the class enemy will not be deterred from its union-busting drive by a mere petition. On the other hand, the contract demands cited are so vague that even the UMWA bureaucracy can claim to support them, while selling them out at the same time.

The fall issue of *Rank and File Unity*, published by the Miners Right to Strike Committee, contains a more comprehensive listing of contract demands, which include criticisms of Miller for his opposition to the wildcats and to an effective right to strike. But the strategy laid out is fundamentally the same as the petition campaign—namely, to pressure the bureaucracy. The Committee abdicates on the fundamental question: the need to counterpose a class-struggle strategy to Miller's defeatist policies. Missing from its literature are not only any political demands, such as the need to break from the Democratic and Republican parties, but even demands which are central to winning the strike—shut down and organize the non-union mines, joint strikes with steel and railroad workers, a labor boycott of scab coal, and the democratic election of strike committees by UMWA miners. Fundamentally, the Right to Strike Committee accepts the same trade-union reformist premises as the UMWA bureaucracy, and simply demands that it hold out for "more."

Meanwhile, Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, supported by the Communist Party (CP), trumpeted in its November issue of *Labor Today* the formation of Miners for a Fair Contract (MFC). The MFC program contains a laundry list of the usual demands, including the right to strike, stronger safety clauses, a shorter workweek, etc., that everyone including the UMWA bureaucracy gives lip service to. *Labor Today* gives the following introduction to the MFC: "Unlike some of the phoney 'rank and file' groups that have popped up in recent years to create disruption and disunity, Miners for a Fair Contract seeks to build the greatest possible unity within the faction-torn UMWA...."

In fact, what *Labor Today* means by opposing factionalism and creating "unity" is refusing to criticize the UMWA bureaucracy. Its statement is a thinly veiled attack on the Right to Strike Committee, for daring to criticize Miller even in a reformist fashion. To this day the CP continues to support both the thoroughly discredited Miller *and* Patrick, wishing only that the "good old days" of 1972 be restored when all the so-called "progressives" like Miller, Patrick and Trbovich were in the same camp. The MFC program pledges that "We resolve to support our negotiators...." No leadership can be expected from these insipid apologists for the labor fakers that run the UMWA.

Miners cannot defend their interests without a militant strike and they cannot afford to allow the conduct of such a strike to be left in the hands of the UMWA bureaucracy. Militants must demand mass district meetings to initiate democratically elected strike committees. The strike committee leadership, centralized on a national level, must fight for such crucial demands as:

1) Shut down all coal production—bring the non-union miners out and organize them! For working-class solidarity: shut down steel and the railroads, hot-cargo scab coal!

2) For the unlimited right to strike! No restrictions on roving pickets! End compulsory arbitration—Full power to resolve grievances through strike action!

3) A big wage increase! A sliding scale of hours and wages: a shorter workweek at no cut in pay with full cost-of-living protection!

4) A big boost in pensions, equalized at the highest level! End the dual-pension system negotiated by Miller in 1974! Abolish the $500 medical deductible! Full health and pension benefits, contractually guaranteed—end funding on a tonnage basis!

5) Federal inspectors will never guarantee safe working conditions—For strong, full-time, company-paid union safety committeemen! For the union's right to shut down unsafe mines!

6) End all racial and sexual discrimination! End victimization of militants! For union control of hiring and upgrading! Promotions on a seniority basis!

7) As early as 1916 the UMWA called for nationalization of the mines, a demand which has long since been buried. Today the coal mines are increasingly dominated by powerful steel, oil and utility interests. Expropriate the mines with no compensation!

8) For a workers party to fight for a workers government! The Democratic and Republican capitalist politicans will fight unrelentingly to defend the bosses' right to impose labor discipline and inhuman working conditions, to extort their bloated profits. Miners, like other workers, need their own party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. ■

Costello...

(continued from page 7)

ment and fear that a united Ireland will lead to a reversal of the terms of oppression—turning the Protestants into a subordinated minority in a Catholic-dominated clericalist state. The espousal of a "32 County Irish Socialist Republic" by left nationalists like Costello does not undercut the Protestants' fears so long as so-called "Republican socialists" remain bonded to Catholic obscurantism. It is hardly coincidental that, when Bernadette Devlin's supporters left the IRSP in late 1976, the split issues included the question of abortion rights, a question which pitted the Trotskyoid New Leftism of Devlin against the Catholic sensibilities of Costello's supporters.

As Devlin and her associates (now called the Independent Socialist Party) spun out of the Costello group and into the impressionistic swamp of Irish "far-left" propaganda blocs, the IRSP moved onto a convergence course with the Provisionals. This was codified in the formation of the Derry-based Irish Front by the two organisations (and several local groups) in October 1976. The Irish Front's four-point programme focuses exclusively on defence of political prisoners and opposition to the British presence in Northern Ireland. The organisational pact includes the provision that members of the Irish Front's "central committee" will not participate in the local or central governments. Early this year the IRSP announced that it was conducting military activities against the British army. In August the Irish Front led a demonstration of thousands in Derry against Queen Elizabeth's visit to Northern Ireland. With this orientation, the IRSP has come full-circle from the Stalinist-influenced "socialist" populism of the Officials to the narrow nationalism of the Provisionals.

For Irish Trotskyism

Costello's political activity took him through a series of abrupt shifts in direction in his short life, and he threw himself into each with enthusiasm. Thus he embraced in turn the various faces of Republicanism: hopeless dead-end adventurism, reformist local government parliamentarianism and deadly sectarian infighting. Although his political career has been brought to a close by the brutal assassination, Seamus Costello's life serves as a valuable illustration of how hundreds of personally courageous and dedicated men and women in Ireland, charged with a vision of freedom and social justice, end up squandering their lives promoting communalist politics or small-time reformism. Despite their willingness to struggle against British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie, these individuals are doomed to spend their lives in futility unless they can be won to a programme capable of intersecting today's struggles and directing them forward to proletarian revolution, the Trotskyist programme.

However, none of the variety of tiny fake revolutionary groupings which presently exist in Ireland are capable of politically breaking significant elements of the "Republican" movement from their petty-bourgeois nationalist programme. When they are not engaged in promoting low-level economism, they remain preoccupied with tailing whichever wing of "Republicanism": (Officials, Provos or IRSP) best suits their current appetites.

The Irish left is in an extremely fluid state with splits, faction fights, sharp turns and evident signs of tension on all sides. The key task for revolutionaries today must be to assemble the nucleus of a future Irish Trotskyist party. Such a party must be founded on a commitment to polarise both Protestant and Catholic communities along class lines through intervention with a revolutionary programme against murderous sectarianism and for an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. Only this perspective offers a way out of the vicious cycle of communal warfare which reactionary Ulster Loyalism and *all* forms of "Republicanism" can only perpetuate.

Nationalism, Orange or Green, is the bane of proletarian communism which alone can unite the working masses of Ireland against their oppressors, from the British imperial state with its virulently anti-Catholic RUC and the killer commandos of the SAS squads to the Paisleyite Unionist bigots and their deadly hit-men to the "gombeen bourgeoisie" of the Republic, utterly submissive to Britain economically and politically and easily as vicious in their reactionary, anti-working-class repression. ■

Carrillo...

(continued from page 12)

ber 22 he was asked at a press conference how he had been received in the U.S. The PCE leader replied: "I would say that this 'red'—which is how I have been described in some American newspaper accounts—has received a very friendly and warm reception in this sector [the universities]." Thereupon the following exchange took place:

> "*WV:* Mr. Carrillo, I believe that at Yale University you received a welcome that was not so friendly from the striking workers when you crossed their picket line. I would like to know—I'm speaking for *Workers Vanguard*, a Trotskyist newspaper, and we were there and confronted you when you crossed that line...
> "*Carrillo:* You were there?
> "*WV:* Yes, but on the other side of the line from you.
> "*Carrillo:* Ah, so there weren't any workers...
> "*WV:* There were plenty of workers there, and even the U.S. Communist Party. Now you have seen the news accounts, and I would like to know, from all the statements that were made can you give one single indication of anti-communism on that picket line. We saw no evidence of anti-communism there.
> "*Carrillo:* I was convinced that in that picket line which I crossed there were very few striking workers, and that by contrast there were a lot of people who had come from New York.... Also present in that picket line was a treasurer of the Communist Party of the U.S...and there was also a member of some organization called Spartacist. But there were very few workers from Yale."

Carrillo also justified his scabbing by saying that educational activities continued as normal at Yale, that on the previous Sunday the union leader

WV Photo

Me? Cross a picket line?

(Sirabella) had "consented to my doing what I had been asked to do at Yale," that he had made a statement in support of the strike, that there were no more pickets to be seen after his press conference and that the "picket line was a political manipulation to prevent a Communist leader, a Eurocommunist leader, from speaking in the United States." In response the *WV* reporter exposed this string of slanders and distortions:

"As for the picket line, there have been other picket lines at Yale. Yesterday they arrested 26 striking workers at that university. Secondly, they have picketed other speakers, from the Democratic Party, for instance. And thirdly, it was not to prevent you from speaking in the U.S. We support your right to speak in this country. It was to prevent *anyone* from crossing the picket line, and that has been the very firm position of that union. There was no manipulation at all."

That same evening Carrillo was again confronted over his strikebreaking by an SL supporter during a question-and-answer session after a speech given by the PCE leader at Harvard: "We of the international Spartacist tendency understand that the picket line is the line between the bosses and the workers. You make it clear that you would not disturb those bosses. How do you justify this atrocity?" Carrillo responded with the same slanders as before: "I have read in the *Wall Street Journal* exactly what you have said"; "...the picket line was made up mostly not of workers but of members of two parties whose names I could name, who...wanted to prevent a Communist from speaking at Yale"; etc. But this time he added something new: "I am convinced that what happened at Yale has been a political manipulation against Eurocommunism, probably by the CIA and the KGB, too."

This incredible charge shows that if Carrillo today espouses Eurocommunism as his particular brand of reformist class betrayal, he certainly has not forgotten his lessons in the Stalin school of falsification and slander. Exactly 40 years ago this same strikebreaking bureaucrat was branding the heroic uprising of the Barcelona workers as a "putsch" led by "Trotzkyites" and anarchists in the service of Franco!

As to Carrillo's claim that the union had originally authorized his activities, *WV* asked Local 35 business agent Sirabella to comment. He replied:

> "We sent him a cablegram about two weeks in advance of his appearance at Yale apprising him of the strike and urging him not to come under any circumstances.... Between the time we sent him the cablegram and the time we picketed him on Tuesday morning there was no contact whatever between him, his followers or his associates and our

union, none whatever.

"Now after he had already crossed our picket line...and had his press conference and we thoroughly embarrassed him with our picket line, which was predominantly members of our union—there were other groups there, of course,...that's nothing new—it is true that someone came out of the house...and said Carrillo would like to speak to us. [We said:] 'It's too late, the damage is done. He crossed our picket lines; he's a fink; he's a scab, and from that point on there's nothing to talk about.'

"We told him that Senator McGovern, Labor Secretary Marshall, Golda Meir and a whole host of other people had not come here under similar circumstances. We had picketed Mayor Gibson of Newark, a Democrat; we had picketed John Lindsay when he came through....

"That's the unpardonable sin—especially from a so-called Communist leader—crossing a picket line, because that line is sacrosanct. The picket line in my background of the '30's was the difference between the friends of the workers and the enemies of the workers."

The fact that numerous Democratic Party politicians respect picket lines certainly does not make them the "friends of labor" they claim to be. Last spring on the West Coast even King Gustaf of Sweden refused to cross a picket line on the Bay Area Rapid Transit line. But the fact that "Eurocommunist" Carrillo felt no compunctions about flaunting his disregard for the battle line of the class war speaks volumes about his "revolutionary" credentials.

Eurocommunism Bared

Throughout his tour Carrillo went to great pains to espouse his "reasonableness" and good will toward U.S. imperialism. "If I am speaking here today," he reportedly told Yale students, "this is essentially due to the human rights policies of President Carter which made possible this visit" (*L'Espresso*, 27 November). He pledged, "American investors in Spain don't have anything to worry about" if the PCE joins the government and quoted Spanish prime minister Adolfo Suárez reporting that his party's conduct had been exemplary. Carrillo returned the compliment, stating: "The monarchy is playing a positive role in the re-establishment of democratic freedoms" (*New Haven Journal Courier*, 17 November).

Having reassured U.S. imperialism of the Eurocommunists' "responsible" attitude in his Yale speech, at Harvard he concentrated on expounding his views on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Carrillo's book *Eurocomunismo y estado* (Eurocommunism and the State) is a full-scale rejection of Leninism and Marxism on the question of the state, digging up every social-democratic shibboleth and misquote from Engels, propounding the most vulgar pacifism, declaring that democracy is classless, and pledging to support (bourgeois) parliamentarism. But in his Harvard speech he sank even lower, appealing to the American nationalism and "democratic" commitment of the overwhelmingly liberal, anti-Communist audience.

The Eurocommunists, he said, by rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat, rejected the right of the party to dictate tastes in "intimate questions" such as art and love. As to defense of the USSR in a war with the U.S., he said that no one would have time to choose sides in a war between the "superpowers." In the United States, he added, with its great tradition of respect for liberty (!), socialism could come peacefully. And to top off this revolting display of philistine reformism, when challenged by an SL supporter during the discussion period to confront the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat as put forward by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, and not the deformation of this fundamental Marxist concept by Stalin, his only reply was: "If you [the Spartacists] want the dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States and the American people agree with you, then you can have it."

At Yale the Communist Party reacted at first shamefacedly to Carrillo's scabbing, sending a couple of supporters with barely legible signs. The next evening it showed up in force, along with a press release by CP leader Gus Hall stating: "A strike is a strike and a strikebreaker is a strikebreaker, no matter who it is or how you look at it.... The actions of Santiago Carrillo are indefensible. Santiago Carrillo crossed that class line by ignoring the picketline at Yale." Then came an official party statement linking the PCE leader's crossing the picket line to "defamation of Soviet socialism" (*Daily World*, 19 November), plus a number of articles in the CP press. But while the Communist Party found itself here in the unaccustomed position of at least verbally defending the class line (in contrast to its own notorious scabbing on the 1968 New York teachers' strike and its World War II scabherding against coal miners' strikes), it too had not forgotten its Stalinist tricks: a UPI photo of Carrillo crossing the picket line was carefully cropped in the *Daily World* to eliminate SL signs.

Pro-Moscow Stalinists and "Eurocommunists" alike have nothing to offer the workers but betrayal. During the Spanish Civil War, the Communist Party acting under Stalin's orders was the most vicious defender of the sanctity of private property against attempts by the working class to form their own militias and kick out the bosses. In the 1930's they did it by murdering Andrés Nin, Camilo Berneri and numerous anarchist and Trotskyist leaders; today Carrillo does it in praising Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade for the moral rearmament of U.S. imperialism. Brezhnev plays the same game with the Helsinki Conference, although seeking to strike a better deal since he—unlike Carrillo—has a formidable state power to back him up.

The Spanish Communist Party leader claims that socialism can come in West Europe through the ballot box; all that is necessary is that the working class once again behave "responsibly." It must learn to "compromise" like he did—by crossing the class line! He offers the PCE for the role of policeman of the proletariat, and while the picket line incident at Yale caused some embarrassment, it was also an unmistakable seal of dependability to the bourgeoisie. The Trotskyists, in contrast, defend the picket line; we do not duck our responsibility to defend even the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state against imperialism; and we call all the Stalinists/"Eurocommunists" by their right name—scabs. It is the role that the Gus Halls and Santiago Carrillos all played in the Spanish Civil War: strikebreakers of the revolution. ■

CPUSA goes after scab Carrillo. Daily World cropped UPI picture to eliminate SL signs (compare with opposite page).

Daily World

GUS HALL BLASTS SANTIAGO CARILLO

GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, today released the following comments on the actions and statements made at Yale on November 15 by Santiago Carillo:

A strike is a strike and a strikebreaker is a strikebreaker, no matter who it is or how you look at it.

A picket line of striking workers is the dividing line between the working class and the corporations. The picket line at Yale is the dividing line between the poorly paid workers and the multimillion dollar corporation - Yale.

One cannot say one is for the workers, for their trade unions, and ignore the workers' picketline at the same time.

The actions of Santiago Carillo are indefensible. Santiago Carillo crossed that class line by ignoring the picketline at Yale.

His action is contrary to the policies and class behavior of Communists the world over.

I also reject Carillo's slander of U.S workers and trade unions. No amount of such slander will cover up for his anti-working class actions.

The only proper answer to the Yale corporation and Santiago Carillo is greater support to the striking workers. They deserve the support of every honest citizen and worker of Connecticut. It is time the people of Connecticut, in no uncertain terms, tell Yale, the multimillion dollar corporation that covers up its non-payment of taxes behind classrooms, that, "You are not the high lord of New Haven or Connecticut. You have to deal with the people and workers at Yale with respect and decency."

" "

Issued By: Gus Hall, 235 West 23rd Street, 7th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011

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LOS ANGELES

Miners Group Witchhunted...

(continued from page 2)

ence of five years of the Miller regime. During this time they have seen their once-powerful union seriously weakened through the spread of unorganized mines, their grievances stacked up in a worthless arbitration system, their health cards rendered nearly worthless and their leadership on its knees before the BCOA.

For the capitalist press and the coal bosses the sudden interest in the political affiliation of UMWA oppositionists is merely a warm-up for the welter of anti-strike and union-busting propaganda they expect to churn out in the coming weeks. For Arnold Miller, whose concessions in recent negotiations with the BCOA have already given a taste of the sellout to come, the MRSC is the whipping-boy with which he hopes to frighten union militants into early surrender.

For Miller no slander is too bald if it helps intimidate and contain the angry miners' ranks. Thus he had the gall to suggest that leftists within the union may be agents of the bosses. "These people were able to get jobs and even after layoffs get their jobs back," he told the *Times*. "This makes me wonder if the mine operators knew who they were and hired them on purpose to weaken the union."

This from the faker who once claimed to be the champion of democracy in the UMWA against the reactionary gangster regime of "Tony" Boyle! Ironically, in 1972 the RU along with most of the rest of the left was among Miller's biggest supporters—until he turned around and stabbed them in the back with his anti-wildcat campaigns and rotten 1974 contract. Today these same fake-left groups, such as the International Socialists and Socialist Workers Party, which tailed Miller then now hail their newest bureaucratic "reformer," Harry Patrick, who goes around giving speeches (such as at the recent Teamsters for a Democratic Union conference) calling on militant unionists to stand up to redbaiting attacks. But when left newspapers, including *Workers Vanguard*, were excluded from the last UMWA conference in Cincinnati, Patrick didn't utter a peep of protest. Nor has he denounced the current witchhunt against the MRSC.

If the Right to Strike Committee is driven from the union, it is only a matter of time until every militant who dares to fight the bureaucracy's sellout policies receives some of the same treatment. This vicious witchhunt, fueled both by Miller and the coal operators, must be denounced as a threat to the rights of all UMWA members. Union militants must demand that Bruce Miller be rehired immediately and the anti-communist exclusion clause of the UMWA constitution be abolished. Redbaiting is a bosses' tool! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Carrillo Scabbing at Yale Heard Round the World

The ten-day visit to the United States by Spanish Communist Party (PCE) leader Santiago Carrillo November 14-23 was intended to be a "Eurocommunist" tour de force. He was the first head of a western European Communist Party to have been permitted entry to the U.S. since the beginning of the cold war. Thus his trip was considered a major event by the European press, indicating that Washington no longer considers the PCE and allied parties "beyond the pale." It was expected, wrote the *New York Times* (15 November), that Carrillo would use the occasion "to enhance his image as a democratic-minded Communist independent of Moscow."

In return for this indication of toleration by the Democratic administration, the PCE leader would praise Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign, whose fundamental target is the USSR. Particularly following the snub administered to Carrillo by the Kremlin earlier this month at the official Soviet celebration of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, unflattering comparisons were sure to be made between the repression of dissidents in Brezhnev's Russia and the vaunted "free exchange of ideas" in Carter's America. And by providing the occasion for an anti-communist propaganda heyday, he would give concrete proof of his reliability as a labor lackey of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Carrillo went through his paces with aplomb, hobnobbing with liberal professors, holding private discussions with the influential Council on Foreign Relations, praising Jimmy Carter and King Juan Carlos of Spain, reassuring American investors and making gestures to the Socialists at home. He gave every indication of "moderation" that could be asked for, and certainly proved that the PCE is no threat to capitalist rule. But the most dramatic proof of Carrillo's loyalty to the bourgeoisie, the one which suddenly became an international scandal, was something he probably hadn't reckoned on.

By crossing the picket lines of striking workers at Yale University with the protection of burly cops, Santiago Carrillo made it plain for all to see that he was not a communist but a despicable scab, not a revolutionary leader of the proletariat but a misleader and an imposter. His talk of commitment to "democratic pluralism" and "human rights" ultimately amounts to an apology for capitalism, and in practice comes down to plain and simple strikebreaking. So when this phony "Communist" chose to display his underlying contempt for the working class, the members of American Federation of University Employes (AFL-CIO) Local 35, on strike for the last seven weeks, jeered and booed him, giving him the reception appropriate to all scabs.

Carrillo being escorted through campus workers' picket lines by Yale cops. WV Photo

Caught in the Act

Carrillo was caught in the act by reporters and photographers of the wire services and major daily newspapers. Stories on the picket line incident were published in the *New York Times*, the London *Times* and the Paris *Le Monde*, and dispatches were sent out by at least the UPI, AFP, Reuters and the Spanish and German news agencies. Major weeklies such as the international edition of *Time*, *L'Espresso* in Italy and Brazil's *Manchete* covered the event, while both AP and UPI released wire photos of Carrillo's act of class treachery.

But while the bourgeois media had their own reactionary reasons to chortle over the predicament of Yale's newest Chubb Fellow, Carrillo's despicable attempts to slander the protesters as anti-communists are a transparent smear tactic. Present on the picket lines along with more than 50 strikers were members of the Spartacist League (SL) and of the U.S. Communist Party (CP). Moreover, Carrillo would be hard-pressed to find any red-baiting in the widely quoted remarks of local union head Vincent Sirabella; typical was the UPI dispatch which quoted Sirabella as saying, "I was astonished that he came. As a Communist he ought to have some sympathy for the worldwide struggle of the workers." In the *International Herald Tribune* (16 November) this news report was accompanied by a picture of Carrillo crossing the line in which one could clearly see an SL sign reading (in Spanish) "scabs on Yale strike."

Other stories revealed the same picture. The *New York Times* of the same date reported Carrillo's justification for scabbing: "The American labor movement has done nothing to promote democracy in Spain." The union leader, it said, retorted by "denounc[ing] Mr. Carrillo for crossing the picket line and said that the Spanish Communist's words were 'a weak excuse for the most heinous act that a supposed defender of labor could commit.' Mr. Sirabella also scoffed at the 'irony of choosing to lie in bed with the capitalist host'."

On the next night Carrillo was scheduled to speak at Yale Law School. The location was changed "for security reasons" to another hall which has entrances through steam tunnels, thereby allowing the PCE leader to crawl *under* the strikers' picket lines. This time an even larger protest was covered by correspondents from AP, *Time*, *Newsweek*, the Italian dailies *La Repubblica* (Radicals) and *Avanti* (Socialist), the liberal Madrid daily *Diario 16* and Spanish and Italian TV crews. As at the press conference, reporters from *Workers Vanguard* and the CPUSA's *Daily World* were present on the picket line but did not go inside. The scene and its context was described by the Italian weekly *L'Espresso* (27 November):

> "Arriving in the United States, Carrillo expected anything but a challenge from the left. But this country is full of all kinds of surprises. So on Wednesday evening, while the Spanish leader spoke at Yale University, the spectacle which unfolded before the eyes of many Italians present reminded them curiously of scenes from back home.
>
> "Arriving from all over Connecticut, from Massachusetts, from New Jersey and New York, small groups of Trotskyists, Spartacists, Communists of the old Stalinist tradition, veterans of the Lincoln Brigade who had fought in Spain, and trade unionists carried signs and chanted slogans against him. All things considered, a foreign observer might have thought that this was an attempt by usually marginal groups to bring out their own demands by taking advantage of a major event. However, this was not the case, for two reasons. First, Carrillo's trip was not arousing the slightest interest in America and no one was aware of it. [And second,] as soon as he arrived, Carrillo made a blunder which will weigh on the results of his American visit....
>
> "And so it happened Tuesday morning that Carrillo, arriving at the building where he was supposed to hold his first press conference, found the strike pickets who called on him not to enter. At this point Carrillo, after a few general words of solidarity, made the following statements: that his diplomatic mission had more than local importance, that the American unions are notoriously rightist and tied to the system, that American workers had done nothing for the war in Spain, that the unions supported the war in Vietnam, etc.... But that was not the point stressed by the local press, beginning with the moderates. It was the fact that Carrillo had physically crossed the picket line."

Justifying the Unjustifiable

Carrillo's treachery in the Yale strike dogged him during the rest of his trip. In his Wednesday night speech Carrillo reportedly said lamely, "I would have preferred not to speak under these circumstances. But I had to compromise" (*New Haven Register*, 17 November). At Harvard University on Novem-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 185

9 December 1977

Miners in Cabin Creek, West Virginia leave last shift before strike.

WV Photo

Hot Cargo Coal!

Victory to the Miners Strike!

CABIN CREEK, West Virginia, December 6—The long-anticipated 1977 coal strike, a battle crucial for the entire American working class, is now underway. At midnight the last of 175,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) came out of the pits to take up the struggle against the coal operators, who are bent on gutting the oldest and most combative industrial union in the U.S.

It has been obvious since Thanksgiving that a strike was inevitable, and miners began walking out late last week. When UMWA president Arnold Miller left negotiations with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) yesterday evening, he announced that the companies had made no change in their positions since the opening of bargaining two months ago. It is obvious, he said, that they don't want an agreement and are trying to "break the union."

Everyone is predicting a long strike. Today's *Charleston Gazette* quoted a stock market analyst talking of a two-month strike and observing that a short strike "would be a disaster" for the companies because of extensive stockpiling. And the anti-union propaganda barrage from the bosses' press has already begun.

The *New York Times* complained of the UMWA's "inflexible" policy of "no contract, no work." Citing the cut-off of health payments to 800,000 beneficiaries and projected suspension of pension payments to another 80,000, this voice of anti-union liberalism gloated that the strike "was a self-inflicted injury to the U.M.W. membership that the coal industry and the economy generally would hardly feel."

But miners here in the heart of UMWA District 17, a traditional center of miners' militancy, are determined to stay out as long as necessary to win their demands. As day shift workers climbed off the man-trips at a mine in Cabin Creek yesterday afternoon, one miner told *WV* reporters he was prepared to stay out for six months. Another wished his crew members Merry Christmas, Happy New Year and Happy Easter as he headed for home. Support for the strike was solid.

Yet miners are understandably wary about their leadership. Several told *WV* they planned to vote no on the first contract submitted no matter what. In 1974 they were simply read a summary of the contract, not given copies to study themselves. Many did not find out until later that it did not contain the right to strike. One said of Miller's agreement: "It's like the Bible—no one can understand it."

UMWA members are also bitter at the leadership's poor preparation for the strike. The accumulation of massive stockpiles by steel and power companies was entirely unnecessary. At the end of last summer's eight-week wildcat against health benefit cutbacks—a strike which was bureaucratically squashed by the combined efforts of Miller, his presidential rivals Harry Patrick and LeRoy Patterson, and the entire International Executive Board—stockpiles were at a record low. One militant complained bitterly:

> "If the strike had kept on going, with the 85,000 out; if he would have gone ahead and gotten the rest of them out, we wouldn't be sitting here in the kind of shape we're in right now. We had them down to eight days' supply of coal. We had them."

Already at the onset of the present strike, the UMWA bureaucracy has made a significant retreat in maintaining the union as a cohesive industry-wide organization. Miller has determined to avoid any strike in the western mines altogether. An agreement has already been ratified with Pittsburgh and Midway Western Mines which reportedly contains an explicit no-strike clause and is separate from the national UMWA health and pension funds.

Similar agreements have been negotiated at eight of the ten UMWA operations in the West, and it is unlikely that *any* of the union's western miners will strike. *Thus UMWA members will be scabbing on their own strike!*

The Right to Strike

The key issue is clearly the right to strike. Coal operators are notorious for their blatant disregard not only for the contract but for the most elementary norms of health and safety. The wildcats that have swept the coalfields over the past three years, sparked by one company provocation after another, are ample demonstration that no contract gain is safe without the right to strike. Miners must demand that this right to strike be unrestricted. Miller, however, is seeking to restrict strikes to an individual mine site where most battles cannot be won.

The BCOA has put forward far-reaching take-away demands, including absentee control, continuous seven-day per week, 52-week per year production, and an end to union safety committees' right to close hazardous mines. Most importantly the coal bosses want to put a stop to the wildcats which cost them 21.8 million tons of coal in the first eight months of 1977. In October the Arbitration Review Board issued a ruling which for the first time authorized firing of roving pickets and even leafletters, although the present BCOA contract does not contain a no-strike clause.

The BCOA's attack on the union health card is an outrageous provocation calculated to demoralize and exhaust the membership before the present nationwide strike. With coal production scheduled to nearly double by 1985, tonnage-based royalties will be more than enough to cover these costs. BCOA president Joseph Brennan's strategy is to starve the UMWA membership into submission as winter sets in. When the ranks are hungry, the BCOA can "magnanimously" agree to restore funding of the health card in exchange for a contractual guarantee that work in the mines will not be interrupted by wildcats.

This is transparently the coal bosses' strategy, as even the business press recognizes. Thus *Business Week* (28 November) noted: "A key demand, one that the operators are balking at now but one they are likely to grant as a trade-off, is for a 'restoration' of health care benefits." While restoration of the health benefits cut last summer is absolutely crucial, winning the unlimited right to strike is necessary in order to prevent them from being cut off again.

The cut-off of these benefits last summer was a cynical ploy to hold the health and safety of miners hostage in exchange for the ransom of labor peace. Not only was money available to be transferred from other funds, but the bosses' assertions that the cutbacks were necessitated by wildcats is a brazen lie. While miners must demand that benefits be contractually guaranteed and not dependent on tonnage agreements, a recent study showed that wildcats were responsible for a loss equal to only 5 percent of the total projected income of almost $2 billion over three years (*Wall Street Journal*, 1 December).

For three years coal miners have repeatedly gone out on strike demanding the local right to strike, restoration of health benefits, passage of black lung legislation and an end to anti-strike injunctions. For three years the Miller bureaucracy of the UMWA has blocked them at every step, frustrating the miners' militancy and preventing victory. Now the coal operators are stepping in by forcing a long contract strike, in the hopes that by the end strike-weary miners will lose their taste for wildcats.

Coal miners must not knuckle under to these threats. Despite the demoralizing defeatist tactics of the UMWA

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USec: Toward the 2¼ International...6

After Four Months on Strike, McBride Sellout Rejected

Iron Miners Determined to Hold Out

The solidarity of the Minnesota-Michigan iron miners strike, which after 120 days has become the longest strike in the history of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), is threatened by the return to work of a substantial minority of the miners. The defection of 5,000 strikers, mainly in Michigan, and then of two locals on the Mesabi range in Minnesota followed a backstabbing ploy by USWA president Lloyd McBride.

McBride initially endorsed a company offer that would have provided incentive pay for some 75 percent of the iron miners but would have meant a pay cut for the remaining quarter of the affected workforce. This outrageous offer was rejected out-of-hand by the 80-member negotiating committee of the iron mining and taconite-processing locals. The companies then modified their offer by rescinding the pay cut. But even this deal, the one accepted by returning workers, does not provide full pay equity with basic steel workers; does not provide any incentive increases for two years; gives no increase to 25 percent of the workers; and contains a pay cut for new hires!

In getting part of the strikers to return to work, McBride circumvented the joint negotiating committee of the 14 striking locals, arrogantly proclaiming that bargaining would henceforth be conducted on a local-by-local basis.

WV Photo

USWA District 65 demonstration in support of Iron Range strike in front of USWA office in Chicago.

The miners who remain on strike are justly outraged by McBride's treacherous maneuver. The defections can only stiffen the resolve of the companies to maintain a hard stance toward the remaining strikers. By enabling the companies to augment stockpiles just before the shipping season closes on the Great Lakes and it becomes impossible to transport ore, McBride's ploy is a demoralizing blow that poses a great threat to the strike.

Although granting the ore strike formal International sanction, McBride has sought from the beginning to gut it of its effectiveness. The maintenance of the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) requires that steel workers accept McBride's class-collaborationist dictum that "strikes don't pay." The ore strike has threatened to blow apart this myth. This has become even more evident as the companies have quietly dropped their initial insistence that wage increases, whether in the form of incentive payments or otherwise, are a "non-negotiable" issue.

In a desperate attempt to bolster his sagging position, McBride and steel management recently exchanged letters, agreeing that in the future disputes over what constitutes a local issue under ENA would be settled through arbitration and not strikes. The new deal is explicitly designed to rule out strikes like the current one, which the bosses claim is illegal under ENA. This new anti-strike action by McBride, taken in the face of a determined strike which threatens to scuttle ENA, must be rejected by steel workers.

While McBride is openly courting the steel bosses, the liberal Sadlowski/Balanoff wing of the USWA bureaucracy has attempted to refurbish its tarnished "militancy" by inviting iron miners' leaders such as District 33 director Linus Wampler and Local 1938 president Joe Samargia to address Chicago-area USWA meetings and by initiating plant-gate collections to provide financial assistance to strikers. But by explicitly denying the necessity to extend the ore strike to basic steel, the activity of the Sadlowski bureaucrats and their apologists amounts to no more than tokenism.

On November 18 a poorly attended rally of some 40 members of four Chicago-area locals of the USWA demonstrated in support of the iron ore miners and taconite workers in front of U.S. Steel's Chicago general offices. The demonstration, sponsored by Local 65 (U.S. Steel Southworks) was initiated on a motion by Dave Woods, a prominent supporter of the Communist Party-hacked National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC). It was dominated by a new "rank and file" group in Local 65 called Steelworkers Organized for Solidarity (SOS), a bloc between NSRFC supporters and other assorted reformists on a minimal program of "union democracy" (a demand which they routinely violate by urging government intervention in the USWA on behalf of Sadlowski against McBride) and support for Sadlowski/Balanoff.

Daily World

Striking iron miners and supporters marching November 6 in Virginia, Minnesota.

Tim McIndoo/Mesabi Daily News

USWA pickets at the entrance to U.S. Steel's iron ora production complex near Mountain Iron, Minnesota.

The official rally slogans not only failed to call for extending the strike, but explicitly opposed any such militant action by steel workers. SOS supporters chanted, "Save our jobs, settle this strike," and carried signs saying "U.S. Steel: Settle this strike by signing a contract."

Arguing that a prolonged strike and a depletion of ore supplies threaten the jobs of steel workers, without even calling for victory for the miners' demands, is no support at all to the strikers! It is a gross capitulation to the most parochial and backward attitudes of steelworkers. At a time when steel plants are being shut down, thousands of workers are being dismissed and the situation cries out for basic steel workers to join the miners in strike action, the liberal reformists plead for "saving jobs" through "settling" the taconite strike. The logic of this wretched position requires that these fake militants should now congratulate McBride for his proposed settlement of the strike at the expense of the miners!

Similarly, the slogan of "Stop U.S. Steel's strikebreaking ore," when directed at the companies, is hollow rhetoric and gross hypocrisy as well. To expect that U.S. Steel will voluntarily cease to import scab ore and undercut its own position is sheer idiocy. The responsibility for halting scab ore rests with the *union*. But throughout the strike, USWA members who man ore boats on the lakes have continued to transport taconite, and basic steel workers have continued to handle ore daily. The only way to "stop U.S. Steel's strikebreaking ore" and "save jobs" for steel workers is to hot-cargo ore shipments and shut down basic steel in a solidarity strike to smash ENA.

Sadlowski, Balanoff and SOS supporters, as well as Wampler and Samargia, have consistently opposed implementation of these demands. There were, however, some steel workers who did point the way to victory, carrying such signs as "Extend the Strike—Smash ENA—Victory to the Miners!"

It is only through advancing such class-struggle demands against the reformist policies of both McBride and Balanoff/Sadlowski and their apologists that steel workers can go forward. The combative iron miners, despite McBride's bureaucratic sabotage and the worthless tokenism of Sadlowski & Co., have demonstrated that ENA can be cracked through solid strike action. Class-conscious steel workers must draw a balance sheet of this experience, rejecting both wings of the USWA bureaucracy, and forge a genuine, militant leadership.

Victory to the miners strike! Smash ENA! Fight layoffs—Extend the strike to basic steel! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

Anti-Apartheid Revolt and Imperialist Moralism — *Tha Main Enamy Is at Homa*

Speaker, JOSEPH SEYMOUR
Spartacist League Central Committee

Time: Friday, December 9
7:30 p.m.

Place: KB Lounge
Wilder Hall
OBERLIN COLLEGE

For information call (216) 566-7806

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Torsney Set Free

Put Away NYC Killer Cop!

On November 30 an all-white jury acquitted NYC killer cop Robert Torsney who a year ago last Thanksgiving put a gun to the head of an unarmed black teenager, 15-year-old Randolph Evans, who had been standing peacefully in front of a housing project in Brooklyn, and pulled the trigger. After five hours deliberation the jury voted to acquit this vicious murderer on the preposterous grounds that Torsney was suffering from "a rare form of epileptic psychomotor seizure" at the time. After he spends 60 *days* under observation in a mental institution he will be free to walk the streets again. And pending the results of a police department hearing he will then either be returned to active duty or retire with a disability pension!

In the wake of Torsney's acquittal, one of Randolph Evans' friends was quoted as saying, "If it had been the reverse—if a black kid had shot a white cop—there's no way he'd be alive and free right now." This remark tells a truth about racist America which is universally recognized, although seldom said in print: that no cop need worry he will be found guilty and jailed for killing a black person. As New York City sinks deeper into the barbarism of decaying capitalism, the mass arrests of thousands and the hysterical "night of the animals" media campaign which followed last summer's blackout set the tone for the acquittal of this dangerous killer cop.

Those accused of killing a cop, on the other hand, even when it is a case of self-defense, face a much different fate. Many states now have a mandatory death penalty for "cop killers." Consider the plight of George Merritt, whose case has been taken up by the Communist Party-led National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression. On September 27 an all-white jury convicted him of killing a Plainfield, New Jersey policeman ten years ago, and he was handed a life sentence after already serving seven years. That's capitalist "justice": the George Merritts languish in prison for the rest of their lives or are sent to the electric chair because a cop was killed and some black man must pay, while Torsney executes an innocent youth and walks away a free man.

The most maddened killers, with brains more dangerously criminally deranged than "Son of Sam," are armed to wage capitalism's street war against the ghetto population. Like Torsney they wait for another black youth to "look sideways," smile "funny" or simply be at the wrong place at the wrong time. If they feel like it they simply take aim against this "enemy" and blow his brains out, secure in the knowledge that they can later claim a case of "temporary insanity."

This week the liberal press, taking its cue from Washington, unanimously expressed outrage at the news that South African authorities had cleared police of all responsibility in the murder of black leader Stephen Biko. No such protests were lodged over the outrageous verdict in the trial of Robert Torsney. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, however, which struggles for the liberation of the working class and all the oppressed, will not forget this atrocity. The cops must be disarmed and murderer Torsney put away! The slaying of Randolph Evans will be avenged through workers revolution! ■

ILWU Pushes Protectionist Subsidies

Hawaii Sugar Strike Pact Does Not Protect Jobs

OAKLAND—The strike by 7,200 Hawaiian sugar workers organized in Local 142 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) went down to defeat November 19 when the union leadership called it off, having gained next to nothing on the crucial issue of job security. Local 142 members were forced to walk out November 2 after all attempts to avoid a strike had failed, including a treacherous *eight-month* extension of their old contract which had expired on February 1. Faced with continuing job losses due to mechanization, plantation runaways and a steady decline in real wages since their last contract (no wage increase at all in the last 21 months), Hawaii sugar workers needed to launch a serious counteroffensive. Instead the ILWU bureaucracy, from Local president Carl Damaso on up to new International president Jimmie Herman, sealed their fate almost before the struggle had begun by relying on chauvinist protectionist schemes, whose real beneficiaries are the Big Five American sugar monopolies.

Unemployment levels among the ILWU sugar workers—a crucial part of the Hawaiian labor movement—have been running about 15 percent, with likely plantation closures threatening to bring the statistics up to as high as 50 percent in some parts of the islands. Yet despite the crying need for a militant fight for jobs the bureaucracy treated the strike as simply another pressure tactic for its lobbying campaign in Washington *alongside the sugar companies* for new federal subsidies for U.S. sugar producers. Even former International Secretary Treasurer Lou Goldblatt was brought back from retirement to head up the union's strike negotiating committee. Goldblatt has been pushing for new protectionist legislation ever since the Sugar Act lapsed in 1974.

Thus when the Carter administration announced November 8 (six days after the strike had begun) a $40 million new price-support program to Hawaiian sugar producers, the union leadership anticipated an easy settlement. But returning to the bargaining table after Carter's announcement the ILWU negotiating committee was in for a rude awakening. Union demands for a 15-month contract with a 50 cent/hour wage increase, several "fringe" benefit improvements and a so-called "job security" clause banning outside contracting were rejected outright by the sugar bosses. In the end the Local membership was handed an agreement which reportedly does little more than preserve Attachment 22, a grossly inadequate job-security clause, with the addition of an insulting 30 cent/hour across-the-board wage increase with another 10 cent hike next July 1.

Just how this program for protectionist measures backfired on the sugar workers was admitted by President Herman himself in an editorial in the *Dispatcher* just a day before the strike was called off:

> "Our initial thrust was to get a law similar to the Sugar Act. A massive lobbying effort was organized. The ILWU played a pivotal role in a coalition which included sugar industry representatives, the Teamsters, the AFL-CIO, the Hawaii congressional delegation and certain key congressmen, such as Rep. Phil Burton of San Francisco. What we got out of Congress and the administration was a program of support payments to domestic producers to bring prices up to 13 1/2¢ per pound.
>
> "The total subsidy comes to about $65 million, of which $25 million was thrown in recently to take care of that part of the 1977 crop which has already been sold. Alexander and Baldwin, second largest grower in Hawaii, recently reported that their net income is up 27 percent so far this year because of these payments.... But the companies now seem to have decided to take the money and run. Although the ILWU played a major role in helping the Big Five get these taxpayer-financed subsidies, the companies are using them as a strike fund to take on the union."
>
> —*Dispatcher*, 18 November 1977

The Dispatcher

Striking ILWU sugar workers picket plantation on the island of Kauai last month.

Throughout the strike the leadership shrank from the militant class-struggle tactics needed to win against the companies—such as the elementary measure of calling on Local 6 ILWU workers to close the industry's major sugar refinery in Crockett, California. Besides its lobbying for federal subsidies, the bureaucracy focused its entire fight for jobs around the demand to preserve Attachment 22. This contract provision has been billed as the cure-all job-protection clause, forbidding plants from liquidating during the life of the contract, providing for an industry-wide job pool for laid-off workers, a year's full severance pay and so on.

While ILWU bargainers did resist the sugar companies' take-away demand to eliminate Attachment 22, this clause has not prevented job losses in the past and will not do so in the future. Since 1974 (two years *after* its enactment) 1,800 additional jobs have been lost. Moreover the contract contains no protection whatsoever against loss of jobs through layoffs or mergers of plantations.

From a high of 28,000 in 1945 the ILWU membership in sugar has dwindled to only 7,200 today. The union's only response to the loss of jobs through mechanization over the years has been to negotiate in the mid-1950's a lump-sum severance pay "repatriation" allowance. (Many of the plantation workers are of Asian origin, particularly from the Philippines.) Such a policy, which presents laid-off workers with the alternative of continued unemployment or return to such countries as the Philippines—where union militants face prison, torture, and even death at the hands of the vicious Marcos dictatorship—is no choice at all, but only a chauvinist scheme by which the bourgeoisie can export its unemployment.

With its lobbying for federal subsidies the Stalinist-influenced ILWU bureaucracy, now led by Jimmie Herman, has shown its kinship with the crusty old Meanyites of the AFL-CIO who are pushing for special government protection against imports in other sectors of declining American capitalism such as textiles, shoes, steel and auto. Thus the ILWU leadership joins the rest of the American labor bureaucracy in beating the drums for imperialist trade war. (Perhaps soon the U.S. Communist Party will be lobbying against liberalized trade with Cuba on the grounds it would hurt Hawaiian sugar workers!)

In sharp contrast to this wretched social-patriotism stands the internationalist program of the Militant Caucus in ILWU Local 6 and the Longshore Militant group in Local 10. Addressing the desperate situation of Hawaiian sugar workers the Militant Caucus submitted a resolution at last April's International convention in Seattle which linked the defense of foreign workers and combatting job losses due to "runaway" plantations to the fight for jobs for all. Entitled "Resolution for Union Action to Stop Deportations," it read in part:

> "Whereas, we recognize that the employers and their government seek to blame foreign-born workers for unemployment in order to divide working people and prevent a united working class fight for jobs....
>
> "Therefore be it resolved the ILWU rejects all government and corporate protectionism like import quotas and 'Buy American' schemes such as the Sugar Act and stands prepared to actively demonstrate its opposition to

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IMG's "Socialist Unity" Conference Flops

LONDON By excluding members of the Spartacist tendency from a 19 November public meeting, the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the United Secretariat) made nonsense of its "Socialist Unity" front group's "open" pose and its pretensions to the elementary principle of workers democracy. This atrocity is particularly damning in the context of the generally "chummy" British left, where the violent and exclusionist practices common to the American left milieu are generally eschewed. Left-wing militants must condemn this scandalous political exclusion and make clear their determination to defend the right of all working-class tendencies to raise their views in publicly advertised meetings.

The IMG must have been more than mildly apprehensive about open political confrontation with the London Spartacist Group, for otherwise the sectarian exclusion from the "Socialist Unity" conference makes no sense. "Socialist Unity" has no drawing card if it is not the claim to democracy. Last spring when the IMG closed down its *Red Weekly* and prepared to launch the new, "non-sectarian" *Socialist Challenge*, it proclaimed that "our aim is to break out of the narrow confines of far-left politics and produce a newspaper which can serve the needs of thousands of militants not involved directly with any political organisation" (*Red Weekly*, 12 May 1977). "Socialist Unity" is the front group intended to reel in any fish that took the bait.

Accordingly, the Socialist Unity conference call announced that "The Conference is open to all organisations and individuals who support the concept of standing class-struggle candidates, standing on an alternative socialist programme.... All people attending the Conference and accepting the above premise will be allowed to speak and vote."

However, conscious of the political disparity of the elements comprising Socialist Unity, the IMG and its bloc partners changed the ground rules at the last minute to exclude any groups refusing to swear allegiance to Socialist Unity. Thus when members of the London Spartacist Group arrived, they were informed they would not be admitted and that any groups not supporting Socialist Unity would be allowed only two "observers" without speaking rights.

The Spartacist supporters responded quickly, setting up a literature table outside the hall and picket signs including: "Lie: 'Open to all... who support... class struggle candidates in opposition to Labour'," "IMG Supports Bourgeois Coalitionism—Excludes Trotskyists," and "No Vote to Labour in Coalition." The IMG and its mates hastily backed off and sought a better cover for their cowardly sectarianism, inviting the Spartacists (and other groupings not endorsing Socialist Unity) into the meeting for a stacked debate on whether to exclude them.

A Spartacist spokesman explained our refusal to critically support Labour in the elections so long as it remains in coalition with the bourgeois Liberals and remains committed to the anti-working-class Social Contract. He added that Socialist Unity candidates (who continue to support Labour in coalition) merit no support from revolutionists. He then denounced the silencing of "observers" in violation of the conference call. The motion to conduct the conference in accordance with the announced democratic ground rules was defeated 57 to 31.

IMG Chases the State Caps

Socialist Unity was billed as a high road to mass influence, but so far for the IMG the pickings have been slim. After almost six months of "building Socialist Unity" the initial gathering of this bloc (which advertises itself as a "new and growing coalition of left-wing groups and independent militants") managed to attract some 250 apathetic participants who listlessly went through the motions of adopting a left-reformist programme. Not only did the participants total less

WV Photo

Spartacist Group pickets outside "Socialist Unity" meeting.

than the IMG's own membership, but the event was generally ignored by other left organisations. Only a small grouping of Mao-oid syndicalists called Big Flame, a few samples of Britain's diverse undergrowth of micro-organisations and a handful of jaded "independent" feminists and black nationalists turned out to broaden the "base" of Socialist Unity beyond its IMG initiators.

The success of the IMG's bid for far-left "unity" at any price hinges on attracting the state capitalists of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP—formerly International Socialists), which is some five times the IMG's size. So far the attraction has been minimal, though Socialist Unity candidates finished ahead of SWPers in several recent bye-elections, demonstrating the hollowness of the Cliffites' "mass party" pretensions. The IMG's main tactic has been flattery and programmatic accommodation. Thus IMG-supported left coalition slates uphold the SWP's front groups in both the National Union of Students and in last spring's teachers' union elections. Early last year the IMG joined the SWP in calling for the admission of police to the trade unions (see *WV* No. 154, 22 April) and more recently echoed the SWP's pronouncement that a government ban on all political activity in Thameside (the projected site of a march by fascists) represented a victory for the workers. But the IMG's assiduous courtship has not brought the SWP to the negotiating table.

So instead of the "thousands of militants" the IMG hoped to pull into its "non-sectarian" vehicle, the Pablo ists must content themselves with monkeying around with Big Flame (and excluding Spartacists). At the conference virtually all the non-IMG elements united around a proposal that Socialist Unity make itself some kind of a way station between a joint electoral propaganda bloc and an "independent" organisation. One speaker even went so far as to propose the group have its own newspaper.

The IMG easily defeated these tactful attempts to preserve some distance from "IMG domination," but the refractory behaviour of the sparse "masses" at the conference must have been galling. In the first major discussion Big Flame opposed committing Socialist Unity in advance to vote for Labour in the upcoming elections (arguing that the group should not preclude the possibility that some mass popular movement might arise). The interventions of the "independent" feminists and black nationalists were epitomised by one black woman who rose to protest that she did not want to hear any more remarks from white women about the oppression of their Asian sisters.

IMG's Road to the Right

The Socialist Unity project is the product of a significant reorientation by the USec—a shift in the location of the search for the so-called "broad vanguard"—from guerrillaism and petty-bourgeois radicalism toward the mass reformist organisations of the working class, which in Britain means the Labour "lefts." But no layer of the Labour Party and trade-union bureaucracy can have any use for the flotsam and jetsam collected thus far in the Socialist Unity net. For the IMG, the long-term results of this gambit are likely to be merely the creation of another vehicle to express its rightward motion. To date Socialist Unity's only achievement has been to cheer up a section of the passively rotten New Left leftovers who need reassurance that it is someone else's fault they have no organisational perspectives. But these people are mainly not recruitable in any case, not even by the IMG.

Thus it is doubly an exposure of political bankruptcy that even in pursuit of this dismal crew, the IMG feels itself compelled to practise cowardly political exclusionism—the last resort of discredited confusionists. Socialist militants must insist that such methods are more than distasteful—they set an extremely dangerous precedent and are deeply corrosive to the subjectively revolutionary fibre of those whose organisations apply or condone them. The Spartacist tendency has always been in the forefront of the defence of workers democracy among all tendencies within the working-class movement. We demand the repudiation of the IMG/Socialist Unity's gutless atrocity against our democratic rights. ■

Workers Vanguard

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Stop Brutal Repression of Costa Rican Leftists!

Costa Rican cops brutally assaulted and broke up a demonstration in the Caribbean coastal city of Limón on November 23. Many were injured and those arrested were beaten on the way to jail. The protesters, mainly women and children, were calling for such basic services as running water, sewage lines and electricity for the Limoncito slum. Of those arrested, eight remain behind bars charged with "inciting violence," which carries a prison term of up to eight years.

This turn to vicious repression by the Costa Rican bourgeoisie is aimed at intimidating the left in anticipation of upcoming general elections and at heading off the accelerating radicalization of black workers. Among those facing the threat of eight years in prison are Carlos Coronado Vargas and Alejandra Calderón Fournier, respectively the presidential and principal legislative candidates of the Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (OST Socialist Workers Organization, Costa Rican section of the United Secretariat). Though this organization is legal, the cops raided OST headquarters in San José two days later. They are now carrying out a house-to-house manhunt in search of well-known black militant and labor organizer Marvin Wright Lindo, with orders to shoot on sight. He has gone underground, charged with "moral responsibility" for the police riot, though he wasn't present.

Seven of the arrested militants are being held with 120 other prisoners in a 13 by 26 foot room with no sanitary facilities; the OST's Calderón was separated from the other victims when she declared a hunger strike to protest these inhuman conditions. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a telegram (reprinted below) demanding the release of the eight and an end to the manhunt against Wright. The international working class must come to the defense of these militants, holding the Costa Rican ruling class responsible for any harm which they suffer.

Telegram

President Daniel Oduber Quirós
San José, Costa Rica

Demand immediate release of Carlos Coronado Vargas, Alejandra Calderón Fournier and six other militants arrested after vicious police attack upon 23 November Limún demonstration. Hands off Marvin Wright Lindo—Stop the manbunt. Stop the terror campaign against left opponents.

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013
U.S.A.

FORUM

The National Question in North America

Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR
Spartacist League
Central Committee

Time Saturday, December 10
7:30 p.m.

Place 19-14 Lounge
Thwing Student Center
Case Western Reserve University
CLEVELAND

WV/SC Distributors Arrested

Ford Canada, Cops Assault Working-Class Press

After months of harassment and even physical attacks on distributors of *Workers Vanguard* and *Spartacist Canada* by company thugs at the Ford Motor Company plant in Oakville, Ontario, on December 2 the bosses brought in the cops to arrest three supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC). Ford owns all access roads into the plant and has been on a campaign to prevent exposure of "its" workers to socialist literature. The *WV/SC* distributors were charged with trespassing.

These arrests represent an escalation of the company's attacks on literature distribution by the left. On October 7 noted Toronto civil rights lawyer Paul Copeland sent a letter to Ford management protesting its continued incidents of harassment of *WV/SC* distributors

> "which have the effect of preventing your workers from receiving literature which they have a right to obtain. Without the right to distribute literature to those who want to read it the rights of free speech and freedom of the press are substantially disrupted."

The Ford Motor Company, of course, aims precisely at disrupting the distribution of revolutionary newspapers and propaganda.

Management is particularly intent on stopping literature which supports and encourages militant struggles by the workers. If they trample on the democratic rights of Ford workers in the process, it is just another weapon in their anti-labor arsenal: scabherding, using cops to attack picket lines, and other anti-union activities. United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 707 at the Oakville Ford plant must protect the rights of its membership to read the publications of all groups in the workers movement. Don't let the bosses censor the labor press! This company attack on the TLC is an assault on the union as well and the entire labor movement.

While the company would like to dictate what its employees should and should not read, union members will not passively submit to such a high-handed attack on workers democracy. When *WV/SC* distributors were pushed and threatened by plant security guards on Friday, one black worker driving by stopped his car, rolled down the window and said to the company goons: "I'll read what I want to read. Give me one of them!"

CPL: Canadian Party of Liars

Ford management has been assisted in its anti-communist and anti-labor attacks by the tiny Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour (CPL), whose newspaper the *Worker* characterized the company's assaults on TLC attempts to distribute literature as a "provocation" by "Trotskyites." The 30 November *Worker* described an earlier attack by company thugs as follows: "Mister Labour Relations grabbed one of the Trotskyites' papers, yelling, 'get your butt off this property.' 'You've got no right...' she shouted back, a phrase she kept repeating, and the fight was on."

The sectarianism of groups like the CPL must be roundly repudiated, and a united labor defense begun at once. It is not expected that these Stalinists would defend workers democracy. Like its cronies in the U.S., the Progressive Labor Party, the CPL has a long history of gangsterism and sectarian attacks against left opponents. But such actions weaken the entire left and union movement, opening them up to further attacks from the class enemy. By sneering at workers democracy and refusing to defend left organizations from company attacks, the CPL provides Ford Motor Company the excuse to undercut its *own* right to distribute literature to UAW members.

The CPL's red-baiting of the Trotskyist League in this case represents a vicious scabbing attack—crossing the class line of united labor defense. Any management provocation or attack against a working-class organization must be denounced by the entire labor movement. In particular the power of the union must be brought to bear in defense of the democratic rights of its members to read what they wish and of socialists subjected to harassment and arrest by the company and the cops.

Drop the charges! Stop Ford Motor Company censorship and thug attacks! Defend the democratic rights of the workers movement! ■

Miners Strike...

(continued from page 1)

leadership, it is possible to win a contract with a genuine right to strike—by mobilizing the entire membership for a militant battle. The time to fight is now. Under the present weak-kneed misleadership the position of the UMWA is deteriorating as non-union coal production expands and anti-union operators are emboldened. If the miners lose on the crucial issue of the right to strike, the companies will be encouraged to quash wildcats even more ruthlessly while the courts step in to penalize strikers.

The conduct of this strike will greatly affect the ability of the UMWA to reverse this trend. A militantly waged strike that wins major gains will open the road to organizing non-union mines. The union must not tolerate the operation of scab mines during the strike. The western agreements must be torn up and western miners must join in the picketing with the demand of one industry-wide agreement for all UMWA members. Pickets should be dispatched to shut down non-union mines, and appeals made to non-union miners to join the strike and demand a UMWA contract. As an absolute minimum there must be no settlement without union contracts at mines where organizing drives are currently under way, such as in Stearns, Kentucky.

For Trade-Union Solidarity

The accumulation of vast coal stocks will likely be augmented both by non-union production and foreign imports. As an elementary act in defense of the miners, steel workers must refuse to handle scab coal. All shipments of coal to the mills, designed to replenish stockpiles, must be boycotted by steel workers. Transport workers must demonstrate their solidarity by refusing to handle any coal. Miners' pickets must be dispatched to insure that no coal is hauled by rail, either from yard depots or from non-union mines. Seamen and longshoremen must demand that coal imports be hot-cargoed.

While coal miners are undergoing a concerted attack, steel workers have been the victims of a vicious job-slashing campaign. And on the Minnesota-Michigan iron range USWA miners are in their fourth month of a strike challenging the ENA no-strike deal. In many instances, these attacks have emanated from the same boss; the steel trusts are also among the prime operators of the coal concerns. Key to smashing the capitalist offensive is a joint struggle of steel workers and miners to shut down the mines and mills. Such a perspective must be raised by militants within both the USWA and UMWA.

The fact that steel workers have everything to gain now from a fight against their own bosses provides miners with an excellent opportunity to address an appeal for a joint strike. Such a campaign, however, cannot be left in the hands of the Miller leadership, which has refused to even call out its own entire membership to strike. Militants within the UMWA must demand the convening of mass meetings to elect district-wide strike committees that can prepare, publicize and authoritatively present an appeal for joint strikes to the USWA. Were such a campaign initiated by the miners, the most combative section of the American working class, it would find a powerful response within the ranks of steel workers, and greatly strengthen the positions of steel-worker militants who are demanding a fight against the bosses now. This would lay the basis under which picket lines established by miners at steel mill gates would be respected and supported.

Nor should such appeals by miners simply be directed to the steel mills in the immediate environs of the mining districts, such as western Pennsylvania, where layoffs in steel have hit hardest and production cutbacks would have the least impact. A major target, for example, must be the Chicago-Gary District 31, controlled by the liberal "reform" Sadlowski/Balanoff wing of the USWA bureaucracy, where layoffs of up to 1,000 workers have recently been announced by U.S. Steel. While these fakers have not lifted a finger to extend any effective solidarity to the iron miners (see article this issue), a powerful campaign for joint strike action could not be easily ignored by the Sadlowski bureaucrats in this traditionally militant section of the USWA.

Although the Carter government has indicated that it has no intention of ordering the miners back to work now, the U.S. Energy Department has issued a report stating that a Taft-Hartley back-to-work order would be considered if a coal shortage is finally felt. While miners have had plenty of experience with the bosses' justice dealt out by local and state cops and the courts, illusions persist in the Carter government. But Carter's goal is fundamentally the same as the coal operators'—to restore labor discipline in the coalfields, as the precondition to the realization of his energy program. Absolutely no reliance must be placed on the bourgeois politicians and the capitalist state.

The outcome of this strike is crucial to the future of the UMWA. While the policies of the Miller/Patrick/Patterson bureaucracy have taken their toll on the UMWA and weakened the position of the union, by no means are the miners doomed to defeat. Their fighting spirit is unquestioned, and if they rely on their own organized strength while seeking to mobilize the rest of the labor movement to defend this crucial strike victory is within grasp. ■

Eyewitness Report

Victory to the Miners Strike!

UMWA FIGHTS FOR ITS LIFE

Speaker: Mark Lanca
Workers Vanguard correspondent in West Virginia and Stearns, Kentucky
Date: Saturday, December 17
Time: 7:30 p.m.
Place: Barnard College
Lehman Hall
116th & Broadway

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USec: Toward the 2¼ International

The "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) has recently been jubilantly proclaiming fusions between previously competing sections of its supporters in Australia, Canada, Colombia and Mexico, and unity proceedings in other countries (Brazil, Peru, Spain). Internally, the rapprochement has resulted in the formal dissolution of the two main factions in the USec. Following the annual convention of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) last August, the steering committee of the SWP-led reformist minority, the "Leninist Trotskyist Faction" (LTF), voted to disband. And last month, the centrist European-based "International Majority Faction" (IMT) reportedly followed suit.

The "reunification" comes after eight years of bitter factionalism, barely avoiding a split in 1974-75. Considering that this amounts to most of the USec's 14-year existence—and that the vast majority of its militants have never known a time when their "International" was not wracked with factional strife—the mutual dissolution of the LTF and IMT will undoubtedly produce temporary enthusiasm among the ranks. But the leadership on both sides well knows that at the first significant turn of events the factions will immediately resurface, following roughly the same lines, thus paralyzing their caricature of the Fourth International at a crucial juncture.

While the momentum toward a cold split has been halted by a passing congruence of appetites, these renegades from Trotskyism are organically incapable of building a democratic-centralist, politically homogeneous International counterposed to the mass reformist workers parties. Characteristically, their common response to the current waning of factional heat is to see it as an opportunity to attract ever more diverse creatures into their fold. After all, if the ultra-legalist SWP can remain in the same International with the IMT some-time guerrillaists led by comandante Ernesto Mandel, then why can't any manner of "state-capitalist" social democrats and semi-Stalinists peacefully coexist in the opportunist morass? In a parody of pre-World War I social democracy, the USec now aspires to become the party of the whole swamp.

Since the United Secretariat was first "reunified" in 1963, the Spartacist tendency has denounced it as a rotten bloc whose key elements are an agreement to let fundamental past differences smoulder and a Pabloist revisionist methodology of tailing after various non-proletarian forces that are "in motion" at a given moment. Although the component parts of this bloc were united in the early 1960's by their enthusiasm for Castro and Ben Bella, soon the former followers of Michel Pablo (USec leaders Mandel, Maitan and Frank—sarcastically referred to as M-M-F by some of their followers) took a radically different tack from Joseph Hansen's SWP.

At the USec's 1969 world congress the protagonists violently clashed over strategy in Latin America. M-M-F wanted to latch onto the Castroist movement by "integration into the historic revolutionary current represented by the Cuban revolution and the OLAS" (Organization of Latin American Solidarity—Castro's stillborn guerrillaist continental International). The SWP, which was not above some occasional armchair guerrillaist enthusing itself, shook in its boots over the threat to its bloc with respectable Democratic Party "doves" entailed by putting a guerrillaist/terrorist orientation into practice. Since then sharp differences have arisen within the USec on the Chinese cultural revolution, strategic perspectives in Europe, the Peronist government in Argentina, the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal, the civil war in Angola and a host of other questions.

When we analyzed the paper-thin "unity" of the "United" Secretariat in the past, USec loyalists typically brushed aside such trifles, muttering that the "Sparts" only wanted monolithic unanimity. In a recent limp two-part polemic against the Spartacist League, former SLer Bob Pearlman makes light of our references to USec "federalism," "rotten bloc-ism" and "scotch-tape unity." But in the spate of SWP internal bulletins around the dissolution of the international factions we find dramatic confirmation of the precarious state of the United Secretariat in those years. Our article "USec World Congress Preserves 'Scotch-Tape' Unity" (*WV* No. 42, 12 April 1974) described the tenuous organizational truce patched together at the USec's "Tenth World Congress" (to use Mandel's dating), alternately known (according to the Hansen calendar) as the "Fourth Congress Since Reunification." Now Hansen's colorless stand-in, Jack Barnes, writes in a report adopted by the LTF steering committee:

> "There were actually four meetings going on simultaneously at the 1974 world congress—the congress itself, meetings of each of the factions, and consultations between the leaderships of the two factions. It was only during the last day of the congress, as votes were taken on the agreements worked out by the parity meetings of the faction leaderships, that we knew a split had been avoided—that those who favored a split had been held in.
> "The same thing happened at the February 1975 IEC [International Executive Committee] plenum where we now know that almost half the IMT comrades present favored a course that would have split the international."
>
> —"The Accomplishments of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction. A Balance Sheet," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, September 1977

1969 Ligue Communiste rally in Paris. Young Socialist

Ernest Mandel WV Photo

Joseph Hansen Militant

IMT "Self-Criticism" Over Latin America

Despite splits, substantial expulsions and/or the constitution of competing sections of its supporters in at least a dozen countries, and several years on the brink of a definitive rupture of the USec itself—with disputes conducted in the most acerbic tones in public factional organs (*Intercontinental Press* for the LTF, *Inprecor* for the IMT)—today a tangible reduction in hostilities is taking place. Why?

The SWP claims that the "reconciliation" represents a vindication of its line on what it claims was the central focus of the dispute, namely the "guerrillaist turn of the Ninth Congress." For the IMT it is necessary to achieve the "unity of the Fourth International" in order to become a "valid pole of attraction for the broad vanguard." There is a grain of truth on both sides, although even these self-serving "explanations" merely underline the bankruptcy of the USec as a self-proclaimed revolutionary International.

The dissolution of the factions was made possible and necessary, says the LTF leadership, because of the IMT's "Self-Criticism on Latin America" dating from late last year. That document indeed recognizes major "errors of analysis" and false political conclusions in the USec's Latin American resolution of 1969. However, it must be examined closely for what it reveals of the evolution of the IMT. Like the Pabloist leaders' mild self-criticism of their decade and more of "deep entrism" in the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties of western Europe, the IMT's "Self-Criticism" concludes that they were a little late and overestimated the opportunities of maneuvering themselves into an influential position in the Castroist/guerrillaist movement. The Mandelites main concern is not to correct their anti-Leninist support to petty-bourgeois guerrillaism, but rather to avoid missing the boat once again as popular frontism becomes the dominant trend in the European left.

The IMT document notes that the 1969 resolution overgeneralized the continental situation to all countries and "exaggerate[d] the degree of instability of most of these regimes." It goes on:

> "...beyond this question of method, several errors of analysis were made.
> "The first source of these errors lies in the fact that at the time (and this is still partially true today) we lacked a *complete* and *correct* view of the *real* lessons of the Cuban revolution....
> "...we did not adequately combat the idea—which cost so many deaths and defeats in Latin America—that a few dozen or a few hundred revolutionaries (no matter how courageous and capable) isolated from the rest of society could set in motion a historic process leading to a socialist revolution. Apart from the fact that this is not at all what happened in Cuba, we did not clearly affirm that such an idea is false in itself . .
> "...our hopes were very much exaggerated as to the possibilities offered by material aid from the Cubans....
> "We did not understand that the OLAS conference, following which nothing significant or concrete was done, marked the end of an era for the Cuban revolution.
> "Our estimation of the relationship of internal forces in Havana, on which our positions were based, was false....
> "Che's departure from Cuba in 1966 reflected a qualitative change in this relationship of forces within the Cuban leadership. We did not understand this....
> "The defeats and partial retreats that began to pile up throughout the continent, whose importance we had already underestimated (Peru and Brazil, for example), were to weigh much more heavily in the evolution of the situation....
> "Although it was necessary and correct to seek a tactic aimed at unity with these [i.e., Castroite] organizations (in spite of and even because of their crisis), at the time of the Ninth World Congress the policy of 'integration into the historic revolutionary current represented by OLAS and the Cuban revolution' as it was projected by the Ninth World Congress was, on the contrary, very much mistaken."
>
> —"Self-Criticism on Latin America," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, December 1976

Among other reasons the IMT adduces to show that its former position was incorrect is the fact that it lost a number of militants from its Bolivian section to the Castroite ELN (the remnants of "Che" Guevara's defeated guerrilla *foco*), not to mention the spectacular departure of its one-time Argentine section, the PRT of Roberto Santucho. While the Mandelites prefer impressionism to Marxist analysis, even they have to sit up and take notice when their own forces defect en masse in precisely those countries that were supposed to be the new "epicenter of world revolution"!

This is not the first time the IMT has sought to back away from the 1969 Latin American resolution. At the 1974 USec world congress it passed a docu-

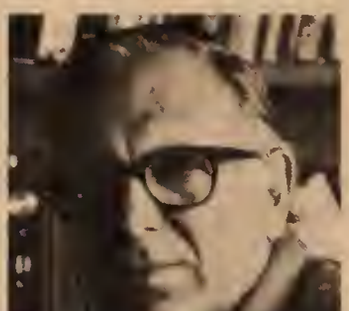
ment which in the usual aesopian Maitanesque terminology sought to redefine the "axis of rural guerrilla warfare" into a "strategy of armed struggle," while accusing their ex-comrades of the Argentine PRT/ERP of "militarist deviations." However, it was pretty hard to disguise the guerrillaism of such passages as the following key section of the 1969 resolution:

> "Even in the case of countries where large mobilizations and class conflicts in the cities may occur first, civil war will take manifold forms of armed struggle, in which the principal axis for a whole period will be rural guerrilla warfare, the term having primarily a geographical-military meaning.... In this sense, armed struggle in Latin America means fundamentally guerrilla warfare."
>
> —"Draft Resolution on Latin America," January 1969

Now, however, the IMT finally admits that the 1969 resolution was written so that the Castroist PRT could vote for it: "*in reality* the resolution was a political compromise aimed at keeping the PRT (C) in the ranks of the International." In fact the "Self-Criticism" openly states that "in later creating the ERP [the People's Revolutionary Army], the Argentine comrades of the PRT (C) were acting in line with the gist of the [1969] resolution."

Naturally, having admitted that the resolution was an unprincipled concession, the IMT criticizes this. But it also has a revealing excuse for such capitulation:

> "The Latin American resolution of the Ninth World Congress was discussed and adopted at a time when a new generation of militants were joining the ranks of the Fourth International.
> "The political context that had forged the emergence of this new generation was essentially that of wars of national liberation (Algeria, Vietnam) and the victory of the Cuban revolution.
> "But it was also a generation without great political maturity, a result of its lack of experience in the workers movement.



Livio Maitan NLB

> "All this contributed in no small measure to an at best uncritical and at worst enthusiastic [!] acceptance of the resolution on the part of militants who saw this line as an extension of their own trajectory....
> "Hence, the self-criticism is also part of the process of maturation of the entire International..."
>
> —"Self-Criticism on Latin America," *op. cit.*

Read as a description of how the USec capitulated to the popularity of Guevarism among European and Latin American youth during the late 1960's, you couldn't ask for more clarity. But to take this at face value, one would think that it was these inexperienced youth who were calling the shots in the USec rather than tried and tested revisionists of the M-M-F stamp.

Reaction to the IMT "Self-Criticism"

The initial SWP response was to view the IMT "Self-Criticism" as a peace offering. Indeed, the document went out of its way to state:

> "Thus, Joe Hansen was correct to criticize the wrong generalizations of the Ninth World Congress document. Likewise, he was correct when he raised questions about our real forces and when he stressed the necessity of polemicizing against the guerrillaist or neo-guerrillaist currents."

So the LTF steering committee proposed that both factions be simultaneously dissolved. Shortly afterwards, however, in February the IMT leadership instead decided to redefine itself as an "ideological tendency" and include the "Self-Criticism" among its basic documents.

The Mandelites' belated critique of the 1969 Latin American resolution did not sit well with the USec's most notable would-be guerrillaist adventurer, Livio Maitan. Maitan had written in 1968 that "at the present stage the International will be built around Bolivia," and during the 1969 USec meetings he was predicting that the next world congress could well be celebrated from the seat of power in La Paz. In response to the Mandelite "Self-Criticism," a "Statement by Livio" declares that "the necessary self-criticism was made in the documents of the Tenth World Congress," and that should be the end of it.

Camera Press

Che, Lenin and Trotsky posters plastered on the walls of the Sorbonne in Paris during May 1968.

Thus the M-M-F triumvirate has been split and Maitan is on the outs. It is doubtful that this will have much impact, however, given the continuing irrelevancy of his Italian section and the decimation/defection of his guerrillaist friends in Bolivia and Argentina. Maitan's dreams of seeing a 20-foot high portrait of himself hanging from the balcony of the presidential palace in La Paz are now nothing but the reveries of a political cipher, a used-up filibuster.

The SWP, of course, proclaims that it has been vindicated, that the IMT has been forced to turn back toward orthodox Trotskyism on the question of guerrillaism. There are several things wrong with this. In the first place, the IMT does not reject guerrillaism or guerrilla warfare, but mainly bases its self-critique on the argument that it misjudged the situation. That the Mandelites have not made a fundamental break with Guevarism can be clearly seen in a recent two-part article by a political bureau member of the French LCR on the tenth anniversary of Che Guevara's murder by the CIA. The article begins by lamenting that new generations of militants may be ignorant of "the colossal, incommensurable contribution of Che" and then asks:

> "Why do we lay claim to Che? Che was not a Trotskyist. He could have become one, perhaps. But he was one of us.
> "To begin with we lay claim to Che's strategic conception, his Leninist conception of the taking of power, of the necessity to destroy the bourgeois state."
>
> —Jeannette Habel, "The Meaning We Give to Che Guevara's Struggle," *Rouge*, 13 and 14 October 1977

After speculating extensively (on the basis of the flimsiest evidence) about differences between Castro and Guevara, the article starts its evaluation of "the last fight" with the remark:

> "But there is another hypothesis which tends to view the Bolivian catastrophe as a consequence of Che's conception of guerrilla warfare: we disagree with this approach."

In fact, the Ñancahuazú adventure *was* the result of Guevara's "strategic conception," his "method" of guerrillaism (both in his particular "militarist" hostility to parties and organizing the masses, and the more general orientation to the peasantry). And it was in large part as a reaction to that fiasco that the generation of Latin American youth radicalized under the influence of the Cuban Revolution turned its back on guerrillaism after 1967.

Secondly, the SWP itself never had a Leninist position on guerrilla warfare any more than did the anti-guerrillaist pro-Moscow Communist parties of Latin America. If the latter were concerned not to rock the boat of détente, the SWP wanted to keep good relations with antiwar Democratic doves. Where the CP's sought popular fronts with "progressive" bourgeois forces, the SWP advocated a strategic orientation focusing on democratic demands and "youth radicalization."

Moreover the "turn" at the 1969 congress was not a new orientation toward guerrillaism, but a proposal to put into practice what the USec had been preaching since its birth. Today the SWP admits that its factional partner during five years, Nahuel Moreno of the Argentine PST, was for a time seduced by the popularity of Guevarism:

> "Comrade Moreno had been a guerrillaist himself; in fact, I think he was one of the original Trotskyist guerrillaists. He and those around him had been ready to place themselves under the discipline and command of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS)....
> "But Comrade Moreno deserves credit for an important step. Once he got burned badly on the guerrilla line, he learned from it and drew some conclusions."
>
> —Jack Barnes, "The Accomplishments of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction: A Balance Sheet," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, September 1977

It is rather difficult to obtain Morenoite documents these days, but we have no doubt that he, too, will discover some guerrillaist skeletons in the SWP's closet now that their bloc has broken up. One that rattles loudest is Joe Hansen's 1967 evaluation of the Castroite OLAS conference which noted:

> "...the recognition by leading Trotskyists that the conference represented an encouraging achievement and step forward for the world revolution....
> "...no road is left open to the peoples of Latin America but armed struggle....
> "...the conference held up the experience of the Cuban revolution as a general model. Whatever mistakes were made in the course of the Cuban revolution and whatever modifications might be required due to specific circumstances in the various Latin-American countries, the main lesson of Cuba remains valid—against a repressive military dictatorship of the Batista type, only armed struggle can assure victory.... The key to mounting an armed struggle with any hope of success is to launch guerrilla war.
> "The question of armed struggle was thus taken at the OLAS conference as the decisive dividing line, separating the revolutionists from the reformists on a continental scale. In this respect it echoed the Bolshevik tradition."
>
> —"The OLAS Conference: Tactics and Strategy of a Continental Revolution," *International Socialist Review*, November-December 1967

Even more fundamentally, support to Castroite guerrillaism was one of the bases of the USec. Thus the founding document (written by the SWP), "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement" (March 1963), states:

> "9. The appearance of a workers state in Cuba—the exact form of which is yet to be settled—is of special interest since the revolution there was carried out under a leadership completely independent from the school of Stalinism. In its evolution toward revolutionary Marxism, the July 26 Movement set a pattern that now stands as an example for a number of other countries....
> "13. Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semiproletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semicolonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the second world war. It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries."

This is all quite clear: the Cuban Revolution is the model and guerrilla warfare is the method. So where is the 1969 "turn"? Hansen and Moreno only took fright when it was a question of their own allies "picking up the gun." And even then their opposition to guerrillaism was not based on the fact that it is a petty-bourgeois strategy hostile to proletarian communism, but rather on fears that it would provoke the bourgeoisie. Hence their characterization of the Ninth Congress document and subsequently of the IMT: *ultra-left*.

> "...we considered that the guerrilla strategy embodied an adaptation to ultraleftism, which was then generalized on a broader scale with the concept of an orientation to the 'new mass vanguard' and everything that flowed from this."
>
> —Jack Barnes, "The Accomplishments of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction..." [SWP] *IIDB*, September 1977

In contrast, the Spartacist tendency opposed the USec's guerrillaism from the *left*, as an indication of USec *centrism*, and long before 1969. At the 1963 SWP convention the Revolutionary Tendency (precursor of the SL/U.S.) presented an international resolution, counterposed to the document "For Early Reunification..." cited above, stating:

WV Photo

Pierre Lambert

> "15. Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to

continued on page 8

USec...

(continued from page 7)

> nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime.... For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the *proletarian* leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism....
>
> "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," *Marxist Bulletin* No 9, Part I

We also analyzed the origins and broader significance of this attack on the traditional positions of the Marxist movement:

> "2. ...Under the influence of the relative stabilization of capitalism in the industrial states of the West and of the partial success of petit-bourgeois movements in overthrowing imperialist rule in some of the backward countries, the revisionist tendency within the Trotskyist movement developed an orientation away from the proletariat and toward the petit-bourgeois leaderships ... The Cuban and Algerian revolutions have constituted acid tests proving that the centrist tendency is also prevalent among certain groups which originally opposed the Pablo faction."
>
> "19 'Reunification' of the Trotskyist movement on the centrist basis of Pabloism in any of its variants would be a step away from, not toward, the genuine rebirth of the Fourth International."
>
> —*Ibid*

Elements who were attracted by the apparent orthodoxy of some of the LTF documents now find the rug pulled out from underneath them as the factions are dissolved in exchange for one of the Mandelites' endless partial "self-criticisms." But those that genuinely seek to fight the USec's capitulation to "Third World" Stalinism, the peasantry, and Guevarist-oriented youth will find a record of consistent Leninist opposition to guerrillaism only in the international Spartacist tendency.

The Dissolution of Factions

The political chaos in the "United" Secretariat assumed such scandalous proportions in recent years that it became a subject for derision well outside ostensibly Trotskyist circles. Even USec leaders now admit this, with Barnes remarking that differences over China are so great that "If you read the Trotskyist press following Mao's death you might have found it hard to believe that we were all in the same international; the range of positions covered the map" ("The Accomplishments of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction..."). This confusion is by no means limited to far-off events. The main USec publication for Latin American exiles in Europe has been reporting for months on differences among the three main sympathizing groups of the USec in Argentina—Moreno's PST, the GOR (a syndicalist group) and the Fracción Roja (a Mandelite split from the PRT/ERP)—over how to characterize the situation since the March 1976 junta takeover. After what it calls a "productive and quite useful debate" the paper reports a "convergence of opinions," namely:

> "...it is possible to state today, a year and a half after the coup, that the Argentine working class and the exploited masses of that country suffered a defeat at the hands of their class enemies."[!!]
>
> —*Combate* [Sweden], September 1977

But this is just business as usual for the USec, which doesn't even pretend to strive for a politically homogeneous International. It was the LTF-IMT faction fight splitting it roughly down the middle, with bitter public polemics and vicious internal intrigues, that made its pretensions to be the Fourth International into a ludicrous joke. This reached the point that in the SWP's "socialist Watersuit" against FBI spying, both the government and the Socialist Workers Party plaintiffs made much of IMT guerrillaism—the FBI in order to claim the SWP was part of a "terrorist international," the SWP in order to show that it was the other faction (see "SWP Renounces Revolution in Court," *WV* No. 59, 3 January 1975).

The infighting reached its highpoint over Portugal in the summer and fall of 1975, as the LTF and IMT tailed after the social democrats and the Stalinists respectively. Not only were there two sharply counterposed documents on the *República* affair and two equally opposed perspectives documents on Portugal (amounting to 93 pages in the SWP's *Intercontinental Press*), but at one point supporters of the international majority and minority would literally have found themselves on opposite sides of the barricades in Lisbon. Such a charge is enough to rankle even a died-in-the-wool federalist like SWP secretary Barry Sheppard, who presents this "defense":

> "It's true that at one point we would have been on opposite sides of some actual barricades set up by the Stalinists and the centrists, who were trying to prevent SP workers from going to a rally called by their party. That was a serious danger, but we shouldn't generalize from that instance that we are politically in different class camps."
>
> —"For the Immediate Dissolution of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction," [SWP] *IIDB*, September 1977

The only reason this did not take place, moreover, was that the two USec groups in Portugal (LCI and PRT, allied with the IMT and LTF respectively) *both* differed with the policies of their international mentors! Such a comic opera version of an International was not even capable of a coherent capitulation and betrayal.

However, it is contrary to nature for such an explosive situation to continue indefinitely. Either the political differences diminish or a split becomes inevitable. As it occurs, there are presently no acute crises (such as Portugal in 1975) where the respective appetites of the IMT and LTF directly and sharply clash. But future turns in the class struggle will bring the tensions inherent in a bloc between centrists and reformists to a boil again.

A potentially discordant note in the carefully orchestrated "unity" theme is Moreno's Argentine PST, which has seemingly been the most aggressive in the last couple years of USec factionalism and whose manipulations have been associated with particularly nasty splits (e.g., Mexico). The "leftist" criticisms of the PST gang (which calls itself the "Bolshevik Tendency" internationally) are simply despicable in the mouths of a veteran sellout artist like Moreno, whose PST in 1974 explicitly pledged its support for Peron's bonapartist bourgeois government.

But the present frenzied state of the centrist swamp in a number of countries is a powerful inducement for a USec ceasefire. In the U.S. and in much of Europe the decomposition products of previous splits among self-styled Trotskyists, disoriented Maoists, aging New Leftists and the like are finding the going rough and might be pulled into the USec orbit if the latter could claim a minimal stability to contrast with the frustrations of "independent" isolation.

While carrying out a raging faction fight in public over a period of years may in fact make the USec more "attractive" to elements fearful of "monolithism," after a certain point this appears, even to the most cynical observer, as a sign of unseriousness. Since a split would prevent either side from claiming the title of the Fourth International, both sides are pulling back, primarily through political concessions (a shift to the right) by the Mandelites.

This may indeed breathe new life into a conglomeration that had almost ceased to exist, but the political price tag should be noted. Barnes likened it to "fighting for a de facto reunification. I choose the word carefully. We are struggling for the equivalent of the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963" ("The Accomplishments..."). As in the case of that coming together of renegades from Trotskyism, the condition for "unity" is to sweep all outstanding differences under the rug. As Sheppard put it, "The documents of the IMT and of the LTF would be relegated to the status of historical material. That is, they would not be submitted for adoption at the next world congress. They would be available to anyone for studies in the history of our movement" ("Dissolve the International Factions!").

The "dissolved" factions could continue to lead a subterranean existence in this deal. Each group has its leading section (French LCR and American SWP for the majority and minority respectively), which would continue to put out its own line. And each would preserve its own house organ. An "area of potential blowup" which could call off the whole deal, he said, would be:

> "...the problem that could arise if there were some kind of majority decision against *Intercontinental Press* or a move that in any way tried to pressure the SWP into withdrawing its support to *Intercontinental Press* or altering the character and function of the magazine. That would stir up a fresh fight."
>
> *Ibid.*

This unambiguous threat against a "some kind of majority decision" is decisive evidence that the "United" Secretariat is at bottom a non-aggression pact rather than a Leninist International.

As such it is also based on an implicit geographical division of spheres of influence, with the SWP taking the U.S. and most of the former British empire and the Mandelites keeping Europe their privileged terrain. (As in the past, Latin America remains no man's land where dirty tricks galore are permitted and committed on all sides.) Thus it has been announced that the English-language edition of the USec majority's *Inprecor* will fold in the guise of merging with *Intercontinental Press*, which will "continue with its regular schedule" (*IP*, 21 November). Likewise the two blocs have abandoned overt attempts to encroach on each other's domains. This was less of a concession for the SWP, whose forces in IMT-dominated sections were generally small and which lost most of its supporters in Portugal and Italy to Moreno while the pro-LTF Spanish Liga Comunista (LCE) has fallen apart.

The IMT, on the other hand, has decided to abandon its supporters in Canada and Australia, who were ordered to "fuse" with the larger and more cohesive pro-LTF sections. And in the United States the Internationalist Tendency (IT) has disappeared without a trace, those who could stomach it crawling back to the SWP on their hands and knees and the rest consigned to political oblivion. While a few down-and-out Mandelites left over from the wreckage of previous failed attempts have coalesced in the Committee for Revolutionary Socialist Politics, they have no franchise from the IMT and no hope of getting anything more than a few encouraging words from that other has-been, Livio Maitan. So today Barnes can crow, as he did several times at the last SWP convention:

> "In the United States, for the first time in several years, every single person in this country who would be a member of the Fourth International if it were not for reactionary legislation is today a member of the Socialist Workers Party."
>
> —*Ibid.*

Which means not that all the Mandelites have been "reintegrated" (less than a quarter of the former ITers have been taken back), but rather that everyone

AP

Portugal, 1975: USec on both sides of the barricades. Left: SP demonstration in July against CP-dominated Fifth Government. Right: COPCON soldiers in "far left" demonstration against constituent assembly.

else has been written off.

The SWP hails the dissolution of the LTF and IMT as a major victory since, "This will be the first time in the history of the International Left Opposition, of the International Communist League, of the Movement for the Fourth International, and of the Fourth International itself that an organized faction struggle over basic questions did not end in a split of the international" (*Ibid.*). Sheppard goes on at length against the dangers of "permanent factionalism," in which the factions remain after the differences disappear. He does not mention the opposite case, in which the differences remain while the factions are formally disbanded. Yet that is plainly what is taking place.

The SWP leaders motivate the dissolution with the argument that the main bone of contention was always the "guerrillaist turn" at the 1969 USec congress: now that the majority has made its self-criticism on guerrillaism there is no more reason for the factions to exist. This involves some rewriting of history, however, since the IMT, at least, was formed in part to fight out differences over Europe and combat SWP criticisms of its orientation toward a "new mass vanguard." And despite assurances that past differences can be treated as by-gones, of interest only to academics, and relegated to the file cabinets of history, "basic questions" have a way of recurring. Barnes himself admits that the differences between the IMT and LTF over Stalinism, China and Vietnam go back to the 1953 break with Pablo and were left unresolved in the 1963 "reunification."

For Leninists the fact that a decade-long struggle over basic questions is simply shelved and the boards are wiped clean represents not a "conquest" but a sign of deep-seated opportunism. The previous splits which the SWP refers to include Trotsky's break with the ultra-lefts in 1934-35 (Oehler-Stamm in the U.S., Lhullier in France, Vereecken in Belgium); his insistence on a definitive split with the Molinier/Frank group in the French section in 1935-36; Trotsky's break with the Spanish Left Opposition leaders who helped form the centrist POUM, and his split with those (such as Victor Serge and Sneevliet) who defended its entry into a popular-front government; the fight against the Shachtman/Burnham petty-bourgeois opposition in the SWP in 1939-40; fights against rightist oppositions in a number of countries after World War II, and of course the SWP's split with Pablo in 1953.

To the present-day reformist SWP, which aspires not to build a Trotskyist International but a social-democratic federation, these crucial political battles which determined the fate of the Fourth International are unfortunate occurrences. The 1940 split/expulsion of the Shachtmanites, who refused to defend the USSR on the eve of World War II, was evidently a mistake. And the 1951-53 split over Pablo's liquidationism simply *never happened* in their eyes. Barnes describes the French OCI, which stood with the SWP against Pabloism in that break, as "one of the currents that had been part of the international during the split into two *public factions* in the 1950's" (our emphasis).

Since this has now become part of the SWP litany, those who have been led to believe that the 1953 split is a Spartacist myth should be interested to read the following words of James P. Cannon at that time:

> "We are finished and done with Pablo and Pabloism forever, not only here but on the international field. And nobody is going to take up any of our time with any negotiations about compromise or any nonsense of that sort. We are at war with this new revisionism...."
>
> —*Speeches to the Party*

Today the battle which was belatedly undertaken by the then-revolutionary SWP against Pabloist revisionism in 1953 remains the axis for the reforging of the Fourth International. The revisionist SWP of today wishes to deny this struggle in order to hide its own abandonment of the fight against Pabloism in the formation of the United Secretariat.

There was some opposition in the LTF steering committee to dissolving the faction, and although it counted for little in the voting (17 to 2), this represented what little support the SWP still had outside the English-speaking world after the departure of the PST and its satellites. The opposition also represented those elements that had given the most left interpretation to LTF statements, centering their opposition to the Mandelites on the question of capitulation to popular frontism and characterizing the IMT as centrist rather than ultra-leftist. But when the representatives of the Spanish, French and Costa Rican LTF supporters presented a motion that one of the central tasks of the Faction was to fight adaptation to popular frontism on the part of the IMT, Barnes replied:

> "The 1976 LTF statement expressed concern not over 'adaptation to popular frontism,' but over 'errors made in election policy, such as adaptation towards popular frontism, confusion about the character of Stalinism....' It is important to make this distinction. We do not think there are incipient popular frontists or Stalinists in the leadership of the Fourth International."
>
> —"The Accomplishments of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction..."

Although on paper it may appear that the SWP is abandoning any fight against popular frontism on the part of the Mandel majorityites, Barnes is quite correct in claiming that "the goal of the LTF was not to overcome the differences on these questions." Occasional SWP criticisms of the Mandelite LCR for being soft on the French Union of the Left were mere window-dressing, to bolster the LTF's façade of "orthodox Trotskyism," while the heart of its program was clearly to the right of the centrist IMT. The "left" LTFers only succeeded in deluding themselves, and their ignominy is recorded in a series of capitulations to the SWP leadership within the LTF steering committee. Thus they never forced to a head their differences over the characterization of the IMT, and accepted the SWP's wretched line of tailing after the CIA-financed Mário Soares in Portugal in the name of defending "democracy" against ultra-left adventurism.

The "Unity" Waltz

Although the series of fusions of previously competing sections and sympathizing organizations in Australia, Canada, Colombia, Spain, Mexico, etc. will doubtless enhance the "attractiveness" of the United Secretariat, they remain fundamentally unstable while the dissolution of the LTF and IMT will not put an end to the centrifugal forces in key majority sections (Britain, France) which are rife with clique and tendency squabbling. Already there has been significant resistance to and fallout from the forced fusions.

In almost every case, it appears, the USec leadership has rammed through shotgun marriages with little or no political preparation. In Canada the spokesman on tour for the new Revolutionary Workers League (RWL)—the product of the incorporation of the Mandelite Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) into the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA)—not only admitted that numerous important differences subsist but boasted that the goal of the fusion was "not to completely overcome these differences... [but] to build an organization that can tolerate these differences without paralysis or splits" ("RWL on Tour for Menshevism," *Spartacist Canada* No. 21, November 1977). It is not surprising, therefore, that barely two months after the August fusion former leaders of the RMG and LSA have returned to their old quarrels in public.

A similar situation is now unfolding in Australia where many of the ranks of the pro-IMT Communist League (CL) are grumbling about the leadership-imposed top-down fusion which amounts to a pure and simple liquidation into the pro-LTF Socialist Workers Party. Moreover, in response to a ban by the conservative government of the state of Queensland on demonstrations against uranium mining, the counterposed appetites of the SWP and CL have publicly surfaced in the most dramatic manner. While the CL tailed after New Leftists whose strategy was repeated protest demonstrations which provoked police repression, the SWP categorically refused to participate in any demonstration which had not been granted a legal permit. At one of the largest protest meetings in Brisbane, SWPers left just before an "unauthorized" march began, while their CL "comrades" stayed behind to face a police attack in which they were beaten and jailed together with more than 400 others.

As part of the fusion process the two USec organizations' papers are being printed in a single edition, back to back and upside down in relation to each other, so that it has become a standing joke on the Australian left that the Mandelites have been turned around and stood on their heads by the projected union. But still the differences come out. One issue of the CL's *Militant* enthused over the "new vanguard being forged and tested in direct confrontations with the bourgeois state," while several weeks later its reformist backside, the SWP's *Direct Action*, vehemently decried "actions of compulsive martyrdom" in Brisbane.

While it is relatively easy for the USec to bring off fusions in countries where political struggle is at a relatively low level and a homogeneous reformist LTF section can dominate the united group, it is another question in agitated situations where differences between the majority and minority have been hardened in sharp clashes over burning questions of the class struggle (e.g., Portugal and Spain). Thus at a recent conference of the pro-LTF Spanish LCE, called to approve the imminent fusion with the Mandelite LCR, the pro-fusion "majority" had to make a cringing "self-criticism" on its abstentionist postion in the June elections for the Cortes. Published reports in *Rouge* and *Inprecor* hail the fusion as a victory, but it appears that the "frictional" losses amount to fully half of the LCE's 600 members, some heading off in an ultra-left direction, others joining the Spanish Lambertistes and the political future of a third anti-fusion grouping clouded in uncertainty.

While the gunpoint fusions spin out various breakaway groups, one of the main anticipated accretions to a "reunited" United Secretariat may come from a previous generation of "dissidents" who at the outbreak and high point of the IMT-LTF factional strife for empirical reasons sided neither with the centrist majority nor the reformist minority. Unwilling or unable to fully break with Pabloism—indeed, frequently refusing even to recognize its existence—these groups floundered aimlessly and are today either in their death throes or moving back into the USec orbit, where they have not closed up shop altogether.

The two clearest examples of what has happened to these contradictory groups of left-Pabloists are the history of the major split in the German USec section in 1969-70 and the fate of the various components of the international "Third ('Mezhrayonka') Tendency" which was lashed together around the USec's "Tenth World Congress" in 1974. When the Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands (IKD) split to the left from the "deep entrist" German USec section in 1969-70 they denied that Pabloism had played a decisive role in the destruction of the Fourth International, claiming instead that the FI ceased to exist with Trotsky's death. The IKD also explicitly maintained Mandel's neo-capitalism theory, an important underpinning of late-1960's vintage Pabloism. And its response to USec tailing of petty-bourgeois radical students was an equally tailist workerism.

Because of its inability to make a clear break from USec Pabloism, the IKD drifted from one gimmick and campaign to another, amid internal ideological confusion and mounting cliquism, resulting in a series of kaleidoscopic splits in almost every conceivable direction. However, some of the more serious comrades did attempt to draw the lessons of this experience, and three small left tendencies were bureaucratically expelled one after another for their political positions, subsequently joining the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the iSt.

Given the Spartacusbund's extreme programmatic heterogeneity, its efforts to propagate its confusion internationally by setting up a "Necessary International Initiative" (NII) on the fringes of the USec led to contradictions which blew this amalgam apart within a year. Without consulting its membership the Spartacusbund leadership committed the organization to joining with Roberto Massari's Italian Frazione Marxista Rivoluzionaria (FMR) in mid-1976 on the basis of superficial agreement on Portugal and a willingness to "discuss" (rather than take a firm position) on central questions such as the popular front and Stalinism. The Spartacusbund broke up in the spring of 1977, with one wing blocking with Massari in orbit around the USec, another seeking to maintain the shell of the organization while the remainder retreated to small local groupings.

Uncertainty over the posture to take toward the USec was a central issue in the disintegration of the NII and the Spartacusbund. Lacking a coherent analysis of Pabloism, they saw in the former "Third Tendency" kindred souls; Massari had been the main reporter for this tendency at the USec's 1974 world congress.

Although independent of both IMT and LTF, the "Third Tendency" had no real political alternative to either wing of the USec. Thus central leaders of this tendency in France went over to the majority either during or immediately after the 1974 congress, while others voted for some LTF documents. Later "Tendency 4" of the LCR was formed by other French oppositionists together with LTF supporters. Today these militants, who for a time represented the most left-leaning elements in the French section, have either retreated to cynical passivity or are among the SWP's supporters. In Germany the Kompass group gave up its struggle against Mandel & Co. and formed a bloc with the IMT to jointly administer the GIM.

The most consistent (if that is possible) "Third Tendency" grouping was in Italy. Today this current—Massari's Lega Comunista, a small rump of the disintegrating Spartacusbund and a tiny Austrian group—have proclaimed themselves the Revolutionary Marxist Faction, following the demise of the NII. Using the empty term "centrism sui generis" to label the USec, Roberto and his friends explicitly state that it is reformable and reject the characterization of the SWP as reformist. Now that Livio Maitan is in disfavor with the Mandelites, and Maitan's

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SL FORUM

The National Question in North America

Speaker: *Joseph Seymour,* SL Central Committee
Date: Saturday, December 10
Time: 7:30 p.m.
Place: 19-14 Lounge, Thwing Student Center, Case Western Reserve University

For more information call (216) 566-7806

CLEVELAND

USec...

(continued from page 9)

former No. 2 in the Italian section (Edgardo Pellegrini) has attempted a palace coup against him, a reconciliation between the FMR and the USec appears increasingly possible as Massari has applied for permission to attend the "eleventh world congress."

The saga of the "Third Tendency" oppositions has been one of constant failures. Unable to form an international tendency until the last minute at the 1974 USec world congress itself, the nearly programless bloc fell apart immediately thereafter. Having made no impact there, its leading spokesman provoked his expulsion from the Italian section in order to obtain more freedom to maneuver and pick up disaffected elements on the margin of the USec, without the albatross of nearly 30 years of Maitanesque blunders and capitulations around his neck. When this hope dissipated, he turned to building his Unnecessary International Initiative, which did not have a common position on such key issues as the class nature of social democracy, voting for popular-front candidates, and Pablоism and the nature of the USec. All these elements, whether inside or outside the United Secretariat, hold to a "family of Trotskyism" conception which has stood in the way of a definitive break from this revisionist parody of the FI.

More fundamentally they refused to come to grips with Pablоism as a program of capitulation before non-proletarian leaderships. No less traumatized by the isolation of the Trotskyist forces in post-World War II Europe than the Pablo-Mandel-Maitan-Frank leadership of the International Secretariat which ordered the sections of the FI to submerge themselves in the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, the "Third Tendency" left-Pablоists have simply repeated the methods of the USec on a smaller scale. Thus on the issue of Portugal during the course of 1975, the Spartacushund called for a Communist Party government; then for a workers and peasants government based on workers, peasants and soldiers councils, then for "normalizing" (i.e., stopping) the revolution and defense of the constituent assembly! Such gyrations are worthy of any tried-and-tested USec section.

These groups have also been confronted with the authentic Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency and shrink at the prospect of a break which the iSt represents from the friendly, accommodating Pablоist milieu. The dilemma of the left-Pablоist groupiets was recently summarized by IMG leader Bob Pennington at a meeting organized by the British International-Communist League, a one-time partner in the ill-fated NII. Pennington pointed out that there exist two fundamental poles among ostensible Trotskyists, the USec and the iSt, and that groups like the I-CL would ultimately have to choose between them. We couldn't agree more.

In the Shadow of the Popular Front

If both wings of the USec are willing to cease and desist for the moment, it is only because the felt immediacy of the issues which drove them apart in the late 1960's and early 1970's – Vietnam, guerrillaism, Castroism, Portugal – have faded from the view of the "broad vanguard" now more interested in ecology and nuclear power. As the political climate has cooled off, the more left-leaning centrists have shifted to the right. It must be remembered that the IMT's guerrillaism was also reflected in adventurist actions in Europe, such as the French Ligue Communiste's June 1973 confrontation with police protecting a fascist meeting or the IMG's similar involvement in a 1974 clash with cops defending a National Front march (the Red Lion Square incident). It is inconceivable that the far tamer IMT of today would undertake such mock heroics.

The most fundamental reason for this shift, and the guiding star of current Mandelite policy, is the desire to preserve a degree of respectability in order to act as a left pressure group on the rising popular fronts. A recent issue of the LCR's *Rouge* (14 September) was indicative of the USec majority's new concerns. A special dossier on polemics between the French Communist and Socialist parties called for "unity" and proposed the formation of "unitary committees open to all workers who want to discuss what the government program of the SP and CP ought to be if they want to put an end to capitalist exploitation and not just administer the crisis." And LCR super-star Alain Krivine, "sadder-but-wiser" now than in the heady days of May 1968, now calls for "a minimum threshold of nationalizations which will make it possible to change the logic of the capitalist system" (*Le Monde*, 29 September).

Since the March 1973 French parliamentary elections, IMT supporters have experimented with a number of electoral policies designed to translate this posture as a pressure group on the left flank of the Union of the Left. First they called for votes to the Union of the Left (which they refuse to label a popular front) on the second round of voting; then under pressure from LTF criticisms this was "rectified" to call for votes only to the SP and CP on the second round but not the bourgeois Left Radicals. In 1974 they called for votes to Mitterand, the single candidate of the popular front; and currently the LCR's position is to vote for the Union of the Left on the second round, except where the slate is headed by a Left Radical. But in all cases their main concern has been the same: not to be seen as a hindrance to "the left" coming to power.

The SWP and LTF periodically scold the Mandelites for their more shameless electoral support to the bourgeois Union of the Left. But Barnes & Co. are right to point out to "left" LTFers that this is really a minor difference, since they all agree on voting for the "workers candidates of the popular front." Currently their main objection is to the IMT's policy of "far-left" blocs, from the Portuguese LCI's participation in the FUR in 1975 to the Italian section's participation in the slates of the "Democrazia Proletaria" election cartel last year, to the "far-left" tickets sponsored by the French and Spanish LCRs in 1977 elections. In all cases the programs of these propaganda blocs were openly or implicitly popular-frontist, from support to the Gonçalves government in Portugal to calling on the Italian Communist Party to join a popular unity coalition à la Chile.

In the Mandel-Pablоists' endless search for a gimmick to bring them "mass" influence on the cheap, rather than breaking from the class-collaborationist treachery of the mass reformist parties, they attempt to huddle together with other fake-left organizations which like themselves are too small to gain admission to the coalitions directly but seek, in Trotsky's words, to "peddle their wares in the shadow of the Popular Front." And to accomplish this they are willing to make "concessions" of the most far-reaching sort. Thus in France the LCR seeks to parlay its forces into a pivotal role in a far broader grouping occupying the political terrain just to the left of the Communist Party. In order to do this Mandel has systematically courted the left wing of the social-democratic PSU, and in particular its leader, one Michel Pablo. But Pablo insists that all reference to Trotskyism and the Fourth International must be eliminated as a precondition to any regroupment. Mandel's response:

> "What difference do labels make? If in the political arena we encountered political forces which agreed with our strategic and tactical orientation and which were repulsed only by the historical reference and the name, we would get rid of it in 24 hours."
>
> —quoted in "Mandel Offers to Renounce Trotsky, Fourth International," *WV* No. 117, 9 July 1976

The historical continuity of Pablоist liquidationism which this expresses is unmistakable.

The SWP's sometimes orthodox-sounding criticisms of the Mandelite "far left" regroupment maneuvers by no means amount to an attack on popular frontism or a defense of an independent Trotskyist perspective. It's simply that while the IMT is tailing after the Stalinist wing of the popular front, the SWP is bringing up the rear of the social democracy. Because its supporters are primarily located in English-speaking countries where popular frontism is less common, the SWP is generally less blatant in its capitulations to coalitionism. However, when major events call for the appropriate bowing and scraping, Hansen and Barnes are not slow to respond, as witness their despicable apologetics for the Portuguese Socialist Party in the summer of 1975 when Soares was in alliance with the right wing of the Armed Forces Movement and even more sinister reactionary civilian forces.

And while the current "reunification"

Chilean Exile Harassed

Mario Muñoz Barred from Britain

Hubert Schatzl

On October 24 Mario Muñoz Salas, a Chilean trade-union militant exiled in France, was denied entry into Great Britain where he had planned to address a meeting of the Wolverhampton and District Latin American Solidarity Committee. Muñoz was detained by immigration officials for 13 hours, and photocopies of all his documents, letters and addresses were made. The international Spartacist tendency has vigorously protested this outrageous incident of anti-communist exclusion and harassment.

Muñoz was the founder and leader of the Aconcagua Union of Workers and Miners. During the government of Salvador Allende he became a national leader of the Regional Miners Councils and took the lead in forming the *cordones industriales* of workers, miners and peasants of Aconcagua and Valparaiso. After Pinochet's bloody coup, he was forced to flee to Argentina.

An international campaign to save Muñoz' life was jointly sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, and the European-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile. The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz was able to mobilize the support of hundreds of labor and socialist organizations and prominent individuals on four continents for a successful campaign which for the first time focused international attention on the bloodthirsty Videla junta in Argentina. On 4 August 1976 Munoz arrived safely in Europe and was later joined by his family.

All left and labor organizations should protest Britain's refusal to allow Muñoz the right to speak. But the report of the incident which appeared in the 3 November issue of *Socialist Challenge*, weekly newspaper of the International Marxist Group (IMG – British section of the United Secretariat) was an exercise in sectarian hypocrisy. According to the article, "Muñoz managed to get out of Argentina helped by a worldwide solidarity campaign." There is no mention of the role of the PDC, which rescued Muñoz from Videla's butchers while the IMG did *nothing* to aid the effort. The IMG refused to endorse the campaign on the grounds that it was "sectarian." To the IMG, the sectarianism of the PDC is synonymous with the latter's class partisanship on the side of the international proletariat. In fact this phony charge was a transparent attempt to camouflage the IMG's own sectarian abstention.

In the United States the Socialist Workers Party (another supporter of the United Secretariat) not only refused to support the campaign to free Muñoz but consciously attempted to sabotage it. The SWP refused to endorse the committee in its own name. Its front group, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Prisoners (USLA), initially felt compelled to give a verbal endorsement in view of the campaign's wide support but later withdrew it on the spurious grounds of objecting to the PDC's "open association with the Spartacist League." Thus the SWP was willing to sacrifice Muñoz' life before its own reformist appetites.

The IMG now wishes to bury its sordid record, and even to take implicit credit for the rescue of Muñoz, while continuing its class-neutral, civil-libertarian stance. The accompanying letter was sent by the London Spartacist Group to the Home Secretary, protesting Britain's refusal to grant Muñoz entry.

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7 November 1977

To the Home Secretary:

We strenuously protest the government's refusal to allow entry to Britain to Mario Muñoz Salas on 24 October. We further protest against the 13-hour detention of Muñoz and the photocopying of correspondence, documents and addresses in his possession.

Muñoz, a prominent Chilean miners' leader who was forced to flee for his life after the reactionary coup in 1973, has obviously been singled out for harassment by the Home Office because of his political beliefs—thus demonstrating the fraudulent nature of British "justice". Furthermore, the copying of Muñoz' personal documents raises the question of collaboration between the British government and the sinister assassins of Pinochet's DINA.

We demand the immediate cessation of all attempts to bar Muñoz (or any other working-class militant) from Britain.

Bill Long
for the London Spartacist Group

of the United Secretariat has been marked mainly by rightward motion on the part of the IMT, the SWP has been hit by bit throwing off the remaining traces of its Trotskyist past to appear ever more openly as a social-democratic party rather like the Ceylonese LSSP (albeit with far less influence). Currently this has been seen in its de facto abandonment of the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the USSR (claiming it is not operative), and its recent fusion with the "state-capitalist" Revolutionary Marxist Committee, which explicitly opposes Soviet defensism. In France the SWP has insistently sought to bring Pierre Lambert's OCI into the USec because of affinities with the Lambertists' similar pro-social-democratic appetites.

With the dissolution of the IMT and LTF and the reunifications in a number of countries, the United Secretariat is making a big push to reinforce its claim to represent the continuity of Trotsky's Fourth International. Thus they may be willing to bring in various ostensibly Trotskyist groups which have been making overtures to it, such as the ex-Healyite Workers Socialist League in Britain and its Greek affiliate, Massari's FMR, members of the OCI's international federation, etc. (Their ultimate aims are, of course, much broader, including relatively large social-democratic groups such as Tony Cliff's British SWP [ex-International Socialists] or some of the Spanish "soft"-Maoist groups.)

This would not be a Leninist International, however, but the most putrid revisionist swamp of renegades and opportunists, incapable of formulating a coherent political line, much less providing revolutionary leadership to the proletariat. As the Third Congress of the Communist International wrote of the centrist 2-1/2 International, it would:

> "seek to oscillate on paper between the slogans of democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In practice, it...aids the capitalist class of each country to imbue the working class with the spirit of indecision...."

But there is a difference, and not just one of scale. If, under the impact of popular enthusiasm for the Russian Revolution, the 2-1/2 International represented a centrist break from the reformist Second International, the USec of today unites centrists with reformists in treacherous cohabitation: at best, a modern-day 2-1/4 International. ■

Hawaiian Sugar Strike...

(continued from page 3)

> any deportation drives, in particular the INS [U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service] raids at ILWU work locations and the INS pass-card system. "Instead we demand: Jobs for All! Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign-Born Workers and their Families!... We call for a major drive by the entire labor movement to organize the unorganized in the U.S., Mexico, Canada, the Philippines and elsewhere...."

Against threats of mass layoffs and plantation closures, union militants must demand strike action to win a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and call for occupying shut-down plantations and for their expropriation without compensation. Instead of a program which pits workers in different countries against each other, the ILWU must aid the trade-union organizing of agricultural workers internationally as well as, in conjunction with the United Farm Workers, help initiate a drive to organize sugar workers in the U.S. South. As the defeat of the sugar strike showed, relying on the Democrats to "save American jobs" through back-stabbing protectionist measures is a dead end; the ILWU must take the lead in fighting for a workers party with a program of international class struggle. ■

Biko...

(continued from page 12)

into a panic. In the midst of South African winter Biko, still naked and in a semi-coma, was loaded into the back of a Land Rover, where he lay on the metal floor. As the police vehicle hurtled through the night Biko's injured skull recorded each bump in the road on the 750 mile trip from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria. Ostensibly Biko was moved to get medical attention, but it is obvious that the real intention of moving him was to get him out of Port Elizabeth. If he was not mortally injured already there is no doubt that such a long trip over land put the last nails in his coffin. Twelve hours after arriving, Biko died on the floor of his cell.

The actual circumstances of Biko's death were confirmed by the testimony of two doctors at the inquest. Dr. Neville S. Proctor, a prominent neuropathologist, exploded the police claim that the black leader had died as a result of hitting his head. He contradicted the statements of a state pathologist that five injuries to Biko's brain had resulted from one blow. Proctor testified that at least three or four blows had been inflicted on Biko including one which caused a four-inch-square bump on his forehead. A policeman later claimed that the bump could not be seen because Biko's skin was too dark.

Dr. Ivor Lang testified that he wanted to have Biko transferred to a local Port Elizabeth hospital for observation of possible brain damage but was forbidden to do so on the grounds that the victim was a security risk. "And you can't buck the Security Branch?", the Biko family's attorney Sydney Kentridge inquired. "No," replied Lang. Kentridge asked Lang why he had given police a falsified medical report finding Biko to be in perfect health when he considered Biko to be in serious enough condition to be hospitalized. Lang meekly replied, "It's inexplicable, I can't explain that to you."

Sham Inquest

Added to the damning evidence presented by the doctors were the contradictory self-incriminations of police officials. At one point the cops tried to enter into evidence statements extracted from black activists charging Biko with being a terrorist. Allegedly Biko went berserk when read these statements, which supposedly provoked him to throw a chair at police. Unfortunately for the cops they are not as smart as they are vicious: the statements were dated two days after Biko's death. If any doubt could possibly have remained as to the culpability of the authorities, a police colonel dashed it. He testified that in a report to his superiors he had informed them that an injury had been "inflicted" on Biko (*New York Times*, 30 November 1977).

Tension ran high in the courtroom as throngs of blacks in attendance confronted eye-to-eye the men who killed Biko. Whistles and gasps echoed through the courthouse as the shackles which bound Biko's legs were submitted into evidence. The audience bristled as they listened to Biko's chief interrogator, Major Snyman, venomously state, "I was sorry, because he was worth more alive to me than dead," explaining that his interrogation was "incomplete." (In another "incomplete interrogation" Snyman was responsible for the death of a coloured [mulatto] school teacher who "fell" six stories off the roof of the security police building in Port Elizabeth last year.)

Liberal Hopes

The fact that so much revealing evidence was exposed during the inquest was seen by some of the media as a credit to the Vorster government. There was even a faint hope expressed that the inquest would defy past precedent and rule against the police. Even those like the *New York Times* who were skeptical from the beginning of the outcome of the inquest consoled their readers with the message that the Biko family's attorney and similar liberals represent a great white hope for South African blacks.

A corporation lawyer, Kentridge has handled the defense of the most celebrated South African political trials in recent memory, including those of Nelson Mandela and Communist Party leader Bram Fisher. He is being portrayed as one of that small fraternity of lawyer-heroes patterned after the prosecutor in Costa Gavras' "Z." Supposedly the existence of liberal well-wishers like Kentridge and their patrons such as mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer will prove to blacks that there is still hope for change through "the rule of law." But the cause of the oppressed black masses of South Africa is not served by the likes of Oppenheimer, who desires only to "relax" but not to eliminate the apartheid system. They do not even support the elementary democratic right of one man, one vote. Oppenheimer's hypocrisy is further revealed by the fact that the mines of his Anglo-American Corporation are hellholes of exploitation and degradation, perpetrating some of the most brutal apartheid injustices.

Liberals and social democrats in the West may have believed that the Soweto massacre and Biko murder would produce among South African whites a strong moral revulsion against the hard-line Vorster regime. However, the continuing impotence of South African liberalism was once again revealed by Vorster's landslide electoral victory. It is not continual atrocities against defenseless blacks which will split the present unity of South Africa's whites. Only when faced with the *strength* of the black masses, centrally its industrial proletariat, will the apartheid regime be unable to rule in the old way.

For all its provocative statements and high-handed disdain, the South African government does fear one enemy: the subjugated non-white masses. The jail murder of Stephen Biko provoked seething anger among blacks throughout the country. Fikele Bam, leader of an organization Biko founded to aid political prisoners, captured the sentiment of many anti-apartheid militants: "His death has not 'left us cold.' It has left us boiling hot. Boiling hot with grief. Boiling hot with anger. Boiling hot with impatience."

This anger threatens to unleash the latent power of the black proletariat, and Vorster is well aware of it. Three days after Biko's death, students rallied at the all-black University of Fort Hare. In a frenzy, armed riot squads with attack dogs rushed the school, breaking up the rally and arresting nearly the entire demonstration of 1,200. Biko's funeral was attended by over 10,000 blacks, and even then entire convoys from outlying townships were prevented from coming. Police dragged mourners off buses and attacked them with truncheons, as well as arresting hundreds. As Biko's coffin was lowered into the ground thousands of clenched black fists were raised amidst shouts of "amandla" (power).

While the Pretoria regime can suppress with its massive firepower spontaneous demonstrations like those that accompanied Biko's death, it quakes at the prospect of unified action by the non-white proletariat. While youths rising up in Soweto are met with a hail of police and army bullets, the strike wave centering on Durban in 1973-74 profoundly shook the regime. Even at the height of the Soweto demonstrations last year the authorities dealt much more circumspectly with strikes by black workers at nearby factories—an implicit recognition of their latent social power to bring South African capitalism to a grinding halt.

Biko as a spokesman for petty-bourgeois black nationalism did not understand the decisive role of the black proletariat and instead placed faith in white liberals and Jimmy Carter to pressure the regime into making concessions to the black majority. Last year Biko issued an appeal to Carter "for full scale support of the struggle for black man's liberation." The irony of such an appeal should be apparent. An appeal to the U.S. government is an appeal to the murderers of George Jackson and Fred Hampton, to the callous mass murderers of Attica (not to mention the My Lai massacre or Hiroshima).

Mike McCann

Maj. Harold Snyman

Besides the anti-apartheid political activists singled out for murderous repression, hundreds of faceless, nameless blacks now trapped in Vorster's torture cells can meet the same fate as Stephen Biko without so much public attention. Instead of empty moralist gestures for "divesting" South African stock, boycotting Krugerrands and joining Carter's "human rights" crusade, an international campaign of labor protest must be mobilized to demand: Free all victims of apartheid repression!

It is only the revolutionary mobilization of the black proletariat under the leadership of a South African Trotskyist party, together with militant solidarity from their international class brothers and sisters, that will unleash the power of the black masses and smash apartheid forever. It is in this way that Stephen Biko and the countless victims of apartheid terror will be avenged—by the struggle for permanent revolution in the industrial powerhouse of Africa. ■

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LOS ANGELES

WORKERS VANGUARD

South African Torturers Can't Cover Up Jail Killing

BPC supporters hold Biko posters at funeral services. Neri/Sygma

Vorster Regime Backs Biko Murder

When the verdict came down December 2 at the Johannesburg inquest into the death of Stephen Biko its meaning was perfectly clear: black prisoners can be brutalized and murdered with impunity in South Africa. This was not the decision of a single magistrate but the normal operation of the law in all its racist, capitalist majesty in this land of apartheid where blacks are pariahs and prisoners.

The judge at the inquest ruled that although Biko died of brain injuries the police bore no responsibility for his death. Yet throughout the hearings incontrovertible evidence was presented of the savage assault on a man shackled, naked and helpless against the death-dealing blows of his captors.

To drive home the message, on the same day the verdict was announced police swooped down on Soweto during the pre-dawn hours, arresting Biko's brother and a dozen others. All last year as black youths repeatedly demonstrated in the huge slum townships which surround Johannesburg they were met with the murderous gunfire of the police and army. The more than 1,000 shot down in cold blood made Soweto the symbol of apartheid to the outside world. The wide publicity given to the Biko murder has acted as a reminder that this deadly repression continues daily, and as the flimsy cover-up unravels it has provided a penetrating view into the gearbox of Vorster's white supremacist hell.

It is a rare occasion when the barefaced lies of the Pretoria regime are daily exposed in minute detail by the bourgeois press throughout the world as they have been concerning the inquest into the death of this leader of the "black consciousness" movement. The Biko case would certainly not have stayed in the spotlight for so long if U.S. imperialism did not have its own interest in posing as a "concerned" defender of a black leader who had sought the aid of Jimmy Carter. Perhaps also it would have been quickly forgotten if there were the slightest doubt about police responsibility for his death. But there was none.

Immediately following Biko's death Minister of Justice Kruger fabricated a story that would insult the intelligence of the most dull-witted cub reporter. Without the slightest investigation or even the flimsiest substantiation Kruger declared that Biko died as a result of a six-day hunger strike.

Blacks in South Africa were not alone in rejecting this ludicrous attempt at a cover-up. Even the U.S. government, itself renowned for the murder of black prisoners, took advantage of the opportunity to make moral capital at the expense of Pretoria, declaring that Biko was "another victim of the apartheid system." After the inquest verdict the Carter administration went further, stopping just short of saying Biko was murdered: "We are shocked by the verdict in the face of compelling evidence at the least that Stephen Biko was the victim of flagrant neglect and official irresponsibility," said a State Department spokesman (*New York Times*, 3 December).

The government of John Balthazar Vorster is not as susceptible to outside pressure and fickle "world opinion" as mush-headed liberal moralists and reformist pseudo-socialists would presume. Long before the inquest began the South African government declared flatly that on no account would it prosecute the police officials implicated in Biko's death. Vorster and Kruger took a cavalier attitude toward the case, the Minister of Justice quipping that Biko's death "left him cold."

A Nationalist Party Member of Parliament Frik le Roux on the campaign trail took the regime's arrogance a step further when he brazenly declared, "I would have killed Steve Biko." Taking advantage of the obvious irony of the U.S.' condemning anyone else's racism, a Nationalist Party paper cautioned le Roux against creating the impression that South Africa would resort to the abhorrent American practice of lynching.

If lynching is the special form of racist "justice" in the U.S., then the endless "accidental deaths" have become the trademark of apartheid "justice" in South Africa. Biko was the seventeenth black political detainee to be killed in the last year. He joins scores of others who have died in mysterious ways since the security laws were first introduced in 1963. Suliman Saloogie died on 9 September 1964 after falling seven floors from the top of the security building in Johannesburg. Nicodimus Kgoathe died 5 February 1969: "slipped in the shower." Solomon Modipane "slipped on soap, natural death, no inquest necessary" on 2 February 1969. Ahmed Timol "fell from 10th floor window," died 27 October 1971. Phakamile Mabija on 7 July 1977 "fell from sixth floor of Kimberly police station" (*London Times*, 9 November 1977). In most cases there was no inquiry. When there was an inquiry the verdict was always the same: no police responsibility—died of natural causes, or suicide, or as the result of an accident. Not one of the killers has been punished; not once have the police been implicated.

Ox-drawn cart carries Biko's coffin to stadium. Majofra/Contact

Cover-up Uncovered

From the very first word out of Kruger's mouth it was clear the treatment of Biko's slaying would be the same as in the cases of other murdered black prisoners. When the autopsy report, prepared within days of Biko's death, showed that he had died of a brain injury Kruger dropped the hunger-strike story. But he quickly concocted an even more preposterous explanation of Biko's death: a melee, supposedly provoked by Biko, who is then purported to have fallen and hit his head. Kruger chuckled, "I can tell you that under press harassment I have also felt like banging my head against the wall many times. But now, reading the Biko autopsy, I realize it may be fatal."

Kruger's new alibi for the police did not explain how Biko had suffered cuts, burns and bruises on 25 different parts of his body. In addition to extensive brain damage several of Biko's ribs were torn from his breast bone.

Despite Kruger's assurances that "heads would roll" if the police were implicated, no statements were taken from police until six weeks after Biko's death, when the new story had been worked out. Nevertheless not one of the statements mentioned Biko's falling. In a carefully orchestrated effort each policeman was instructed what to say by the head of the Special Branch, including distributing to each cop the autopsy report and pictures.

Little by little the true story of Biko's murder has come into focus: 26 days of deadly torture and degradation. Biko was arrested on August 18 under the infamous Terrorism Act, which permits the government to detain its opponents indefinitely without trial. He was held naked in solitary confinement for 19 days. On the twentieth day he was taken to an interrogation room. His hands and feet were shackled to a metal grill while he was alternately questioned and beaten for 50 hours. As a result of the beating Biko slipped into unconsciousness for a time. In a state of incoherence, his body conspicuously bloody and broken, Biko was examined by a doctor who declared him to be completely healthy.

In the next several days as Biko's condition deteriorated the police went

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 186 | 23 December 1977

Ya'acov Katz/Nofim

Cops restrain angry workers in Tel Aviv at protest rally against government austerity measures last month.

Claude Salhani/Sygma

Cairo riots in January sparked by rising food prices.

Egyptian, Israeli Masses War-Weary

War Danger Behind Cairo Peace Talks

Sadat and Begin: A butchers' "peace."

Sergio Zahs

Five days after his theatrical pilgrimage to the Israeli Knesset in Jerusalem, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat posed as a "messenger of peace" before his own rather farcical "People's Assembly." In addition to justifying his *hadj* (holy pilgrimage) to the Mecca of Zionism, he invited the participants in the perennial Near East crisis, including the two "superpowers," to attend a conference in Cairo. Formally this meeting is to prepare yet another conference, that ever-elusive Geneva conference which to the advocates of global détente is the miraculous formula for peace in the Near East.

But so elusive is this elixir that it has proved next to impossible simply to bring the protagonists to the appointed site. The original Geneva Conference, convened by the U.S. and USSR following the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war, lasted exactly one day before collapsing with the walkout by one of the main combatants, Syria. Sadat's sojourn in Israel, moreover, rendered Geneva even more remote. It increased his isolation among the Arab states and made it clear that one of the main points in common between Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menahem Begin was opposition to Soviet participatinn in a peace settlement. Thus when the Cairo conference opened on December 14, the participants included only Israel, Egypt, the U.S. and the UN.

All the developments in the diplomatic uproar unleashed by Sadat's Jerusalem visit point toward a separate peace between Israel and Egypt. But far from bringing real peace to the Near East, such an agreement could threaten to escalate the Arab-Israeli conflict into direct military confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. If Egypt drops out of the Arab military bloc, Syria then becomes the main "confrontationist" state. Facing the militarily far superior Zionist state alone, Syria would have to become utterly dependent upon Russian aid.

In such a polarized situation the U.S. and Soviet Union could become prisoners of their own client states. In a war between Israel and Syria, the Russians, cut off from the possibility of playing a role in a general Near East settlement, might see themselves forced to intervene ever more directly to prevent the defeat of their remaining allies if they are to avoid being frozen out of this strategic region altogether. But Washington will not tolerate direct Soviet intervention against Israel. Much more so than in the Arab-Israel wars of 1967 and 1973, a separate Israeli-Egyptian peace followed by a military showdown between Israel and Syria could become the spark setting off World War III.

Begin's "Secret Peace Plan"

During Sadat's Jerusalem journey, Begin didn't yield an inch from past Israeli bargaining positions, pointedly denying that the Zionist state had conquered any foreign territories. But he had to offer some pretense of bargaining, and last week the awaited Israeli response came with Begin's trip to Washington to unveil yet another "secret peace plan." Begin offered to piece off Sadat for his de facto recognition of Israel by returning the remaining portion of the Sinai desert not previously returned to Egypt in the Kissinger-negotiated 1974 and 1975 settlements.

Of course, Begin intends to keep the densely populated Gaza Strip (with its 400,000 Palestinian Arabs) and surrounding territory as a "security buffer," a corridor to protect Israeli access to the Gulf of Aqaba and especially the strategic Sharm el Sheik. His no less expansionist predecessors had already staked out this claim by establishing 20 Zionist settlements in the Sinai. In addition, Begin announced that he would grant "self-government" to West Bank Palestinians while the Israeli government continues its military occupation and its annexationist policies of Zionist settlements and land expropriations.

In fact, scarcely had Sadat kissed Golda Meir goodbye when Begin approved two more West Bank settlements by the clerical-fascist Gush Emunim (Block of the Faithful). Begin claims that under his new plan West Bank Palestinians will also have the right to settle in Israel. Coming from this anti-Arab genocidal terrorist who murdered and dispersed thousands of Palestinians to "liberate" the land of "Eretz Israel," Begin's proposal may be aptly compared to Eichmann's offer to "resettle" the Jews in central Europe. Will Begin also offer Arabs who want to settle in Israel the site of Deir Yassin, where in 1948 his Irgun gangsters murdered 242 Palestinian villagers?

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An Exchange

RMC: State Department Socialism?/6

Ruling-Class Feminist Hustle in Houston

WV Photo

Presidential wives on the podium at Houston conference. From left, Rosalynn Carter, Betty Ford, Lady Bird Johnson and Lynda Johnson Robb.

Northup/Time

Susan B. Anthony (left), Bella Abzug and Betty Friedan lead runners.

HOUSTON—The "International Women's Year" (IWY) conference held at the Sam Houston Coliseum over the November 17-20 weekend was a total fraud, even by bourgeois political standards. Amid endless hugging and kissing, the 1,981 delegates predictably passed a liberal "National Plan" supporting Medicaid-funded abortions, the Equal Rights Amendment and opposition to discrimination against homosexuals. They were duly televised and photographed by over 1,000 members of the bourgeois press who covered the event with the banal meticulousness applied every four years to presidential nominating circuses.

The resolutions will now be recommended to the same capitalist government which for the last several years has led an unrelenting assault on the democratic rights of women and minorities. Congress, which bought and paid for the conference, has commited itself only to read the resolutions into the *Congressional Record*, which is probably as far as most of them will go. A more accurate indication of the way the winds are blowing on Capitol Hill is the passage of the Hyde Amendment eliminating government-funded abortions for the poor.

This media event was undoubtedly originally conceived as an attempt to co-opt the women's liberation movement. The conference, sponsored by the State Department, was organized by the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year and funded by Public Law 94-167 (authored by Bella Abzug) to the tune of a cool $5,000,000. However, with the quiescence of the feminist milieu Jimmy Carter has soft-pedaled his pro-forma support to the ERA and the conference lost its reason for being. Appropriately the ho-hum affair was chaired by Abzug, that perennial spokesman for respectable feminist causes, who recently lost her second election bid in a row.

The conference was modeled on the 1975 IWY conference in Mexico City, which provided a platform for such notorious murderers as Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka, who massacred thousands of Ceylonese youth in the 1971 uprising; Imelda Marcos, wife of the Philippine dictator known for his butchery of Communist, peasant and Muslim rebels; Princess Ashraf Pahlevi, twin sister of the infamous torturer, the Shah of Iran; and Silvia Pinto, representing the bloody Chilean junta. It was entirely in keeping with this precedent, then, that the speakers platform was graced by no less than three "first ladies" of U.S. imperialism, Mrs. Carter, Ford and Johnson.

Don't Have to Be a Radical to Be a Feminist

Nationwide live TV coverage and fancy spreads in the glossy news weeklies struck a note of solemn historic occasion, heralding the conference as the most important women's gathering since the founding of the feminist movement at Seneca Falls in 1848 and as "an end to the psychological isolation" of the women's liberation movement. But no public relations hype could mask the emptiness of the conference. *Time* magazine prominently featured the discovery of one participant: "I didn't have to be a radical to be a feminist." No indeed.

Neither the much-threatened right-wing disruption nor the much-heralded "grass-roots alternative" really materialized outside the coliseum. The more than 10,000 "observers" retreated to an opulent film festival and a program of cultural events, "Briefings from the Top" lectures by successful women bureaucrats, and "skills clinics" conducted by "sisters" who have really made it. Exhibit booths ranged from the Girl Scouts to the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee.

Inside the coliseum delegates engaged in an orgy of imitation of a Democratic Party convention, with signs to denote each state delegation. They draped themselves with stickers, ribbons, buttons, placards, confetti, scarves, babushkas, T-shirts, balloons, apples (the New York delegation) and brassieres (the last waved to a chant of "We didn't burn them"—i.e., feminism has become officially respectable and can shed the old radical stereotypes).

Delegates and alternates included many local, state and federal government officials who exerted a dominating ideological influence over respectable "feminist homemakers," upward-bound professionals and old-time women's liberationists. Together they formed a common-denominator liberal coalition which heavily out-voted the conference's minority of right-wing, "pro-family" forces. The assembled bureaucrats and legislators—aspiring governors and cabinet members one and all—voted for custodial rights for lesbian mothers, establishment of low-cost federally funded child care and opposition to Carter's vicious welfare reform, secure in the knowledge that they were tending their personal constituency at no political cost (or obligation) to the government.

The tightly sewn liberal voting bloc was aided from the podium by a hammer-handed Presiding Committee which rigidly controlled the speakers, the rigged agenda, the press, the band and the floor microphones. This was no idle precaution. Consider the embarrassing effect of a speech on the contrast between Chairman Abzug's support for the conference resolution calling for the restoration of Medicaid funds for abortions and her vote in Congress (where it counted) for the Hyde Amendment which took them away! Needless to say this revealing contrast was, politely, never made.

Right Wing Mobilizes

One of the most dramatic confirmations of the bankruptcy of radical feminists' "sisters unite" program was the presence of a sizable minority—roughly 20 percent—of right-wing forces at the convention. Many delegations from the Deep South and western states—including Oklahoma, Utah, Alabama and Mississippi—were composed overwhelmingly of reactionaries. Phyllis Schlafly of Illinois, who spearheads "Stop ERA" forces and had predicted that the turnout by her supporters would "end the women's movement," explained the failure of conservatives to dominate the Illinois state IWY delegation: "Our women didn't want to leave their families for an entire weekend and spend it with a group of lesbians" (*Detroit News*, 1 September).

However, elsewhere reactionary forces did mobilize. At the Utah state conference supporters of the Mormon Church sponsored a resolution calling for repeal of women's suffrage! And the Ku Klux Klan organized heavily for the Houston conference with the complacent tolerance of its liberal sponsors. When one delegate challenged the seating of the all-white Mississippi delegation—including known fascists—she was ruthlessly ruled out of order. And there was little protest over the fact that a known fascist—Dallas Wood Higgins, wife of the Mississippi Grand Dragon of the KKK—was a duly seated delegate.

The right-wingers mainly confined their disruption to delaying maneuvers on the floor of the conference and a large outside counter-rally for "decency" and "God, Home and America," held across town in the Astrodome. Liberal "hip" journalists like Judith Coburn of the *Village Voice* glibly put down the 15,000-strong fundamentalist moralists and proto-fascists, instead enthusing over a few glamourous media figures like Gloria Steinem and Democratic Party pols like New York City Council president-elect Carol Bellamy. But while the liberals flamboyantly embraced following the passage of every plank of their entirely irrelevant "National Plan," the reactionaries at least singled out (and defended) key institutions that oppress women under capitalism: religion, the family and the "free enterprise system."

As was to be expected the reactionaries eventually resorted to terrorist provocations. At a Saturday afternoon rally held by "Feminists United," Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), the New American Movement and the International Socialists, frustrated fascists slipped the leash and launched viciously into the demonstrators. About a dozen thugs from the Christian Defense League precipitated the attack, one of them flaunting a badge allegedly from the police. The notoriously Klan-ridden Houston cops, numerous in the area, showed up only after the demonstrators themselves had managed to surround and drive off these hooligans.

Decade of Feminism Leads to Houston

Strikingly absent from the Houston follies was any visible, active, radicat movement for women's liberation. The heady days of radical feminism, a by-product of the 1960's New Left, are long gone and the movement splintered and dissipated. In its wake there is *Ms.* magazine—a sort of *Redbook* with a women's lib patina, featuring articles on how to redecorate your apartment and

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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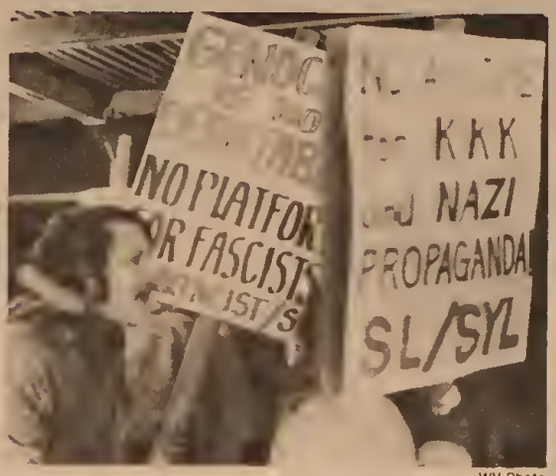
SL Protests TV Forum for Fascists

"Genocide Is Not Debatable!"

With picket signs reading "Genocide is Not Debatable—No Platform for Fascists!" and chants of "TV 13 Publicizes, KKK Organizes—Stop the Klan Now!" about 30 people demonstrated December 14 in front of New York's Channel 13/WNET television studios protesting the station's planned broadcast of the program "The Extremists: American Nazis and the KKK." Initiated on short notice by the Spartacist League (SL) the demonstration denounced the decision of the "public service" broadcaster to provide a platform for fascist action organizations whose only use for publicity is to recruit more killers to their ranks.



WV Photo

WV Photo

The demonstrators stressed that the issue was not free speech but fascist terrorism. One chant went, "No TV Time for Klan Provocations, Debate Won't Stop Fascist Organizations." They also rejected the treacherous policy of appealing to the bourgeois state to suppress fascists, demanding, "Smash the Nazis, Smash the Klan—Only Workers Defense Guards Can!" The SL intitiated a protest mailgram sent to the station signed by a number of labor and left organizations and concerned individuals, including the Partisan Defense Committee, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU, the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906, filmmaker Barbara Kopple, professor James Petras and lawyers Gerald Lefcourt and Conrad Lynn.

The Channel 13 program which provided a "respectable" platform from which the mod "Grand Wizard" of the Louisiana Klans, David Duke, and the two-bit "Führer" of the American Nazi Party, Frank Collins, could spew forth their race-hate provocations, had come under heavy fire from the moment plans were announced to show it in New York. The small SL demonstration was an expression of widely felt outrage which produced a flood of literally thousands of protest phone calls from enraged viewers. But the station management proclaimed it would not be "pushed around" by special interest groups of the oppressed, instead providing air time to the fascists' recruiting drive under the guise of "free speech."

Controversy around the show actually began last September when the Philadelphia/Wilmington public television station WHYY (on an episode of the serial "Black Perspective on the News"!) decided it would be "educational" to pit the fascists in debate against two liberal black professionals, Harvard historian Lawrence Reddick and "human relations expert" Charles King, head of the Atlanta Urban Crisis Center. The result was a disaster, with even the liberal *New York Times* (11 December) concluding:

> "...Messrs. Duke and Collins were afforded a relatively unobstructed path for their views on the savage nature of blacks and the manipulative power of Jews. *Variety* described the result as 'appalling' and commented, 'The sum effect is a propaganda coup for anti-Semitic bigots and white racists'."

While program moderator Reginald Bryant was cooing about the golden opportunity the show afforded killers and victims alike to "sit together and talk about things," the fascists used the air waves to broadcast their message of racist terror. Collins, outfitted in full Nazi regalia, called Hitler "the greatest white man of all times," and added:

> "The swastika represents the highest truth that our civilization has known. Hitler was right. Hitler said the white race was the master race. I think that is the truth of our times.... America will either be an all-white America or a dead America."

The response of the interviewers was pathetic. One asked whether Duke had "any sensitivity at all"; the other in response to Collins' call to send the entire U.S. black population to Africa, "I'm concerned as a human being about the venom, the vitriol and the hostility you seem to feel"!

The Philadelphia/Wilmington showing sparked heavy protest, particularly from a number of Jewish groups. Although the program was distributed nationally over the Public Broadcasting Service television network, only 105 of the 270 PBS affiliates aired it with most major northern cities refusing to run the show. So did Channel 13 in New York originally, on the grounds that it was "journalistically unbalanced." But when the American Jewish Congress took credit for keeping the show off the air,

Harris/Liaison

Klan chief Duke with his wife.

WNET decided to run a revised version incorporating much of the original footage and tacking on a half-hour commentary at the end.

This supposedly watered-down version proved, if anything, more provocative than the first. A Houston documentary about the Klan showed a fascist displaying a suitcase full of "Niggers Beware" posters and bumper stickers, and even T-shirts printed with pictures of gas ovens! The only thing missing from this sales pitch for genocide was a mailing address where race-hating terrorists could send in membership applications. In the commentary sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset ridiculed the notion that "people going around in sheets or Nazi uniforms" could get anywhere. A spokesman for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) defended down the line the fascists' "right" to the air waves, city streets or any other vehicle they could find to advance their deadly aims.

The liberal media consider that aiding the fascist publicity drive is a question of "taste" and "professionalism," while the civil libertarians would like it to be a matter of debate whether all Jews and blacks should be killed! Yet even while the Channel 13 TV program was being aired, the Klan in Houston was in court demanding its "right" to use dial-up telephone recordings calling for race war and offering a $5,000 bounty for every non-white killed in an attack!

In the recent period the liberal bourgeoisie has been in rapid retreat on every social issue, creating a political climate in which the ultra-right scum breed. The defeat of busing in Boston, racist mobilizations in Chicago and the victory of anti-homosexual bigotry in Miami have emboldened these vermin, long forced underground, to poke up their heads. This is attested to by ever more frequent fascist provocations such as attempts by the Nazis to march into the predominantly Jewish Chicago suburb of Skokie, or recent armed KKK "border patrols" directed against undocumented Mexican workers in the Southwest.

Having created this reactionary climate, the liberals now become the fascists' best defenders in court. Thus the ACLU is defending the Klan and Nazis across the country, from their "right" to terrorize survivors of Hitler's death camps in Skokie to their "right" to organize cross burnings at the Marines' Camp Pendleton. To top it off they make genocide respectable by offering the platform of "debates" on television. Thus the civil libertarians prove that their fundamental loyalty is to the capitalist order, which must protect the fascists as their last desperate defense against proletarian revolution.

Bringing up the liberals' rear are the social democrats of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Mike Kelley, a spokesman for the SWP-led U.S. Committee for Justice in Latin America, when asked to sign the protest mailgram to Channel 13 refused on the grounds that this campaign was a "clear example of the dividing line" between the SL and SWP attitudes toward fascists. Similarly, when the SL initiated a successful protest to prevent Duke from speaking on the KPFA radio station (where he sought to publicize the Klan's vigilante squads against "illegal aliens") this fall, an SWP spokesman refused to participate, stating, "We don't think they should be deprived a priori of their right of free speech" (see "The Klan Will Not Ride in the Bay Area!" *WV* No. 179, 28 October).

The Channel 13 telecast offered the fascists a platform to propagate their genocidal provocations. In contrast, the documentary film *California Reich* revealed the danger of the Nazis' terrorist threats and gave considerable coverage to the militant demonstration, initiated by the Spartacus Youth League, which drove a Nazi speaker off San Francisco State University campus in 1975. In this case also the SWP lined up with the liberals in decrying infringements on the fascists' "right" to free speech "without qualifications" (*Young Socialist*, July-August 1975).

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League and the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle defense organization in accordance with the views of the SL, hold that "Genocide is Not Debatable—No Platform for Fascists!" We do not discuss with murderers! Nor do we appeal to the capitalist government to ban the bourgeoisie's terror squads, for in fact such laws will be used above all to suppress the left. The workers movement and intended victims of fascist terror can rely only on their own strength to smash these genocidal practitioners of capitalist barbarism. ■

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Whitlam Steps Down

Labor Routed in Australian Elections

SYDNEY, 14 December—"A vote against socialism," the *Sydney Morning Herald* (12 December) headed its editorial on Saturday's Australian federal election, the fourth in five years. At last count the ruling Liberal/National Country Party (L/NCP) coalition had romped home with a massive 50-seat majority over the routed Labor Party (ALP) in the 124-seat House of Representatives (although receiving only 48 percent of votes cast compared to the ALP's 40 percent).

Virtually everyone had expected Labor if not to win at least to take back a substantial number of seats from the record L/NCP majority won in the landslide 1975 election which displaced the ALP government. But, as the *Morning Herald* commented, "The two or three seats won by Labor on Saturday are little more than flotsam from the wreck of 1975, washed up by a favourable redistribution [redrawing of electoral boundaries]."

The result, however, could scarcely be considered a "vote against socialism." On the contrary, the ALP's election campaign was centered around wooing back *bourgeois* support alienated by the failure of the last Labor government of Gough Whitlam to, as they saw it, adequately control its reformist tinkering or crack down hard enough on the unions. The ALP played down its previous meagre attempts at reform to stress former Labor Treasurer Hayden's austerity budget of 1975. On Medibank, the ALP-introduced national medical insurance significantly downgraded by the Liberals, Whitlam could only snivel that "the task of restoration will be long and difficult" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 November).

Gough Whitlam speaking at ALP election rally in Sydney November 17.

ALP Grovels Before Bosses

In fact, Labor's main electoral promise was to end the company payroll tax and pay for it by scrapping Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's planned cuts in personal income tax, thus enabling millionaire grazier Fraser (owner of large sheep-grazing properties) to adopt the ludicrous posture of defender of "the man in the street"! In promoting this gimmick, supposedly designed to create more jobs, the ALP's real intention was to demonstrate to the bosses its willingness to rebuff its own working-class base in order to promote higher profits. While unemployment was the main electoral issue, few could have been fooled by the crocodile tears for the unemployed shed by Whitlam and Fraser and their mutual sanctimonious denunciations. Not surprisingly the ALP had trouble eliciting much financial support from the trade unions or firing their ranks with enthusiasm for this uninspiring electoral bid.

For all Whitlam's grovellings, the bourgeoisie preferred not to entrust the helm of state to Labor. Not that they are entirely happy with the record of the aloof, aristocratic Fraser. "It's not much of a choice," press baron Rupert Murdoch commented, "between someone nobody likes and someone nobody trusts" (*Newsweek*, 19 December). The capitalists were hardly more impressed with Fraser's election manoeuvre than they were with his inept handling of currency devaluations or his other political *faux pas*. To make matters worse, shortly after the campaign opened Fraser found himself with a scandal at his doorstep: Phillip Lynch, the author of the Liberals' austerity (for the workers) budgets, resigned as treasurer following allegations concerning the dealings of his family trust company.

Union-Bashing Fizzles

Significantly, the demagogic issue of "union power" on which Fraser had earlier hoped to center his election gambit was quietly dropped before the campaign started. This followed the Liberals' defeat in the 5 November Greensborough, Victoria by-election, a week after the conclusion of the eleven-week Victoria power strike, where they had stood primarily on a union-bashing platform. After several years of real wage losses and heightened unemployment, and given the present comparatively low level of industrial disputes, the bosses' attempts to blame the recession on greedy "militant" and "communist" unionists don't hold much water. The Victoria Liberal state government also had little success whipping up sentiment against the LaTrobe power workers' strike which challenged the wage-fixing Arbitration Commission's policy of "wage indexation" (wage adjustments which under the guise of compensating for inflation reduce real wages).

The general distrust of both major parties in this more than usually dreary electoral competition opened the door to the meteoric rise of Don Chipp's ("small-'l' liberal") Australian Democrats who gained some 10 percent of the vote—a large proportion in this essentially two-party system—giving them at least one Senate seat. Chipp, a recent defector from the Liberal Party, wisely avoided any policies and instead waffled about "honesty, tolerance and compassion"—enabling him to cash in on the naiveté, sentimentalism and gullibility of his liberal middle-class supporters.

On election night, when the ALP's ignominious defeat had become evident, Gough Whitlam announced that he would not stand for re-election as Labor's parliamentary leader. After navigating Labor to its first federal election win in 23 years in 1972, only to run aground on the international capitalist recession, Whitlam has now led the ALP to two successive election debacles. From the grandiose vistas of a "new," "reformed" Australia in 1972, Whitlam is now identified in the public eye with the incompetent bunglings of his short-lived social-democratic regime caught in the vice of the recession. His technocratic-liberal policies failed to fit a period where the task of any capitalist government is to rapidly take away past gains of the working class.

Already perceived as a liability, Whitlam had kept somewhat in the background during the election, even promising to step down as ALP leader within two years if elected. Instead the Labor Party prominently featured Bill Hayden as its paragon of economic "responsibility" (read: anti-working-class policies). And it is former cop Hayden who is now the favoured candidate for Whitlam's successor. Meanwhile, Bob Hawke, president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and of the ALP—who has been labelled "Houdini Hawke" for his record of negotiating last-minute sellouts of important strikes—waits in the wings ready to step into parliament at some opportune point.

Left Advises Whitlam How to Win the Election

Ever since the 1975 sacking of the Whitlam government by the appointed, supposedly figurehead, governor-general and the subsequent election of Fraser, the left has resounded with cries of "Bring down the Fraser government!" Uniquely on the left the Spartacist League pointed out at the time that, divorced from any new upsurge in the class struggle, this seemingly militant slogan could mean nothing but a call for new elections and a vote of political confidence in the reformist ALP misleadership of the working class. With the holding of the long-awaited elections the actual content of the fake-lefts' anti-Fraser rhetoric became clearer than ever. The International Socialists' front page headline trumpeted excitedly, "We've waited two years for this..." (*The Battler*, 26 November). With "LABOR CAN WIN" hopefully emblazoned across the front pages of almost every "left" publication, each group predicated a Labor victory on the ALP's adopting its particular shopping list of reforms.

Prominent among these was the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Communist League (SWP/CL), that half-fused hybrid of Joseph Hansen's Australian followers and the Mandelite CL, which simply played the role of "left" propagandists for Labor. After a perfunctory disclaimer of confidence in the ALP leadership the SWP/CL declared, "This reactionary, capitalist government must be replaced by a Labor government" (*Direct Action/Militant*, 3 November). Was the Whitlam cabinet any *less* a capitalist government then? Perhaps not, but it "*could have* been" according to the SWP/CL!

It "could have," among other things, "legislated a shorter workweek and nationalisation of firms threatening layoffs to provide more jobs." Like all reformists, the SWP/CL really believes deep down that the bourgeois state is neutral—capable of serving as an instrument to systematically reform capitalist society in the workers' interests if only the right party is in government. After the elections the dejected electoral advisors of the SWP/CL moaned, "The final straw was Labor's low key election campaign as if the ALP leadership didn't really want to win" ("Where did Labor go wrong?" *Direct Action/Militant*, 15 December).

A number of ostensibly revolutionary organisations also stood candidates. The social-democratic Communist Party (CPA) and pro-Moscow Socialist Party candidates, however, presented no alternative to the parliamentary reformist road of the ALP. For communists to urge a vote for these parties, no matter how critical, would only build the authority of these small-time would-be replacements for Whitlam's ALP.

Qaddafi's Messengers on the Election Trail

Also standing three candidates was the Healyite Socialist Labour League (SLL), which claims to be far to the left of the CPA. But for all its bluster about building the "revolutionary party" to replace the Labor misleaders, the SLL incessantly echoed the reformist plea that the Labor traitors adopt "socialist policies" and contested seats only

against carefully selected "right-wing" ALP candidates. Moreover, the SLL's electoral focus on "Victory to the [Palestinian] PLO" underlined that a vote to these political bandits would have been a vote for their public relations campaign on behalf of anti-communist Libyan dictator, Muamar Qaddafi. It would have been a vote, too, for the SLL's opposition to the mass pickets needed to win the recent La Trobe Valley strike; and a vote for their incessant cop-baiting, slander and violence against other tendencies in the workers movement. The Spartacist League urged no vote to the SLL.

The ALP is a working-class party enjoying the support of millions of workers. We called for a vote to it on 10 December against the bosses' parties as an expression, however limited and distorted, of the need for an independent working-class alternative to the open political representatives of the bourgeoisie. But the only real benefit of having the Labor fakers in office is that it offers revolutionaries the opportunity to expose their treachery in practice. We do not, like the revisionists, raise the slogan, "For a Labor government," because we do not for a moment lend any support to the ALP's administration in office of the bourgeoisie's state apparatus.

Unlike the revisionists we seek to destroy the influence of the pro-capitalist ALP misleadersip within the working class, to build the Leninist vanguard party in counterposition to it—not to refurbish it with "socialist policies." Whitlam, Hawke, Hayden and their ilk must be ousted and replaced with a revolutionary leadership of the working class committed not to the bourgeois parliamentary fraud but to smashing the capitalist state and fighting for a genuine, revolutionary workers government. ■

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Postal Stewards Still Threatened

Militant Strikers Fend Off Canadian Post Office

TORONTO, 18 December—The six-day strike by members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) Toronto local last week demonstrated the power of labor solidarity in fighting the bosses' attacks. CUPW workers at the large South Central postal facility, which handles nearly half the country's mail walked off the job December 7. They were protesting management's attempt to indefinitely suspend nine members (including two executive board officials and four shops stewards) for leading a sit-down against the use of non-union Christmas help to perform jobs contractually assigned to union workers. Almost from the start of the strike, the picket lines were respected by postal truck drivers in the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), effectively halting mail service in Toronto and leading to a major backlog throughout the country during the busy pre-Christmas season.

Three days later CUPW voted to launch a full local strike. Management and the bourgeois media responded by stepping up their massive anti-union propaganda blitz. The press, television and radio newscasts screamed that "radical agitators" and "communists" were stirring up labor trouble in the post office in order to foment revolution. Newspapers ran front page articles "exposing" the fact that four of the suspended workers were members of the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour (CPL). Management tried to obtain an anti-strike court injunction against CUPW and tried to incite workers against their union by red-baiting strike leaders and actively encouraging and organizing scabbing.

But the vast majority of unionists held firm. At least 80 percent of the South Central employees remained out throughout the strike, and virtually all LCUC drivers continued to honor the CUPW lines. Even when management managed to organize a convoy of eleven trucks to cross picket lines and pick up mail on December 12, LCUC members blacked (boycotted) the scab mail and refused to remove it from the trucks to the postal stations. By standing united in the face of the bosses' attacks and provocations, the postal unions forced management to back down on the suspensions, and a return to work was negotiated by the early morning of December 13.

The Toronto strike took place in the context of a postal management union-busting drive across the country. The Post Office is trying to crush CUPW—in the recent past one of the most militant unions in all of Canada—in order to complete the implementation of a massive automation programme, which is eliminating thousands of postal jobs and leading to speed-up and worsened working conditions for the remaining workers. Taking advantage of the bureaucratically-engendered craft divisions among the postal unions (CUPW organizes 24,000 inside workers while LCUC has 18,000 outside workers and others are in smaller unions), the government has sought to isolate the militant CUPW workers in order to push through its automation scheme.

The government has wooed the conservative LCUC national leadership into a class-collaborationist system of union-management consultations aimed at promoting "industrial harmony." Preaching faith in management to solve the workers' problems, LCUC national president Robert McGarry signed an insulting sellout contract last summer, providing outside postal workers with no protection against technological change and leaving CUPW to go it alone against the government.

In contrast, CUPW president, Jean-Claude Parrut has sought to strike a militant posture, denouncing management's schemes for "industrial peace" as a trap for the workers, and demanding union veto power over technological change. Yet, Parrot's stance is no less class-collaborationist. The union is ham-strung by government anti-labor legislation—the Public Service Staff Relations Act (PSSRA), which prohibits negotiations over technological change and severely limits the right to strike. But rather than confront the PSSRA head-on through the kind of militant national strike action that built the postal union in the mid-1960's, Parrot has merely called for the Post Office to be transformed into a Crown Corporation, placing the unions under the terms of the Canada Labour Code.

While this legislation allows negotiations over automation, it too contains major restrictions on the right to strike, virtually identical to those in the PSSRA. Moreover, CUPW has been without a contract since last June, and Parrot has promised the government that there will be no national strike during the Christmas season despite the fact that this is when postal workers wield by far the most economic muscle to enable them to wrest major concessions from management.

Workers Unity Beats Divide-and-Conquer Schemes

During the past few years the criminal policies of the postal union leaderships have led CUPW and LCUC workers to scab on each others' strikes, weakening their fighting power and further emboldening the government. Management sought to exploit these divisions using the suspensions to attack CUPW and try to drive militants, including the CPL members, out of the Post Office. But the bosses didn't count on the strong show of solidarity and class consciousness by LCUC shop stewards, whose organization of support for the picket lines made the strike effective and gave a great lift to the strikers' morale. This solidarity dealt the key blow to management's "divide-and-conquer" schemes and prevented the strike from being smashed.

Two of the stewards who were most active in organizing LCUC support for the strike, Bob McBurney and Larry Boyes attended the December 10 CUPW mass meeting as invited guests of the CUPW local. McBurney was well received by the 800 or so unionists in attendance when he read an LCUC press statement defending the strike. The statement reported on a motion which had been submitted by McBurney and adopted unanimously by the LCUC stewards' body calling for an LCUC solidarity strike in the event that CUPW stayed out against a court injunction.

Despite arguments against a strike by right-wingers in the union who parroted the redbaiting attacks of the bourgeois press, the workers voted to go out across the city. Several speakers including suspended workers argued that a strike was an absolute necessity, for management was clearly on a union-busting offensive. Its attempt to suspend *elected leaders* of the CUPW local was a wholesale attack on the postal unions themselves—and was a key factor leading both the CUPW and the LCUC leaderships and the union ranks to stand behind the victimised militants.

The Trotskyist League of Canada (TL) distributed a leaflet at the meeting and on the picket lines showing how the inspiring CUPW/LCUC unity in Toronto pointed the way forward to defeating management attacks across the country. Not only was the CUPW now on strike in the most strategic area in the country but LCUC was supporting the walkout and the postal mechanics union had also been without a contract for nearly a year. A TL leaflet called on CUPW to seize the initiative to lay the basis for a united national strike of all postal unions, which would win a single contract for postal workers.

Such a common contract fight could lead to the creation of a powerful merged industrial union in the Post Office. It could also win key demands like a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to save jobs and make automation serve the workers, a closed shop and union hiring hall to stop management's use of non-union casual and term labor to undermine the strength of the bargaining unit. The TL went on to link postal workers' fight against their employer to the fight of the entire working class against this same government, its institutions and agencies like the PSSRA and the wage-control Anti-Inflation Board, and the capitalist class they all serve.

CPL Takes a Dive

Despite the fact that they were the main immediate target of management's attack, the CPL supporters in CUPW managed to junk their earlier demand that the local stay out until the suspensions were dropped with no reprisals against striking workers. When management and the union leadership agreed on a compromise back-to-work agreement on December 13, CPL's *The Worker* (21 December) hailed the settlement as a victory, won only thanks to its allegedly far-sighted leadership.

Yet the back-to-work accord definitively wiped out only two of the nine suspensions (both CPL members) while the other seven workers face an investigation of their cases by a management review board reporting to the Deputy Postmaster General. Furthermore, since CPL has no influence whatsoever among the Toronto LCUC drivers, its leaflets and *Worker* articles did not even see fit to mention the vital role of labor solidarity provided by the other union. After all, writing about the importance of LCUC support for the strike would have destroyed CPL's grandstanding claim that it alone prevented the strike's defeat.

The refusal of the CUPW bureaucracy to launch a real struggle against the victimizations, violation of union work rules and job-cutting by management has led to demoralization even within the ranks of the traditionally militant CUPW. This was reflected in the low turnout at the strike vote, the narrow margin by which the strike vote passed (50 votes out of 800), and the evidence of scabbing at smaller substations during the strike. A definitive victory can only be achieved by calling a nationwide strike of *all* postal workers. This is precisely what the CUPW bureaucracy refuses to do, and in the CPL's uncritical enthusing over the Toronto strike and its neglect of the need for joint action with the LCUC, it dropped this crucial demand as well.

While today the CPL is clearly under management attack, its supporters in the union have a long and sordid record of betraying elementary working-class principles. Thus CPLers in Toronto CUPW crossed picket lines to scab at a 1975 postal mechanics strike and have refused to defend supporters of other

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RMC: State Department Socialists?

An Exchange

11 October 1977

To the Editor:

Is it permissible to use any stick to beat the SWP? You would undoubtedly say that it isn't since you slam the wretched Healyites for their slander campaign against Joe Hansen. But on the very same page on which you justly attack that campaign ("Healyite Slander Mill Grinds On," *WV* No. 176, 7 October 1977) you show that you are not above mucking around in the sewers of the Stalinist press for what you call "real ammunition" against the SWP. For the nth time Erik Bert has unmasked the SWP as an anti-Soviet, pro-imperialist party. In Bert's tortured reasoning, the third campist RMC [Revolutionary Marxist Committee] has joined the SWP, third campism is pro-imperialist, the SWP is pro-imperialist. I wonder how such reasoning can impress you. There is a lot wrong with it.

Third campism may be a way station in the evolution of a tendency towards accommodation with imperialism. Then again it may not. It was in the case of Shachtman. It wasn't in the case of the Johnsonites. (By the way, when the SWP took in the Johnsonites in 1947, did that provide "real ammunition" to the Stalinists?) I presume that Robertson, Mage and Wohlforth were all third campists in their Shachtmanite days before joining the SWP. They weren't allies of the State Department, whether then or later. How then can you say that the RMC has entered the SWP to "build a base for State Department socialism"? The intent of your article was to show that the SWP is so compromised that even a Stalinist hack can occasionally aim a telling blow at them. The effect of your article was to show that even you can occasionally reason like a Stalinist hack. You owe the SWP an apology. Remember that the Trotskyist tradition includes the struggle against amalgams and frame-ups. Otherwise you risk stumbling into the path of your former associates, the Healyites.

David Herreshoff

October 11, 1977

Greetings,

I have a few comments and a comradely criticism of your article "C.P. Nails S.W.P." in the Oct. 7 issue of *Workers Vanguard*.

I basically agree with the two main points of your article, one, that S.W.P. with its blatant reformism and its, at best, lukewarm attitude toward defense of the workers states adds fuel to the Stalinist propaganda fire and secondly that groups like Revolutionary Marxist Committee, International Socialists etc. with their false theory of the workers states being state capitalist and their subsequent refusal to defend these states against imperialism is objectively against the interests of World Revolution.

The only problem I have with the article is at the end, when you refer to the R.M.C. as "State Department Socialists."

That term strongly implies that groups like the R.M.C. aren't composed of dedicated militants who sincerely want a socialist world, but whose political theory is incapable of bringing that about, but instead that they are groups that consciously, directly, serve imperialism, C.I.A. or F.B.I. fronts!

I doubt very much if that's what you meant, but in the interests of political clarity and to avoid even a remote appearance of an unprincipled slander towards honest (but politically wrong) militants I feel that you should avoid that term in the future.

I would be interested to read your comments on the matter.

Communist Greetings,
Stan Woods
Denver, Colorado

WORKERS VANGUARD REPLIES:

Our article, "Even With Lies—CP Nails SWP" (*WV* No. 176, 7 October) has kicked up quite a fuss. We are attacked for it not only in two letters to *WV*, but even in the letters column of the SWP's *Militant*. The SWP and its friends have good reason to be defensive.

At issue is the August 1977 fusion between the SWP and the former Revolutionary Marxist Committee (RMC) which had earlier pulled out of the decomposing Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League, maintaining the latter group's Stalinophobic line on the Russian question. The RMCers continue to hold that the USSR and the other deformed workers states are "state capitalist" and thus there is no class basis for defending them against imperialism. Their "Platform" states that "Stalinist Parties...stand for the complete statification of capitalism and the elevation of their own leading strata to the status of state capitalist bourgeoisies" (*Revolutionary Marxist Papers* No. 11, March 1977).

If the SWP defended this fusion on the basis that it will help the SWP build rallies for "human rights for gays" and cozy up to Jimmy Carter's "democratic" anti-Sovietism, life would be easier and polemics shorter. But the SWP is not ready to so explicitly repudiate the Trotskyist position on the Russian question. Thus it must yell "slander!" at those who expose the SWP-RMC fusion as a signpost of the SWP's social-democratic trajectory.

To justify this open-door policy for Shachtmanites, the SWP and its friends must distort the history of revolutionary Trotskyism. Often, as with Herreshoff's letter, these distortions are tossed off as "common knowledge" and not-so-common "sense." We are taking the occasion of these two letters to *WV* to unravel the knot of self-serving obscurantism by which the SWP hopes to conceal its real program and appetites.

It is a species of political fantasy to raise the question of "State Department socialism" as though it were an academic dispute whose main purpose was to separate various organizations on the political landscape of the left. It is not simply that one tendency takes a position in defense of the USSR while another does not. These questions are pale ideological reflections of a ferocious struggle between the Soviet Union and U.S. imperialism. Positions on the Russian question are shaped by a powerful reality that explodes on the barricades in Lisbon or the battlefields of Angola. The CIA is real. The entire payload and influence of the capitalist class is weighted and aimed at the destruction of the Soviet Union whose industrial and military might—despite the treacherous bureaucracy—stands between imperialism and its dreams of reconquest of the deformed workers states.

It is because of this overwhelming reality of a war which runs hot and cold that political characterizations are not a matter simply of subjective sincerity, as Woods suggests. Under the pounding pressure of the bourgeoisie, subjectively sincere "anti-Stalinists" are caught up in the whirlwind of imperialism's assault upon the USSR. The ruling class knows how to reward its witting and unwitting apologists. We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of a Norman Thomas, but neither do we excuse the role that he, an avowed partisan of the working people, played in the service of the State Department. As James Cannon said, describing the political and programmatic content of Stalinophobia:

> "The sentiment of hatred and fear of Stalinism, with its police state and its slave labor camps, its frame-ups and its murders of working class opponents, is healthy, natural, normal and progressive. This sentiment goes wrong only when it leads to reconciliation with American imperialism, and to the assignment of the fight against Stalinism to that same imperialism. In the language of Trotskyism, that and nothing else is Stalinophobia.... We should tell the party members that Stalinophobia is indeed a deadly disease, and that its germs are carried in the air of imperialist America."
>
> —Letter to Farrell Dobbs, 6 April 1953

"Muddlers and pacifists of the world, all ye suffering from the pin-pricks of fate, rally to the 'third' camp!"

—L. Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1940

The Militant

Ex-Trotskyists of the SWP welcome third-camp RMC into party.

"State Department Socialism"

Both our letter writers object to the use of the term "State Department socialism" to characterize the RMC. Woods seems unfamiliar with the Trotskyist movement's use of the term, and writes that it designates "groups that consciously, directly, serve imperialism, CIA or FBI fronts." He takes the term as some kind of cop-bait. But the phrase has a long tradition of usage by Trotskyists to politically characterize a current within the workers movement which supported U.S. imperialism's "cold war" against the USSR. It describes "socialists" with a terminal case of Stalinophobia—those whose active role in supporting imperialist "democracy" against Stalinist "totalitarianism" places them in a political bloc with the U.S. State Department.

The term took hold among the revolutionists after the social democrats had formed a bloc with U.S. imperialism over the Korean war and had led the government-directed anti-red purges in the unions. On 28 January 1957 a front-page *Militant* headline described the merger between the Socialist Party (SP) and the Social Democratic Federation (SDF) in just three words: "State Department 'Socialism'." The article quoted the social democrats: "We realize that until universal, enforceable disarmament can be achieved, the free world and its democratically established military agencies must be constantly on guard against the military drive of the Communist dictators"!

These "socialists" had aligned themselves four-square with the war policies of the State Department. In the name of "democracy" and "socialism" they had taken the line that the main enemy was the USSR and its Communist "agents" in the trade unions. As the then-revolutionary SWP said: "The SP-SDF calls itself 'democratic socialist'. Their foreign policy resolution, however, strengthens their title to the label, 'State Department socialist'" (*Militant*, 16 July 1958).

When the Independent Socialist League of Max Shachtman stepped into this merger of right-wing social democrats in 1957, the SWP's Myra Tanner Weiss correctly summed up the Shachtmanites' course, from their 1940 split from the SWP to their embrace of the SP: "When Max Shachtman and the ISL accept this kind of State Department 'democracy' and they try to pass it off as socialism they have passed the point of no return from revolutionary Marxism to reformism" (*Militant*, 21 January 1957). The Shachtmanites took their oath of loyalty to social democracy:

> "...We do not subscribe to any creed known as Leninism or defined as such. We do not subscribe to any creed known as Trotskyism or defined as such.... We are strongly in favor of a broad party with full party democracy for all, which does not demand creedal conformity on all questions.... Such conformity typifies the sect; it is alien to a living, democratic, socialist political movement...."
>
> —*New International*, Spring-Summer 1958

It is from this Shachtmanite "point of no return" that the International Socialists, then the RSL and the RMC, developed.

Herreshoff as Historian

David Herreshoff, as *WV* readers may recall, has been a fairly regular contributor to our letters column. We have become accustomed to his selective histories of the SWP, designed to suggest a continuity between yesterday's revolutionary party and today's reformists. We do not mind debating with would-be repositories of Trotskyist history, but we insist that the history be clarified rather than obscured in the process.

Unlike Woods, Herreshoff well understands the use of the term "State Department socialism." What he disagrees with is our assessment of the SWP-RMC fusion as an important

demonstration that the SWP has in practice dumped the defense of the Soviet Union. He lectures us on the nature of third campism, with examples from the gospel of SWP history according to David Herreshoff:

> "Third campism may be a way station in the evolution of a tendency toward accommodation with imperialism. Then again it may not. It was in the case of Shachtman. It wasn't in the case of the Johnsonites."

The unsuspecting reader is supposed to conclude that *WV* makes no distinctions—or, worse, that we are making an amalgam in order to smear the RMC. But we recognize an important political distance between those tendencies which reject the defense of the Soviet Union due to pressure from their own ruling classes and those who do so out of a primitive workerism and elemental revulsion against the anti-working-class practices of Stalinism. This latter view assumes the angle of vision of an ultra-left syndicalist who sees only that the bureaucracy daily grinds down the working class and cannot recognize that the bureaucracy also rests upon the gains of a revolution that must be defended.

We recognize two traditions of "state capitalism" within the workers movement: an ultra-left tradition that begins with Bogdanov's Workers Group among the anti-NEP formations in Lenin's revolutionary Russia and continues through the various anarcho-syndicalist groups—including for instance Grandizo Munis, whose split from Trotskyism to state capitalism was in an ultra-leftist rather than a social-democratic direction; and the right-wing tradition which begins with Kautsky's "democratic" critique of "totalitarian" Russia and continues through classic social democracy. At certain conjunctures, of course, these two traditions can come together, as they did in the U.S. over the Korean war.

It is not *WV* but Herreshoff who confuses these two traditions. We have clearly stated that the RMC is in the Shachtmanite tradition. What does he say about the RMC? Nothing. He hazards no defense of the RMC against the characterization of "State Department socialism." Instead he lectures us about "state capitalist" tendencies in general and reminds us that in 1947 the SWP fused with the "third camp" Johnson-Forrest group. Presumably, because the SWP fused with this grouping in 1947, it's okay to fuse with the RMC in 1977.

In describing the RMC as "building a base for State Department socialism" we are discussing a particular group at a particular time on a particular trajectory, and with a particular history on the Russian question. Does Herreshoff mean to suggest that the RMC is politically similar to the Johnsonites? Then let him say so. Does the tradition of State Department socialism impinge on the RMC? He would prefer to lecture us that not all "third camp" groups are the same, hoping to justify the present fusion on the basis of a different fusion in 1947 between a revolutionary party and something which we can all agree was not a "State Department socialist" formation.

The Johnson Fusion In Hindsight

The 1947 Johnsonite-SWP fusion which David Herreshoff raises makes an instructive comparison. At first glance there are some similarities between Johnson-Forrest and the RMC. Both were Detroit-centered cliques inside a clique-ridden Shachtmanite organization. Both were "state-cap" minorities who claimed to base their fusion on unity over "the American question." There the analogies stop short.

The Johnsonites and even the SWP of 1947 believed that the Russian question could be temporarily placed on the back burner in the face of an expected explosion of struggle by the U.S. proletariat, "the coming American Revolution." Both tendencies underestimated the pervasive political effects of the cold war carried out by a victorious U.S. imperialism with the aid of a treacherous labor bureaucracy pushing the myth of the "American Century." In failing to understand that the Russian question would continue to be a signal test of the revolutionary fiber of any organization, they made a serious miscalculation—as the subsequent fate of the fusion was to demonstrate. The onset of the Korean war blew the SWP-Johnson fusion apart. This group which entered in 1947 with a fundamental difference over the Russian question departed the SWP intact in 1950—over the Russian question.

The political basis for the SWP-Johnsonite fusion was laid by Cannon's 1946 "Theses on the Coming American Revolution." Although flawed by its American-centered focus, the theses presented what the Johnson group recognized as the "open, unconcealed perspective of revolution." Proletarian and combative in thrust, it presents quite a different class axis and spirit than the lukewarm reformism, electoralism and petty-bourgeois radicalism which the present-day SWP markets under the title, "Prospects for American Socialism."

With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to say that the fusion with the Johnsonites did not work. As Cannon said in May 1953: "The Johnsonites were personal cultist followers of Johnson as a Messiah... they all left the party at the same hour, Eastern Standard Time" (*Speeches to the Party*). Was the attempt therefore a mistake that should have been recognized by revolutionists at the time? Something closer to political insight than historical hindsight is needed to address that question. The 1947 fusion must be understood within the context of SWP-Workers Party (WP—Shachtman's organization) unity negotiations which had been going on (and off) for years.

These unity maneuvers were quite important for the SWP, as the WP was a centrist party which claimed to be Trotskyist. It was the obtrusive formation which occupied the political terrain between the revolutionary SWP and social-democratic reformism. The unity tactics were meant to produce a period of "clarification" and to pose to the WP membership the stark choice between the revolutionary Trotskyism of the SWP and the "State Department socialist camp" where Shachtman's organization finally ended up in 1957.

Cannon knew in 1947 that the WP was moving to the right, but he apparently acceded to the intervention of the International Secretariat, which directly engineered a unity proposition for Max Shachtman. On the understanding that the WP would abide by the discipline and decisions of the upcoming World Congress of the Fourth International, Cannon and Shachtman drew up a unity proposal between the SWP and WP which was published in February 1947. Discussions were carried out with the Johnsonite clique, which at that time was clearly committed to unity with the SWP.

By the summer of 1947 the prospect of fusion with the WP as a whole had gone up in smoke. What had happened? "Along came the Truman Doctrine," explained Cannon to a New York membership meeting in June: a "new violent campaign leading to war with the Soviet Union under the leadership of Truman and Marshall." The Truman Doctrine, enunciated in March, sent the WP right wing on a binge of red-baiting anti-Communist activity. Cannon declared that the political differences, tested in this new crisis, had broken down the perspective of unity with the Shachtmanites:

> "... The Truman Doctrine, the central question of the day, the open announcement of American imperialism that they are going to conquer the world with atomic warfare—we wouldn't even think of a joint meeting with the Shachtmanites on that."
> —*Writings and Speeches, 1945-1947*

Why, then, fuse with the Johnsonites? Precisely because the Johnsonites did not respond as did the WP right wing, whose main target for attack was Stalinism. As Shachtman swerved right under the impact of the imperialist Truman Doctrine inaugurating the "cold war," the Johnsonites swung left, joining with the SWP in declaring that the main enemy was at home.

With the breakdown in unity negotiations, Cannon forthrightly declared that the original proposal was "an error on my part" in assessing the WP's proposals for unity as a "left turn" and a capitulation to the Fourth International. "To capitulate to the Fourth International," he had said, "that is an honor to any revolutionist and a sign that he doesn't want to capitulate to the American bourgeoisie" (*Writings 1945-1947*). When the Shachtmanites capitulated to the bourgeoisie by solidarizing with imperialist "anti-Stalinism," unity was off the agenda. But the Johnson group did capitulate to the SWP. The 1947 fusion ripped the left arm away from the WP.

The stripping away of the Shachtmanite left wing was a process not finally completed until 1957. Herreshoff distorts history again when he adds Wohlforth-Robertson-Mage (who broke from the Independent Socialist League at the time of its entry into the Socialist Party) into his equation and implies that this was another case of fusions between the SWP and state capitalists. In fact, these comrades came to Trotskyism and the SWP with a *defensist* position on the Russian question. This regroupment was part of the resolution of Shachtmanism into its components: "Trotskyism" on the one hand, "State Department socialism" on the other. As a spokesman for the Trotskyist regroupment which took place in opposition to the right-social-democratic regroupment of Shachtman, Wohlforth correctly characterized the latter as representing "state department democracy" ("What the Radical Youth Need," *Fourth International*, Winter 1958).

The young Shachtmanites who came over to the SWP understood the political logic of Shachtman's course from "third camp" Stalinophobe to cold warrior:

> "In 1951 Shachtman wrote:
> "'Without hesitation or ambiguity, we can say that *the* only greater disaster that humanity could suffer *than the war itself*, which would be disaster enough if it broke out, would be the victory of Stalinism as the outcome of the war.' (emphasis added)
> "With this perspective, the ISL was forced to seek a basis for its anti-war policy in the forces existing within the framework of capitalist imperialism. Twist and turn as it would, it was, if tenuously, tied within that framework."
> —James Robertson, "Statement of Resignation from the ISL," 12 April 1957

Entrism and Fusions

If the revolutionary SWP of 1947 may have erred in trying to assimilate the cultist Johnsonite state cap-ers despite agreement on the "American question," the present-day RMC is at least free of naiveté about the role of the Russian question in the current fusion. In an important July 1977 document, "Road to Unity" by RMC leader Shelley Kramer, the RMC describes the "dissident" movement in the Soviet bloc as the "critical question which will subject the entire Trotskyist movement to its most decisive test since the 1950's" (*Revolutionary Marxist Papers* No. 14, July 1977).

In its smug articles on the fusion the SWP takes the tack that the RMC was so impressed by the SWP's American perspectives that it rejected its "sectarian" (read Shachtmanite) heritage and opted for the SWP despite differences on the Russian question. They get indignant over the charge that the RMC—less than enthused over the prospects of independent small-group existence on the fringes of the crisis-ridden centrist left—"gave up" on any impulse toward real Trotskyist politics, embarked on a search for a larger host and found the SWP. And they howl "slander!" when anyone attempts to show (the Communist Party through distortions, the SL through political analysis) that an important political underpinning of the fusion is the SWP's de facto abandonment of Soviet defensism as it sucks up to the "democratic" bourgeoisie.

The RMC came to the SWP nominally on an explicit entry tactic. Whether this was left window-dressing to reassure doubting elements among the RMC ranks that the fusion did not really represent a sellout to reformism, or whether the RMC leaders really believe they can win the SWP to state capitalism, remains to be seen. But the RMC vowed to continue its battle for the "third camp" within the SWP. A pre-fusion RMC internal bulletin discussed the entry tactic (e.g., the "French Turn" carried out by the Trotskyists in the 1930's) and stated:

> "Through such involvement we, too, seek to erect the structure of a revolutionary party on the scaffold we now have—our political platform. For us, this effort can begin on a much higher level, since most of the Trotskyist milieu, especially the USec and the SWP, stand on many of the same principles we do."
> —"Splits and Fusions in the Formation of the Fourth International," RMC *Internal Bulletin* Vol. III, No. 12, June 1977

Some months previously, the RMC had discussed its reasons, political and otherwise, for eschewing any such orientation toward the SL, which it described as a "monolithic organization with no established tradition of minority rights... an intolerance for long term

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Jean Guyaux

"State Department socialism" in action: Anti-communist leader Soares praised the "popular uprising" against Stalinism.

Peace Talks...

(continued from page 1)

The Begin plan is but an empty ploy to sanctify the oppressive status quo in the West Bank. Under the present Zionist military occupation, Palestinian Arabs may already elect their own mayors, except they may not organize parties or nationalist organizations. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is banned and propaganda is subject to military censorship. More militant candidates have been deported or jailed, and any significant decision made by such elected mayors must be ratified by the local Israeli military commander. None of this would change under Begin's phony plans for "self-government" in the West Bank.

Cairo Conference: No Flags, No Names, Empty Chairs

Begin's new-found friend in Cairo remained silent on the merits of the "secret" Israeli plan, but it won for the former Irgun *Führer* a Christmas Day invitation to Sadat's plush villa in Ismailia. Meanwhile the Cairo Conference quickly degenerated into a vaudeville of protocol, held in the ornate Mena House, the former palace of the nineteenth-century Khedides, the Turkish viceroys of the Ottoman Empire. Here under the Giza pyramids Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek came together in 1943 to pledge China to the "democratic" imperialists.

Sadat's conference opened around a table at which five of the chairs remained empty, for the invited representatives of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, the Soviet Union and the PLO, all of whom boycotted the conference. But since the Zionists refuse to recognize the PLO, they refused to sit at a conference table even with a name plate for the PLO before an empty chair. After three long and heated meetings the name plate was replaced with one reading "Palestine." Then the Israeli delegation protested about the presence of an "unidentified flag" flown outside. The offending red, white, green and black flag of the PLO was taken down along with the other eight.

After several days of this burlesque the four participating delegations from the U.S., the UN, Israel and Egypt announced that "progress had been made." But there is more involved here than Zionist sensibilities to even the most token expression of Palestinian national existence. Zionism is a racialist ideology and Israel is a racialist state based on the total obliteration of the Palestinian nation.

The PLO was particularly outraged by Sadat's courtship of the butcher of Deir Yassin, but the Palestinian masses should not have been surprised. The consistent policy of all the Arab states, from the most reactionary emirate to the most radical "socialist" colonel's regime, has been to suppress the national aspirations of the Palestinians as well as the yearnings of their own toiling masses for liberation from exploitation.

Following the failure of the 1973 Geneva Conference, the "progressive" army officers and feudal sheiks and kings held a summit meeting of that legacy of British imperialism, the Arab League. At the meeting held in Rabat, Morocco the Palestine Liberation Organization was named "sole representative of the Palestinian people." The PLO was given all the trappings and none of the substance of state power. Among the trappings are a seat in the Arab League, an observer's seat at the UN and a promise of a seat at any reconvened Geneva Conference.

In exchange the PLO was to settle for a West Bank-Gaza "homeland." This "homeland" has the same meaning in this context as it does when applied to the Bantustans created by South African apartheid: isolated and economically unviable remnants of their former land. Ironically the land now promised to the PLO as its "homeland," which was conquered by Israel in the 1967 war, was originally annexed by the Arab League states in the 1948 war from the former Palestine. Thus the PLO's job was to convince the Palestinian masses that the butchers of their nation in 1948 would be its liberators today. Now Egypt has once again starkly revealed that the bourgeois Arab rulers are no saviors of the Palestinian people.

"Rejectionists" Reject Each Other

Sadat consulted none of the Arab states prior to his Jerusalem pilgramage, for obvious reasons. Most vociferous in denouncing his "betrayal" of the Palestinian cause were the so-called "rejectionists": Libya, Iraq and Iraq's clients within the PLO, the Arab Liberation Front (ALF) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The "rejectionists" reject any negotiations with the Zionist state and any solution other than total military victory over Israel. The Baghdad colonels called for the overthrow of Sadat and any other Arab ruler who presumes to talk of a settlement with Israel. The latter anathema is clearly directed at their Ba'athist brethren in Damascus.

Sadat disparagingly dismissed the "rejectionists" as "night club militants" whose bellicose rhetoric is inversely proportional to their real military contribution to the struggle against Israel. But the "rejectionists" were joined by Syria, Egypt's main ally in the 1967 and 1973 wars and traditionally a bitter rival of Iraq for leadership of the Ba'athist "Arab Revolution" and for the waters of the Euphrates. Syria's fear of an Egyptian-Israeli separate peace which would leave it militarily isolated drove it to denounce Sadat and at least temporarily downplay its animosity for Iraq by attending the "rejectionist" conference in Tripoli. But Syria, which borders Israel and has the bulk of its army bogged down strangling Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, and the rest of its army guarding its borders from its Ba'athist rivals in Iraq, is militarily too weak and too threatened to afford to join the "rejectionists" outright.

At the Tripoli conference, Iraq precipitated its own walkout by demanding that the participants accept a program that was both "rejectionist" and an explicit attack on Syria. In addition to calling for repudiation of UN resolutions 242 and 348 and for no negotiations with Israel, the Iraqis called for a total withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon, total mobilization against the "Zionist enemy," "liberation of all Palestinian and Arab land," and "a clear policy to govern relations between the Palestinian movement and Syria to guarantee independence of movement and freedom of action."

Of course, Damascus has massacred thousands of Palestinians in the course of suppressing Lebanon's communal strife, which it feared would spill over into Syria. But these demands are utterly hypocritical coming from the Baghdad colonels, who until they made a deal with the Shah of Iran had the bulk of their army mobilized not to fight the "Zionist enemy" but against the Kurdish struggle for self-determination. Even Iraq's "rejectionist" clients within the PLO—the ALF and PFLP—"rejected" the Iraqi walkout. And the Palestinian "rejectionists" united with the anti-"rejectionist" Arafat leadership of the PLO to endorse a joint communiqué of all the remaining participants proposing a "united front" of the PLO with the Syrian army which has been slaughtering it for the past two years.

"Separate Peace" Is the Road to Global War

While the Tripoli conference denounced the Sadat visit to Jerusalem as an imperialist-Zionist conspiracy, the rulers of U.S. imperialism acted like very surprised "conspirators." Elements in Washington see stabilization of the Near East as set back by a separate peace between Egypt and Israel in which the Palestinian question is unresolved. Israel still militarily occupies the West Bank and the Golan Heights. That is why Sadat's visit to Jerusalem was opposed not only by "rejectionists" like Libya and Iraq, but also by reactionary feudalistic regimes like Jordan and Saudi Arabia, who fear Sadat's escapades may result in his overthrow and the destabilization of the shaky bonapartist regime in Egypt.

While the U.S. supplied the military hardware for Israel's 1967 victory, it opposed Israel's retention of the spoils of that victory as a threat to stability of other reactionary regimes in the Near East. For example, when Israel moved its capital from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem to consolidate the spoils of that victory, the U.S. and other imperialist powers refused to recognize the new capital and kept their embassies in Tel Aviv. That is what makes the Sadat visit to the Knesset in Jerusalem particularly egregious to Arab League states: not only does it sanction the existence of Israel, it sanctions Israeli incorporation of the conquests of the 1967 war.

The Jordanian civil war of 1970 which almost brought down the Hashemite throne, as well as last year's Lebanese communal war brought home to the U.S. imperialists the urgency of finding an imperialist solution to the Palestinian question. The 1973 war in which the U.S. and USSR came close to a global nuclear confrontation and the subsequent oil boycott made it obvious to the various imperialist powers that an overall solution to the Near East crisis was in their immediate interests. Consequently the new Carter administration in Washington brought in a coterie of policymakers, including his "Dr. Strangelove" national security advisor Zbiginiew Brzezinski, committed to a "comprehensive solution" incorporating the Rabat decisions (recognition of the PLO and a West Bank-Gaza Palestinian "homeland") and involving the Russians at Geneva.

But this option comes directly into conflict first with Israel, the U.S.' traditional client state in the Near East, and with Egypt, which under Sadat is offering itself up as a new client state to American imperialism. This conflict is utterly inexplicable to New Leftists and other fake-socialist apologists for Arab nationalism who simply equate Zionism with U.S. imperialism. The Zionist ruling class of capitalist Israel will only be able to suppress the enormous social and class contradictions by a policy of continuous territorial expansion and war mobilization, even when this contributes to the overall political

Gamma

Israeli half-track passes burning equipment in Golan Heights during 1973 war.

Sergio Zalis

Jerusalem crowd hails meeting of butchers Begin and Sadat.

destabilization of the Near East and therefore is directly counterposed to the interests of Washington. U.S. pressure on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories, an unacceptable policy for the Zionist establishment, has resulted only in the election of the more intransigent Begin regime.

Sadat drew his own conclusions from the Begin electoral victory: there would be no peace along the lines of Rabat as long as Begin was in power. But having broken his ties with Moscow, he lacked spare parts, technical maintenance capacity, new tanks, artillery and interceptors. Since Egypt was not prepared to fight another war, his conclusion was: a separate peace with Israel. Begin, eager to divide his enemies, has accepted. And the U.S. is reluctantly going along. But an Egyptian-Israeli separate peace would, in the words of the Tripoli communiqué, indeed transform Syria into the "main confrontation state"—and under very unfavorable circumstances. With Israel armed to the teeth with the latest sophisticated heavy weaponry and Begin girding for war, Syria's rulers must escalate their defensive preparations. This means deepening their reliance on their sole benefactor, the USSR, with all that this implies in terms of a spiralling arms build-up in the Near East and increased likelihood of a U.S./Russian nuclear confrontation.

This perilous situation is also the product of the counterrevolutionary policy of the Kremlin, which has sought through military bribery to further its interests by building up a bloc of ostensibly neutral countries not directly linked to Western imperialism. This policy of ephemeral influence peddling has reaped a reactionary whirlwind as the Russians are expelled from one country after another, beginning with Egypt in 1971 and most recently Somalia. Had the military aid gone to the Arab masses instead of their reactionary rulers, had a Soviet government committed to extending the gains of the October Revolution inspired these masses to revolutionary struggle against their exploiters, the threat of a nuclear confrontation over the Near East would have been taken off the agenda long ago by proletarian revolution. The Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" merely contributes to the threat of a global conflagration.

War Weariness and Class War

Both Begin and Sadat are sitting atop volcanos of explosive social and class contradictions. Both are in fundamental agreement with U.S. imperialism, the International Monetary Fund, the Chilean junta and its advisor, Dr. Milton Friedman, about what to do about these pressing difficulties: denationalization, destatification, removal of fetters on currency and commodity speculation, inflation; cutbacks in social services, subsidies for food and essential services; a wage freeze, and so on.

The Friedman/IMF "shock treatment" has its price, of course. In Egypt this ruthless policy unleashed massive strikes and rioting last January during which at least 79 people were killed. These riots were the most extensive and national in scale as have been seen in the history of modern Egypt. Likewise in Israel, the Begin regime's attempts to institute similar economic policies last month led to a massive strike wave defying once again the petty-bourgeois nationalist myth that the Israeli working class is inseparably wedded to its rulers and incapable of class struggle.

In the past the capitalist rulers of the Near East have been able to periodically dissipate class contradictions in the chauvinist hysteria of wars of "national salvation." No doubt Sadat explored this option briefly with his border clash with Libya earlier this year, and Begin with his terror bombing of South Lebanon. But the Egyptian economy must pay for this diversion with military expenditures amounting to one-fifth of its national budget. In Israel fully 35 percent of the gross national product is devoted to the military, contributing to an inflation which may reach 50 percent this year.

Despite a large economic gap, both Egypt and Israel are impoverished, war-weary nations. The spontaneous jubilation which broke out over the sham "peace" rhetoric of the Sadat/Begin theatrics demonstrates the intensity with which this war weariness is felt throughout the population. Sadat and Begin desperately need distractions to take the minds of the working masses of Israel and the Cairo slums off their destitution and grinding toil. But no matter how many flamboyant conferences they hold, they will not for long be able to distract the workers from the decline in their living standards and the terror and intimidation brought about by constant militarization. They will never for a moment delude the Palestinian youths from the West Bank who bitterly greeted the Egyptian president with the chant, "Sadat Go Home."

The discontent of the Egyptian workers and peasants, of the West Bank Arab youth and the Israeli working class must be harnessed to the program of permanent revolution through the creation of a party of proletarian internationalism, the reborn Fourth International. Not national unity but class unity! Israel out of the occupied territories! For the right of self-determination of the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking people! Land to the fellahin! Down with the reactionary regimes from Tripoli and Riyadh to Cairo and Tel Aviv! For proletarian revolution in the Near East! ■

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Coal Strike...

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the three scab mines to close up voluntarily in order to weed out troublemakers, a proposal which the operators spurned. Instead of relying on the militant ranks, union leaders then requested Utah governor Scott Matheson close the mines and, predictably, he refused as well.

All three mines opened December 9. Scabs were helicoptered into the Plateau compound and buses—their windows covered with wire mesh—transported the strikebreakers into the others behind a "human wall" of over 90 Utah Highway Patrolmen. Temporary restraining orders have been passed out to over 1,000 striking miners barring interference with the scabs and a spokesman for the governor stated that the National Guard was being kept appraised of further developments.

Despite the machinations of the Miller regime, the rank-and-file miners have shown no lack of resourcefulness in waging their strike. However, because of the abdication of strike leadership, not only of the Miller bureaucracy but also the district leaderships, these actions, undertaken spontaneously by groups of militants, have remained partial and sporadic.

Most importantly, in order to break their isolation, militants must demand not only that their picket lines be respected, but that active appeals be addressed to non-union miners to join the strike with demands for union recognition. Such an appeal, combined with the fight for real gains such as fully-funded health and pension benefits not tied to tonnage, would have an impact on thousands of non-union miners. One miner in Cabin Creek, West Virginia told *WV* that some of the non-union pits could be organized in 15 minutes if the International would take the time to sign the workers up. But in the West UMWA organizing efforts have virtually ground to a halt.

The criminal passivity of the International is only compounded by its weak-kneed willingness to make miserable concessions at the bargaining table and its refusal to even call out the entire UMWA. Agreeing that miners should pay a portion of their medical expenses, as well as permitting UMWA members to scab on the strike, can only repel non-union miners.

In the western coal fields eight contracts have already been settled and another is expected imminently. These are surface sub-bituminous and lignite mines which in 1974 were part of the Western Surface Agreement with the union. This year they pulled out of the multi-employer group under that contract, forcing the union to negotiate with each company separately. These "independents" include giants like Peabody and Consolidation—the two top producers in the industry—which also own struck mines in the East and Midwest.

Miller claimed that the western mine operators, unlike their counterparts of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, were showing a willingness to bargain on all issues. In several cases the "reasonable" western bosses are the identical companies which are being struck in the East. Furthermore, Steve Galati, UMWA Director of Contract Administration and co-leader of western negotiations, told *WV* that this officially sanctioned scabbing is taking place in western districts where other union mines are on strike. Galati justified the current scab policy by pointing to the same practice during the last strike. First the strip miners worked under a six-day extension while eastern miners struck and were sold out, and then in February, 1975 "...these same miners, these strip miners, was on strike for some five and half months and the deep miners worked...."

Militants must resist this defeatist division among the union ranks. All U.S. and Canadian mines must be shut down! No union member should return to work until every union local has a contract. This must include both production and construction workers, in deep and strip mines both in the East and West.

Labor Solidarity Key

Despite the huge stockpiles and continuing movement of scab coal, no wing of the UMWA bureaucracy—Miller, Patrick or Patterson, the three warring cliques in last summer's election—has advocated an approach to maritime, rail and steel unions for labor solidarity action. But union militants, nevertheless, have attempted to take steps to choke off coal supplies before they reach the furnaces and boilers of the mills and power companies.

Pickets in Cherry Tree, Pennsylvania stopped a coal train for eight hours which was bound for a Pittsburgh area power plant. On December 15, 30 pickets stood at yard entrances of the Norfolk and Western Railway in Bluefield, West Virginia in an appeal to railroad unionists to "hot cargo" scab coal. Others picketed in Jazewell and Buchanan counties in Virginia. One picket in Bluefield carried a placard inscribed "United we stand, divided we fall" and told a reporter the demonstration would continue until "the N and W stops moving non-union coal" (*Bluefield Daily Telegraph*, 15 December). When UMWA members threw up a picket line at the Utah Power and Light Company in protest of non-union coal shipments into the plant, 200 plant employees honored the lines and returned home.

The allies of the miners are the ranks of the U.S. labor movement, particularly the workers in related industries such as steel and railroads. The railroad contract expires in less than two weeks and management is demanding a wholesale revision of work rules and reduction in crew sizes. Steelworkers are groaning under massive layoffs and the corporations' attempts to rationalize the industry on their backs. A joint strike waged by these unions could crush the BCOA offensive, as well as win the just demands of steel and railroad workers.

The encrusted labor bureaucracy, such as the McBride regime in the Steelworkers, hates and fears the militancy of the miners, and will do everything to seal off its membership from the coal strikers. But a mass appeal launched for a united struggle against the bosses would receive a sympathetic response in the rank and file of the steel and rail unions.

The conduct of the strike cannot be left in the hands of the treacherous Miller bureaucracy, which has shown its willingness to abandon demands for the right to strike and full company-paid health care; which allows sections of the UMWA to scab; which criminally refuses to organize picketing of non-union mines; and which rejects any appeal for solidarity to other sections of the working class. Meanwhile, Miller's bureaucratic opponents in the UMWA, the Patricks and Pattersons, sit on their hands and say nothing, perfectly content to let Miller bear sole responsibility for defeat.

Militants in the UMWA must demand the immediate convening of mass district meetings, where democratically elected strike committees can be established capable of implementing the class struggle policies necessary for victory. No Restrictions on the Right to Strike! Organize the Non-Union Mines! Hot-Cargo Coal! For a Joint Strike of Coal, Steel and Rail Workers! Victory to the Miners Strike! ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard is published bi-weekly in December. The next issue will be dated 6 January 1978.

RMC...

(continued from page 7)

differences" ("Trotskyist Unification and the Immediate Tasks of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee," *Revolutionary Marxist Papers* No. 11, March 1977). Of course, the SL is not "monolithic" and the baseless charge that SL oppositionists are not accorded "minority rights" is particularly grotesque coming from a grouping headed toward the bureaucratic SWP. But the RMC was correct that the SL would not consider fusing with an organization which has the RMC's hardened line on the Russian question, especially an organization derived from Shachtmanism which had not broken from that key plank in the anti-Marxist Shachtmanite methodology.

In a Bolshevik organization factionalism is a crucial mechanism of serious programmatic struggle. A disciplined combat party (unlike a social-democratic formation whose "unity" does not derive from program) must be "intolerant" of "long term differences." The RMC had been told in no uncertain terms that the SL would not welcome an entrist maneuver or embrace a "fusion" which included a perspective of permanent programmatic divergence on central questions. In the SWP, the RMC perhaps thinks it has found a suitable culture medium which will nurture it as a more-or-less permanent "state cap" minority.

"Defensism, SWP Style"

But the RMC's primary motivation for selecting the SWP as the target for fusion was evidently political: to "build a base for State Department socialism." This is the charge that rankles Herreshoff so much, not really because of what it says about the RMC but because of what it says about the SWP's reformist degeneration as expressed over the Russian question. A look at the RMC's voluminous written record of its rather brief independent existence will illustrate what we mean. For the SWP's flight from the Trotskyist line on the Russian question is not evident only to us; it is evident to the RMC as well.

In the pre-fusion period the RMC carried out an extensive examination of the SWP's position on the Russian question—and discovered that behind the SWP's formally Trotskyist line (political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, defense of the gains of October against imperialism and counterrevolution) lurked another position: the SWP's real orientation toward "democratic" anti-Stalinism as expressed in a host of mealy-mouthed positions on contemporary issues where the defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism is posed concretely. And the RMC found these *real* politics on the Russian question quite congenial.

The RMC concluded its document outlining "fusion tasks" by proclaiming the intention to mount "an assault against the wall which has divided 'revolutionary defeatist' and 'revolutionary defensist' currents within the camp of Trotskyism." In assessing the susceptibility of the SWP to this "assault" the RMC had grasped a fact of central importance: that the SWP's rightist renunciation of Trotskyism in all but name is expressed in real backtracking from Soviet defensism in the concrete. If the SWP were Trotskyist, it would be over Stalinism that the state-cap RMC could expect to find the most serious obstacles to fusion. But it is precisely here that the state caps "have seen positive change in the SWP," declares the "Stalinism" section of the "Road to Unity" document:

> "We believe the SWP has moved away from this pattern of adaptation to Stalinism and has returned to a position closer to Trotsky's own. This healthy proletarian response to the rising demands of the class struggle, particularly within the Stalinist states, is interpreted by incurable sectarians like the Spartacists and the Healyites as a collapse into the arms of the U.S. State Department.
>
> "While the SWP has not re-evaluated its position on the class nature of the Stalinist states, its far more revolutionary approach to the Stalinist parties and to the defense of the USSR allows for greater practical collaboration between us on the tasks of the international class struggle. Today the SWP is again leading the most consistently revolutionary opposition to Stalinism within the defensist majority of the world movement...."

The list which the RMC adduces to substantiate this assertion is a political patchwork sewn together by one long thread—the abandonment of defensism for all practical purposes:

> "The Feldman-Johnson debate with Rousset on the character of the Vietnamese CP, Joseph Hansen's polemics against the decisions of the Ninth Congress, the SWP's final position on Portugal, Les Evans' articles on China, the LTF's evaluation of the nationalist movements in Angola, *Intercontinental Press*'s coverage of the Euro-Communist trend, Hansen's recent series on nuclear disarmament, etc.. .
>
> "On.. what attitude to take to the rising opposition movements in Eastern Europe and Russia, the SWP, by virtue of its keen understanding of the importance of democratic struggles, has established one of the most distinguished records among defensists and defeatists alike."

These are the crucial political questions where an organization's position on the Russian question is shown to be more than inherited formulas. Leaving aside for the moment the question of Portugal, let us examine the concrete programmatic positions which the RMC finds reassuring "evidence" of "positive change" opening the door to "practical collaboration" between the SWP and state capitalists.

The SWP spokesmen took Rousset of the French USec to task for his fulsome praises of the "revolutionary" leadership of Ho Chi Minh. However, their purpose in raising "orthodox" criticisms of the Vietnamese Stalinists was to excuse the SWP's liberal-pacifist, *neutral* policies in the antiwar movement, where it ducked the elementary responsibility for American revolutionists *to support the military victory of the NLF-led forces against their "own" bourgeoisie.*

Similarly, Hansen's polemics against the pro-guerrillaist, Castroite line of the USec majority were blows against petty-bourgeois adventurism *from the right*, in the service of the SWP's legalistic search for reformist respectability. The SWP and the USec faction ("LTF") which it led raised "orthodox" criticisms of the left-nationalist MPLA in Angola in order to maintain, almost until the bitter end, a neutralist stance in a proxy war between U.S./South African imperialists (and the Chinese Stalinists) and the Soviet/Cuban-backed MPLA.

• Hansen's "disarmament" articles hid behind the anti-nuclear concerns of eco-radicals and liberal pacifists to imply a "plague on both your houses" position between imperialism and the Soviet bloc. The SWP's apologetic gyrations on behalf of all "dissidents"—from cold-war militarists right up to the most apocalyptic religious obscurantists and pro-tsarist reactionaries—cater to the so-called "human rights" campaign of Jimmy Carter, which is merely the sanctimonious mask of imperialism's strategic perspective directed toward the destruction of the USSR.

Indeed, the SWP is a good place for the RMC to "erect the scaffold" of its anti-Trotskyist third-campism—or, as we said in the vocabulary more common in the Trotskyist movement, to "build a base for State Department socialism." It is a fertile ground for a systematic assault on the defensist residues which nominally stand between the SWP and its appetite to become the mass party of American social democracy.

Portugal: Litmus Test for "State Department Socialists"

The touchstone of "State Department socialism" is its acceptance of bourgeois/imperialist "anti-Stalinism" as a legitimate ally in the fight for "democracy" against "totalitarian dictatorship." The critical test in the past period was Portugal in the summer-fall of 1975. There, the Socialist Party (PS) of Mário Soares consciously played the role made notorious by Ebert/Noske in 1918-19; Soares himself actually made this analogy. And his course not only coincided with the interests of imperialism—he was actually receiving millions of dollars every month from the CIA, funneled through West European social-democratic parties! This is admitted by the American government itself.

The Portuguese revolutionary crisis unmasked those organizations which in the service of the bourgeoisie pervert the Trotskyists' revolutionary opposition to Stalinism. These groups are Trotskyist in name, social-democratic in action. The SWP-RMC convergence in support of Soares' PS against the Communist Party (PCP) and the so-called "ultra-lefts" (in reality centrists and Maoist reformists) was a major factor leading to the present fusion. It was on the terrain of the living class battles of the Portuguese workers that the RMC and SWP showed that their fusion is rooted in support to the U.S. State Department.

In July-August of 1975 Portugal erupted in anti-Communist demonstrations, some initiated by the Catholic hierarchy, some by ultra-rightist farmers and the largest of them by the PS. Following the burning of a PCP office by landowners enraged by the agrarian reform law in the central Portuguese town of Rio Maior in July, similar actions spread throughout northern Portugal as flames leapt from PCP locals after every "pro-democracy" demonstration. Mário Soares proclaimed, "The resistance of Rio Maior is exemplary" and a member of the PS leadership told a demonstration in the town, "here people showed what had to be done" (Mário Soares, *Quelle révolution?* [1976]).

In this openly counterrevolutionary mobilization the lead was frequently taken by fascist elements linked to General Spínola's ELP. Yet Soares hailed the "popular uprising against the PCP" and openly admitted he was willing to ally with the ELP against the Stalinists. The response of the "Trotskyists" of the SWP? The *Militant* of 8 August 1975 headlined: "Portuguese Masses Take to Streets to Protest Moves Toward Dictatorship." If you want to know what "State Department socialism" is—here it is in practice at a critical flashpoint of contemporary history. In article after article the SWP excused the CIA-financed PS, portraying it as mobilizing the masses in a *left* opposition to the PCP (see "SWP/OCI Tail Counterrevolution in Portugal," *WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975). Some "left" opposition when the fascists are burning Communist Party offices as Soares cheers the "popular uprising"!

And what of the RMC? In a September 1975 article Bruce Landau criticizes the SWP for being too soft on the Portuguese Socialist Party, at one point going so far as to say "The SWP hands them [the PS workers] over to Soares on a platter." But then, to balance the scales so to speak, he attacks the Spartacist League for giving what he calls a "third period characterization" of the PS. The RMC objects in particular to our statement that Soares "has been acting as a front man for this counterrevolutionary mobilization," and we are taken to task for failing to see the "two-sided significance" of PS mobilizations.

Overtly at least, this is the response of people who fail to see political struggle taking place in the real world. We indicated the dual character of the PS as a reformist (i.e., bourgeois) workers party, and that it had won some working-class support on the basis of opposition to the Stalinists' vise on the unions. But while there was a class difference between the PS and the fascist ELP or the reactionary bishops with whom it was in tacit alliance, there *was* a counterrevolutionary mobilization in Portugal in the summer of 1975 which was patently obvious to reporters of all political tendencies. It was simply not possible to assert that some of those coming to burn down the PCP offices (and those of other leftist groups, by the way) were doing so for rightist reasons, others for leftist reasons. In fact, the RMC tries to carry its fairy-tale dichotomy into the Socialist Party itself, which it claims "represent[ed] a threat from both the left and the right" to the PCP and MFA!

More fundamentally, aside from repeatedly and without a single shred of evidence asserting that for the SL "apparently the greatest danger to

Canadian Postal Strike...

(continued from page 5)

sions (both CPL members) while the other seven workers face an investigation of their cases by a management review board reporting to the Deputy Postmaster General. Furthermore, since CPL has no influence whatsoever among the Toronto LCUC drivers, its leaflets and *Worker* articles did not even see fit to even mention the vital role of labor solidarity provided by the other union. After all, writing about the importance of LCUC support for the strike would have destroyed CPL's grandstanding claim that it alone prevented the strike's defeat.

The refusal of the CUPW bureaucracy to launch a real struggle against the victimizations, violation of union work rules and job-cutting by management has led to demoralization even within the ranks of the traditionally militant CUPW. This was reflected in the low turnout at the strike vote, the narrow margin by which the strike vote passed (50 votes out of 800), and the evidence of scabbing at smaller substations during the strike. A definitive victory can only be achieved by calling a nationwide strike of *all* postal workers. This is precisely what the CUPW bureaucracy refused to do, and in the CPL's uncritical enthusing over the Toronto strike and its neglect of the need for joint action with the LCUC, it dropped this crucial demand as well.

While today the CPL is clearly under management attack, its supporters in the union have a long and sordid record of betraying elementary working-class principles. Thus CPLers in Toronto CUPW crossed picket lines to scab at a 1975 postal mechanics strike and have refused to defend supporters of other left-wing groups who are under attack by postal management. Despite an occasional dash of "fight for socialism" rhetoric, CPL's trade-union work is infantile reformist economism, centering on issues like (literally) the fight for better chicken sandwiches in the cafeteria, combined with criminal sectarianism, hackstabbing against other postal workers, and innumerable opportunist zigzags.

Speaking on the lessons of the strike at a forum sponsored by the Trotskyist League on December 17, Bob McBurney demonstrated how the CPL's sectarianism and economism flow from its Stalinist minimum/maximum program. In contrast to the CPL supporters' work in CUPW, McBurney has been fighting in the LCUC for several years around a full class-struggle program linking the day-to-day struggles of the union to the need for a new leadership of the workers movement and a revolutionary workers party which unlike the social democratic NDP—with its record of breaking strikes, enforcing wage controls and passing anti-labor legislation—will fight for a workers government based on the expropriation of the means of production and a planned economy. ■

capitalism comes from the MFA and the PCP...," the core of the RMC's argument is that the Socialist Party was "*able* to successfully present itself...as the sole champion of even bourgeois democracy in the labor movement," while "the PCP and the MFA have been trying to set up a bonapartist regime in Portugal to consolidate capitalism on a statist basis" ("Problems of the Portuguese Revolution," *Revolutionary Marxist Papers* No. 7, March 1976). Thus it saw the CP/left MFA bloc as the principal reactionary force in this period. The Gonçalves Fifth Provisional Government represented, if only in intent, the most reactionary form of bourgeois political rule (save fascism). Against this it defends the Constituent Assembly which was dominated by a PS-right wing bloc.

In point of fact, neither Soares nor the MFA right wing (the Group of Nine) allied with him saw PCP statism as the main danger, but rather the spread of the embryos or germs of dual power. Both said so plainly. Thus in a letter to Portuguese president Costa Gomes, the PS leader stipulated his conditions for re-entering the government. Key to these were:

> "D) Reaffirm the principle that the neighborhood commissions and workers commissions are forms of people's power which must be developed, so long as they do not pretend to be a 'parallel power' to the political-administrative apparatus of the state ...
> "E) Promulgate legislation severly punishing the 'armed militias' which must be suppressed within a maximum of one month's time, along with the 'popular vigilance commissions' and others which have arms in their possession."
> —*Portugal Socialista*, 10 September 1975

The Left MFA/CP Fifth Provisional Government had to tolerate at this time these germs of dual power because they were unable to suppress them. The PCP was never a partisan of the workers commissions and sought to subordinate them to the bureaucratic apparatus of the unions. But it could not take them on directly without blowing apart its own power base and thus threatening its position in the government. In time this government would have sought to suppress these bodies. But in the summer-fall of 1975 it was the PS which led the rightist offensive against them. The Spartacist League recognized the danger this posed and called for military blocs with those prepared to defend these proletarian conquests against the reactionary mobilization.

At the time the RMC criticized the SWP's tailing after Soares & Co. However, in its moves toward fusion with the Socialist Workers Party the RMC says "we extended our understanding to democratic struggles in Portugal, Spain..." ("Fusion Conference of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee," *Revolutionary Marxist Papers* No. 14, July 1977). And now it hails as one of the evidences of the SWP's "more revolutionary" approach its "final position" on Portugal. We can assure the ex-RMCers, as will Jack Barnes, that the SWP did not change its line on Portugal. Throughout it was consistent in defending the shadow of (bourgeois) "democracy" against what it characterized as the danger of ultra-left putschism led by those well-known "ultra-leftists," the Portuguese Communist Party! This just happened to be the same line as the Portuguese PS...and the U.S. State Department. The difference is that Mário Soares got paid for his troubles while the SWP worked for free.

CP Nails SWP

The SWP's backhanded abandonment of Soviet defensism—the political basis of the present fusion with the "state-cap" RMC—was perceived not only by the SL, but also by the CP, which exploited it to smear Trotskyism with the "human rights" politics of the SWP reformists. Our article, "Even with Lies, CP Nails SWP," caused particular irritation to friends of the SWP like Herresholf, who attacks us for "reason-[ing] like a Stalinist hack" and defends the fusion in the name of the high road of Trotskyist journalism, "above mucking around in the sewers of the Stalinist press." Presumably, then, responsible journalism consists of some sort of bloc of all those who call themselves Trotskyist—against the simple political truth, which even the CP knows how to recognize when it serves its purposes.

The SWP replies to the *Daily World* article by exclaiming, "It lies." Of course the Stalinist press often lies. In our article we pointed out some of the CP's distortions. But the cynical CP hit the nail on the head when it asked how an organization which professed any lingering commitment to the defense of the gains of October could crawl into bed with a non-defensist formation to become the "best builders" of anti-Soviet "human rights." For the Stalinists –who preach illusions in "détente" with Jimmy Carter and murder Trotskyist defenders of the Soviet Union against imperialism—to pose the question is sheer hypocrisy. But it is still a good question.

In the U.S., which has no mass reformist workers party, the "human rights" campaign is the analogue of popular frontism—the formal basis for leftists with no social base to collaborate in the service of the "progressive" bourgeoisie. It is worth noting that although Moscow is the target of the anti-Communist crusade, the CP has helped push the "human rights" bandwagon wherever possible. The pop-front appeal of classless "democratic" movements under the sway of Democratic Party politics is tailor-made for the SWP, which hopes to be the new party of American social democracy, and for the RMC, whose main enemy is ultimately the "statist" Soviet Union. As for the CP, if it finds itself temporarily outflanked among popular frontists by the SWP offering support to every Solzhenitsyn in and out of the Soviet Union, it can compete by offering implicit and sometimes direct electoral support to the Democrats.

The real question is not whether the Stalinist press habitually lies about Trotskyism, but whether the SWP has in practice dumped the Trotskyist line on the Russian question as it moves toward reformist reconciliation with the bourgeoisie at home. The SWP can claim in "Why the CP Lies About the Unification of the Trotskyists" that it still stands for Soviet defensism, but not even the *Daily World* hacks should believe everything they read in the *Militant*.

Whether or not the RMC proves capable of winning a section of the SWP to its formal state-capitalist anlaysis, the host organism has in good measure already accepted a Soviet defeatist position. To be sure, the SWP has some petty factional reasons for embracing the RMC: to strengthen its "unity" appeals for regroupments with other forces, for example from the DeLeonist SLP, within which it already has some open supporters; to strengthen the Stalinophobic forces within the USec now that the USec's major factions have formally dissolved and the former antagonists are licking one another's mutually inflicted political wounds. But the main value of the fusion for the SWP is symbolic: as a gesture to the bourgeoisie that no residues of its Trotskyist past will impede the SWP from bidding for the status of junior partner to U.S. imperialism if the bourgeoisie should find itself compelled to bargain with anti-Stalinist "reds" for a left cover. Right now the SWP is a long way from the mass influence which would make it a candidate for such a deal—it has no real base to sell out. But as it carries out its turn toward the labor bureaucracy, waving its new Shachtmanite fusion as the banner of its commitment to anti-Stalinist "democracy," it is confident that its time will come. ■

Houston Conference...

(continued from page 2)

get a good (managerial) job—the National Organization for Women and advertising agency exploitation of "women's lib" jargon. Even the wives of imperialists presidents, military dictators and blood-soaked shahs now feel safe to "come out" as feminists.

But feminism, even in its more radical days, always involved collaboration with bourgeois liberals. "Sisterhood is

Northup/Time

Bella Abzug

powerful" *means* denial of the primacy of the class line, excusing blocs with female capitalist politicians and the bourgeois state. Hence the popularity among feminists of union-busting "affirmative action" schemes, which placed a handful of token women in jobs at the expense of overturning hard-won trade-union gains and undermining working-class solidarity.

In keeping with the theme of constituency politics at Houston, "labor" was not entirely ignored. It was represented, however, by union bureaucrats, like Olga Madar of the United Auto Workers, who participated in the infamous 1,000-man goon squad that broke up the Mack Avenue wildcat strike in Detroit in 1973, and Addie Wyatt of the Amalgamated Butcher Workers. The pretense of such misleaders, both of them prominent spokesmen for the moribund Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), to represent the interests of working women is particularly disgusting. At no time during the conference did they or anyone else raise a program for working-class struggle against the oppression of women: for union hiring halls and union-controlled job-training programs to end management discrimination against women and minorities; employer-paid 24-hour child care; a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to provide jobs for all, and a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Left Tails Liberals

Clearly, any self-respecting radical feminist—let alone a self-proclaimed Marxist—should have held her nose at this maladorous farce which the U.S. government staged in Houston. Yet in fact those ostensible socialists who most egregiously picked up the feminist fad have hailed the IWY conference as "progressive." Are they blind? No, they are forced into this ludicrous position by the simple fact that the liberal feminists put forward *their program*. The reformists and centrists had no alternative.

Thus the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee insisted, "It is up to us to unite these women on a progressive basis in Houston." The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the prime exponent of the view that "consistent feminism" equals socialism, asserted in the 2 December *Militant* that the conference went on record "against the anti-women policies of the very government sponsoring the event." The same theme was echoed by YAWF, with the 18 November *Workers World* claiming that "Many state IWY meetings became forums for progressive women."

Most disoriented of all the "socialist feminists" at Houston as the Democratic Party crowned itself champion of feminism was undoubtedly the Socialist Workers Party. A Saturday night SWP forum drew a paltry 150 people, and its Sunday night talk on "Feminism and Socialism" by Betsey Stone netted only 40, the vast majority of them SWPers. "They're afraid to bring up abortion over there," Stone cried frantically, waving in the direction of the coliseum. When a Spartacist League supporter pointed out that only two hours before, the conference had passed a "reproductive freedom" plank for legalized abortion, Stone could only respond, "Well, if that is true, then all I can say is 'right on'." Not a word about *free* abortion on demand.

This response fairly sums up the SWP's program: "right on!" to bourgeois feminism. Its repsonse to the Houston IWY conference was determined by the fact that the liberal "National Plan" contains virtually the entire SWP program for women's liberation, though more attractively packaged by the U.S. government. In contrast, the SL program will never be adopted by the class enemy, even in the meaningless for-the-record-only form as at Houston, for its strikes at the heart of the institutions which oppress woman and are vital supports of the capitalist system.

While supporting democratic rights and reforms that must be wrested from

WV Photo

Dallas Higgins, wife of KKK grand dragon.

the bourgeois state, Marxists point out that such rights can be guaranteed and consolidated only by united working-class action to overthrow the rotten capitalist system which requires the oppression and exploitation of women, minorities and of all working people. Full and equal participation of women in all aspects of social life requires smashing the bourgeois state and replacement of the nuclear family. The task of proletarian revolution is to lay the basis for a socialist society that will do away with the oppression of women once and for all.

Forward to a women's section of a reborn Fourth International! Women's liberation through proletarian revolution! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

UMWA Ranks Shut Scab Mines

Miller Selling Out Miners' Right to Strike

DECEMBER 20—As rank-and-file members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) strive for the means to win their strike, shutting down scab coal operations from the Appalachians to the Rockies, Arnold Miller is betraying their struggle with equal vigor at the bargaining table. On December 14 the UMWA president reportedly caved in on the decisive issue of the right to strike. Asked after that day's bargaining if an agreement could be reached without a right-to-strike provision provided the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) makes some concession, Miller blithely replied, "That's what collective bargaining is all about."

Though details of the deal reached have not been formally released, UMWA and BCOA negotiators have reportedly agreed that miners who cause wildcats at their own or other mines can be summarily fired. Miners who even respect picket lines can also be disciplined. In line with the mid-October decision of the Arbitration Review Board that "roving pickets" could be automatically dismissed, the agreement is aimed at crushing the miners' key weapon in the wildcats which ripped through the coal fields over the last three years.

Agreement on this "right to fire" clause is not only a criminal betrayal of the miners' most important demand, it also betrays the historic traditions of the coal mines. Miller and the BCOA are out to bury the miners' watchword: "Never cross a picket line."

In return for the UMWA tops' effectively abandoning the right to strike, BCOA chief Joseph Brennan is prepared to drop his demand that the new contract contain an explicit no-strike clause. And why not? With the right to fire, the BCOA has all its needs. As *Business Week* (26 December) gloated: "If this clause is in the contract, the operators have little need for a no-strike provision and so the BCOA has not surrendered very much."

Brennan has also offered to reduce demands for financial penalties against wildcatting miners. The BCOA's original stand amounted to outright robbery: the coal companies would pocket 40 percent of strikers' wages in any ten-day period in which a walkout occurred. Brennan now proposes a more disguised form of theft: a $22-per-day fine, payable into the health and pension trusts. This novel clause has the additional benefit of shifting financial support of the funds from a tonnage royalty directly to the miners' paychecks. Also part of the this "stabilization" package is a new draconian absentee policy: six unexcused missed days could result in firing.

It was widely anticipated that Miller would attempt to trade off the right to strike in exchange for restoration of health and pension funding which was cut back by the BCOA last summer, a provocation that sparked a ten-week, 85,000-man wildcat. But to make their capitulation to the coal operators even more abject, the UMWA negotiators themselves are now proposing that miners pay a portion of future medical bills.

Undoubtedly all the details of the sell-out being prepared for the miners have not yet been hammered out behind the closed doors in Washington, D.C. But the main outlines of the union's articles of surrender are clear. If a tentative agreement is not announced soon it is merely a reflection of Miller's fear that such a rotton pact will be rejected by the ranks, particularly only three weeks into the strike.

Furthermore, the BCOA itself is not anxious to settle. The steel mills and power companies have plenty of coal stockpiled and Brennan is no more eager than Miller to rush into an early and risky ratification vote. Well aware that the UMWA has no strike fund and that health benefits ended when the strike began, the bosses want to let the miners get hungrier and colder. The renegade Brennan—a former research director for the union and now the coal operators' main spokesman—wants to teach the miners a lesson.

Miners Hit Scab Coal

But while Miller and his cohorts have been shaping up a sell-out, UMWA members show no desire to give in. They have tried to make their strike effective, mainly by attempting to shut down the non-union operations that account for nearly 50 percent of U.S. coal production. In the union stronghold of West Virginia, with over 65,000 union miners, little picketing has been required: sheer fear of trying to run coal trucks on the roads has convinced most scab operators to shut down.

But in many areas UMWA control has been seriously eroded. In Pennsylvania UMWA coal has falled from 72 to 60 percent of state production in five years; in Ohio from 75 percent to 50 percent in ten years; in Kentucky a ten percent drop to 42 percent in five years. In Tennessee the union controls only 13 percent of the total. Most serious is the situation in the West. The rapidly expanding western mines are only 32 percent UMWA and that fraction is fast declining. It is in these areas that union miners have been forced to mobilize to prevent scabbing on their strike.

On December 8 an $180,000 mining auger was dynamited in Viriginia. In Indiana 50 strikers charged a mine and company officials complained that a cache of guns was discovered missing from company buildings. At a nearby coal dock 300 strikers fought bulldozer operators who tried to force the pickets off the road with their machines.

WV Photo

Miners leave last shift in Cabin Creek at beginning of UMWA strike.

While most scab operations in southern Ohio have been closed, it has not been without effort. Shots were exchanged between pickets and supervisory personnel at one mine; at another, pickets trapped foremen inside. In Pennsylvania strip mine machinery was destroyed at one scab mine and 30 miners defied a court order December 14 to warn scabs under local and state police escort not to return to work at two non-union mines.

The same day pickets appeared at a working mine in Oklahoma for the first time. The next day 300 strikers invaded the only working coal dock in Illinois, where shipments from western U.S. fields were being transferred onto Ohio River barges. Thirty scabs on hand fled the scene: some rode barges downriver while others simply ran.

On December 13 at least five truckloads of coal were dumped alongside eastern Kentucky highways as 400 roving pickets covered that state, Ohio and West Virginia in a 100-car caravan. The contingent made a stop at the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky, where 150 miners have been on strike for nearly 17 months seeking a UMWA contract. A hundred riot-equipped state police were rushed to the scene. But unlike last October, when the cops beat and arrested over 100 strikers and union supporters for trying to stop scabs, this time the outnumbered cops made no attempt to remove the pickets. A crucial demand of the striking miners must be that no national contract be settled until the Justus mine is UMWA!

The Western Threat

The high and increasing percentage of non-UMWA coal in the West, where over 50 percent of U.S. coal reserves are located, is a mortal threat to the miners union. The UMWA's weakness in the West has made the struggle to stop scab production particularly bitter.

A bridge leading to the Plateau Mine in Utah was burned December 8 and 40 scabs were trapped overnight. Heavy equipment was needed to clear the highway of 500-pound boulders and four-inch spikes had been driven into the road to deter scabbing. Pickets also stopped operations at the neighboring Swisher and Soldier Creek mines. Union officials asked representatives of

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Workers Vanguard—7 January to 23 December 1977 (Issues Nos. 139-186)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1977, from issue No. 139 (7 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 186 (23 December). During this time, *WV* was published weekly. This single index covers two volumes: No. 6 (7 January to 17 June) and No. 7 (24 June to 23 December).
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus

  The Return of Teng, #141, 21 Jan. (1,11)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 141, 21 January 1977, pages 1 and 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus

  Carter, Jimmy—See **Israel; U.S.: General, International Relations.**

  means that articles on Jimmy Carter can be found by going to the subject head **ISRAEL** and by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **International Relations.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles dealing with Israeli domestic issues are listed under the major subject head: **ISRAEL.** Articles dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict and other directly related countries and issues are listed under the major subject head: **NEAR EAST.**
- Specific defense cases (e.g. Wendy Yoshimura) will be found as subcategories under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases.**
- Articles on historical aspects of the Marxist movement are listed under **HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT,** while reprints from writings of particular individuals are listed under **ARCHIVES OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are

C:	Correction	R:	Review
L.	Letter	Sup.	Supplement
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